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Forty Years

During the Christmas Term of 1916 a number of students in the English Department of the University of Amsterdam decided to found a kind of college magazine devoted to the study of English language and literature and to be written in English. They got into touch with students at Groningen and Utrecht, and in January 1917 the first number of *The Student's Monthly* appeared. It ran for two years and was then replaced by *English Studies*, the first number of which came out in February 1919.

While *The Student's Monthly* bore the character of an undergraduate paper, with occasional contributions by older scholars, *English Studies*, without denying its origins, from the first set out to be a professional journal. From 1920 to the end of 1931 it was co-edited by Holland's leading scholar in the field of English, E. Kruisinga, who contributed numerous articles and reviews, and its Contents regularly contained such well-known names as H. Poutsma, W. van der Gaaf, W. van Doorn, J. Kooistra, and A. G. van Kranendonk. Soon English and other foreign Anglicists began to contribute. Volume I contained a short review by Daniel Jones, Vol. III an article by H. C. Wyld, Vol. IV, and again Vol. VI, one by Mary S. Serjeantson. In Vol. V there was an article by Eilert Ekwall, and two reviews by Ferdinand Holthausen, who also contributed an article to Vol. VI, in which A. W. Pollard reviewed B. A. P. van Dam's edition of *Hamlet*. Vol. VIII contained the first contribution by Mario Praz, whose association with *English Studies* has lasted to this day; in the same year (1926) the great Belgian toponymist, Joseph Mansion, began his series of reviews of the publications of the English Place-Name Society. In Vol. XI R. W. Chambers replied to R. C. Boer's review of his book on *Beowulf* in Vol. V. The first contributions from America (two notes by G. O. Curme) appeared in Vol. XII (1930).

From 1932 to 1936 the present writer acted as sole editor. In 1936 he was joined by H. Lüdeke and the late Bernhard Fehr as co-editors for Switzerland, and by Eilert Ekwall as co-editor for Scandinavia, so that *English Studies* had definitively become an international journal, though its headquarters remained in Holland.

The Second World War caused a cessation of activities between the August number of 1944 and the October number of 1945, but for which the 1959 Volume would have borne the number XLI instead of XL. Eilert Ekwall retired as Scandinavian co-editor at the end of 1947, to be succeeded by O. S. Arngart for Sweden and C. A. Bodelsen for Denmark. In 1949 L. Eckhoff joined them as co-editor for Norway, while at the same time the half dozen was completed by the accession of S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne as representative of Belgium. In 1956 K. Smidt succeeded L. Eckhoff as co-editor for Norway.

Ever since its beginning *English Studies* has been published by Swets & Zeitlinger, Amsterdam, and printed by Firma P. Harte, Bergen op Zoom.

In spite of rising costs it proved possible to return to the pre-war size of 48 pages per number, partly in 1950, completely in 1952. In this Anniversary Volume all numbers will be 64 pages, and each number will be taken care of by one of the six countries represented on the Board of Editors, the order being: Holland - Norway - Belgium - Switzerland - Sweden - Denmark. If the number of subscribers continues to grow at the present rate it will, we hope, be possible to keep on the enlarged size after 1959. It is also hoped that, while there will not be less room for articles and reviews from England, America, and other countries, the extra space will be fully occupied by contributions from the six countries co-operating in the journal. In that case there is no reason why it should not go from strength to strength.

Z.

The Figure of Beowulf in the O.E. Epic

By shifting the emphasis to the historic or to the non-historic elements we get two widely divergent summaries of *Beowulf*:

Hrothgar, king of Denmark towards the end of the fifth century, builds a beautiful hall to celebrate his victories over neighbouring tribes. When the hall is finished, the Danes are prevented from occupying it at night by the nocturnal visits of Grendel, a demoniac creature which kills them in their sleep. As they are unable to overcome it, Hrothgar welcomes the help offered by Beowulf, a nephew of Hygelac, king of the Geats in southern Sweden. Beowulf comes to his assistance, because the Danish king had once protected his father Ecgtheow in a feud with the Wylfing tribe. He is stronger than any other living man and he succeeds in mortally wounding Grendel and freeing the hall from future threats. After he is royally rewarded and suitably feasted by Hrothgar, the Danes remain in the hall after the banquet and prepare to sleep there again. However, they had not counted upon a second monster, Grendel's mother, which attacks them and kills one of Hrothgar's most trusted councillors. So Beowulf's help has to be invoked again and he manages to kill her too. While describing the festivities arranged after the two fights, the poet hints at the future civil wars in Denmark and the destruction of the hall by Ingeld and the Heathobards. Laden with precious gifts Beowulf returns to his own country, where he becomes king, after his uncle Hygelac has fallen in the raid on Nijmegen and his cousin Heardred was killed in a war with the Swedes. Beowulf's reputation as a warrior is so great that the Swedes are afraid of attacking him. He reigns long and peacefully, but because epic tradition demands that so brave a warrior should not die in his bed, the poet makes a dragon ravage his kingdom and, though Beowulf kills it, he himself dies from its poisonous bite. A burial mound is erected near the sea to celebrate his fame and constitute a lasting landmark for future generations.

The other summary might run as follows:

A mighty king wishes to build a gold-decorated hall to celebrate his victories over neighbouring tribes. In a surprisingly short time the hall is finished and every night he and his warriors feast there. The sound of their merriment rouses the envy and anger of a demoniac creature, called Grendel, which ravages the hall at night and devours all who dare to oppose it. Its strength is too much for ordinary human beings, so that the beautiful gold hall now stands deserted at night and the king and his people are shamed. Beowulf, a hero who has the strength of thirty men in the grip of his hand, hears rumours of these happenings and sees an opportunity to increase his fame. The court is impressed by his size and the king readily gives him permission to take on Grendel. Beowulf is so much convinced of his superior strength that he decides to forgo the use of weapons and to kill Grendel with his bare hands. When night falls, the king and his retainers retire, leaving the safekeeping of the hall in the hands of Beowulf and his companions. Grendel appears indeed and devours one of the companions. Next it seizes Beowulf, but he proves to be no ordinary opponent and a fearful struggle ensues. Beowulf's companions are of no help to him, for their swords are powerless against the monster. But his own strength is so great that he tears off an arm of the monster, which then escapes mortally wounded. The next night a second monster appears, which avenges the death of her son by killing one of the king's trusted counsellors. Beowulf follows its tracks to a deep pool and dives into it. It takes him a good part of the day to reach the bottom, where he is grasped by Grendel's mother, who drags him into a subterranean cave. This time he needs a magical sword to vanquish the female fiend. Rewarded with rich gifts he returns to his native country, where he is invited to become king. A long and glorious

reign is interrupted by the ravages of a fire-dragon. Beowulf, weakened by age, undertakes the uneven contest; he kills the dragon but dies himself from a poisonous wound received during his last struggle.

In 1910 the German scholar Panzer¹ showed that many of the elements recorded in the second summary also occur in the fairy tales of the Bear's Son and 'Der starke Hans'. On the other hand, early nineteenth-century scholars had already recognised that many events to which the poet referred in his episodes were historic. Now my reason for giving two different summaries is not to suggest that we have to choose between considering *Beowulf* either as a historic poem or as a romantically coloured folk-tale, for the two elements are inseparably interlocked. The poet gives Beowulf all the characteristics of the Bear's Son, while representing him as the nephew of an undoubtedly historic Hygelac. But what started him on his career in heroic legend, his achievements as king or as a folk-tale figure? Beowulf's main exploits in the epic, the fights with Grendel and his Dam, followed in the second part by the killing of the dragon, clearly belong to folk-tale and are no more historic than the swimming match with Breca or his swimming back with thirty corslets in his arms from the territory of the *Hetware* to distant Sweden. The poet himself places these exploits against an historical background, so it is certainly possible to ask ourselves whether Beowulf was not actually a nephew of Hygelac and the last king of the Geats, and whether the folk-tale elements of the killing of monsters and dragons were not afterwards attached to a real person, much as the corresponding events in the Old Icelandic *Grettissaga* were attributed to an historical Grettir. Nineteenth-century scholars, following Kemble and Müllenhoff, held that *Beowulf* was a nature myth in epic form. The Geatish hero Beowulf was considered to be the same as the Danish king Beow, mentioned in line 53 of the poem, whose name should be *Beow*, as in the Old English genealogies. The word *Beow* means 'grain' and is related to O.E. *buān*, Dutch *bouwen*, 'to cultivate', so *Beow* was supposed to be a corn-god; the occurrence of another corn-god, *Sceaf*, 'sheaf', reconstructed from the patronymic *Scefing* in line 4, seemed to strengthen this hypothesis. Others saw in Beowulf the representative of the victorious forces of spring and summer in their fight against ice and storm, represented by Grendel and his mother, which victorious forces were vanquished in their turn by the dragon of the next winter. These mythological interpretations had no place for a historic Beowulf. When Panzer proved that such interpretations were untenable, the problem of Beowulf's historicity arose. Panzer himself thought that he was an historical figure.² His opinion may have been influenced in part by his refutation of the mythological basis of the hero. Klaeber³ states the problem cautiously but clearly:

¹ Friedrich Panzer, *Studien zur germanischen Sagengeschichte*. I *Beowulf*; II *Sigfrid*. München, 1910-1912.

² Panzer, *l. c.* I, 390 ff.

³ Klaeber, third edition, 1950, xxvii.

What the poem tells about his person, apart from his marvelous deeds, has not the appearance of history or of genuine historical legend. He is out of place in the line of Geat kings, who bear names alliterating with *H*; and, still more strangely, his own *B* does not harmonize with the name of his father Ecgtheow and that of his family the Wæg-mundingas. He is a solitary figure in life, and he dies without leaving any children. Neither as Hygelac's retainer nor as king of the Geats does he play any real part in the important events of the time. He accompanies Hygelac, indeed, on his historic continental expedition, but what is told of him in that connection is of a purely episodic nature, conventional, or fabulously exaggerated, in short, to all appearances, anything but authentic. There is hardly a trait assigned to him that is not more or less typical or in some way associated with his extraordinary qualities or his definite rôle as a protecting and defending man of strength, in which the Anglo-Saxon poet rejoiced. That there is some substratum of truth in the extensive recital of his doings may well be admitted as a possibility; but that need not have been more than the merest framework of the narrative elements common to Beowulf and Bǫðvarr Bjarki. The elaboration of Beowulf's character and actions plainly shows the hand of the author who made him the hero of a great epic poem.

Chambers does not discuss the problem explicitly, but in his bibliography⁴ he praises Deutschbein for rejecting Beowulf's historicity. Deutschbein⁵ has solved the matter of the relationship between Geats and Swedes and the help afforded to Eadgils by Beowulf, for he shows that there is no real difficulty in explaining them without bringing in the latter. Lawrence⁶ also rejects the historicity of Beowulf. Malone, on the other hand, in *The Literary History of Hamlet*⁷ starts from the assumption that Beowulf is historical and wishes to equate him with Ælfhere, Wiglaf's kinsman. Apart from the alliteration linking Ælfhere and Beowulf's father Ecgtheow, there is little to be said for this equation and Malone admits that the whole matter is very speculative.

A definite attempt to defend the historicity of Beowulf was made by Ritchie Girvan⁸ in the last of the three lectures delivered at University College, London, in 1935. The general excellence of Girvan's work makes it necessary to go into his arguments in detail, the more so as the latest editor of *Beowulf*, C. L. Wrenn,⁹ says that 'the historicity of Beowulf himself must remain for the present as "not proven", but by no means impossible'. Girvan's arguments are:

1) In spite of the occurrences of water-demons and a dragon, the spirit of *Beowulf* breathes an air of reality, which comes out particularly strong if we compare it with 'the atmosphere of marvel and magic' in the stories of the Irish hero Cuchulain.

2) In those cases in which we can check the historicity of events

⁴ R. W. Chambers, *Beowulf*. An Introduction. Second edition, 1932, p. 531.

⁵ Max Deutschbein, 'Beowulf der Gautenkönig'. Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach, Studien zur englischen Philologie, L, 291-297.

⁶ W. W. Lawrence, *Beowulf and Epic Tradition*. Cambridge, Mass., 1928, passim, in particular pp. 100 ff.

⁷ Kemp Malone, *The Literary History of Hamlet*, Anglistische Forschungen 59, Heidelberg, 1923, passim, esp. pp. 60 & 236 f.

⁸ Ritchie Girvan, *Beowulf and the Seventh Century*. London, 1935.

⁹ C. L. Wrenn, *Beowulf*. London, 1953, second ed. 1958, p. 45.

mentioned in *Beowulf* the poet turns out to be very well informed and, though there are difficulties of detail, the main elements appear to be surprisingly exact. 'When it is history in the strict sense, it can be trusted as sound.'

3) When later Scandinavian sources differ from *Beowulf*, the latter appears to be more consistent and, in all probability, right. — These three points can be readily conceded; if there was not so much real history in *Beowulf*, the problem of the historicity of its hero would never have arisen.

4) The poet appears to have an intimate knowledge of Geatish history, much more so than of Danish affairs, so he is also likely to have known about Beowulf, king of the Geats, though other sources know nothing about him. — Against this may first be put Lawrence's opinion:¹⁰ 'While the poet is most detailed, picturesque, and precise in describing romantic adventures, he is everywhere vague in his references to the actual political events in which Beowulf was concerned after the death of Heardred, until he comes to the final downfall of the Geat people, and then preciseness begins once more.' Secondly, the absence of any evidence, outside our poem, about king Beowulf must weigh heavily against his historicity.¹¹

5) As to the absence of alliteration in the names of Beowulf, his father Ecgtheow and his uncle Hygelac, Girvan points out that Ingeld's name does not alliterate with that of his father Froda, nor Offa's name with that of his father Wermund. — It is true that alliteration is not an absolute rule in Germanic times, but we may safely say that its absence is highly suspicious.

6) Concerning the assertion that everything proceeds as if Beowulf was non-existent, he observes that a definite rôle was assigned to him in the Rhine-expedition and in the matter of Eadgil's restoration to the Swedish throne. Greater precision could not be expected in a brief allusion. — Why should the poet have been satisfied with a brief allusion exactly at the moment when he had an excellent opportunity to say something about the historical Beowulf? Why does he merely say: *þæt wæs god cyning*? I shall come back to this passage later on.

7) The unreality and incredibility attaching to Beowulf and his actions was provoked by the fairy-tale atmosphere which surrounds him in consequence of the folk-tale of which he has become the hero. The thirteenth-century romance of Richard Lionheart is there to prove that fanciful feats of strength of a hero need not make that hero unhistorical.

¹⁰ *l. c.*, p. 103.

¹¹ Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry*, London, 1952, p. 510: 'The material of heroic poetry can be accepted as historical when it is confirmed by external evidence and hardly otherwise.' Bowra's work is the best comparative study of heroic poetry that has appeared to date, but his knowledge of specific *Beowulf* problems is small, and when on p. 534 he says that it is possible that Beowulf once existed and was credited later with miraculous actions, this is no more than the admission of a theoretic possibility. If external evidence should ever come forward, we should have to reconsider our opinion, of course.

— The point is not that Beowulf is unhistorical because he kills monsters and dragons, for many historical figures have done so in heroic poetry, but that there is not a single scrap of evidence of an actual king Beowulf, whereas we know about Richard and Hygelac, about Ongentheow, Onela, Ohthere, Eanmund and Eadgils, about Hrothgar, Hrothulf, Heorowearð, Ingeld, etc. It is difficult to see how such glorifying killings came to be attributed to a real king without our hearing of events and actions that created his magnetic field, as is the case with Richard, Alexander, Theodoric, Charlemagne and even Arthur.

8) The occurrence together of *Beowa* and *Grendel* in a charter of 931 and the substitution of Beowulf for Beowa or Beow would explain how such marvellous stories came to be attached to a historical person. — The substitution of Beowulf for Beow occurs in our poem only and is usually attributed to a copyist, which is quite likely, as the two figures, the Danish king and the hero, have no other point of contact beside their names. The word *Grendel* is found in a few combinations which are all connected with some water-course,¹² so it is possible that the poet got the name from them. In any case, the charter is late and the concurrence of *Beowa* and *Grendel* may just as well be due to the poem as *vice versa*.

9) The alternative theory, that a folk-tale hero is pushed into an historical situation with which he has nothing to do is very unlikely. To quote Girvan:¹³

It is not readily credible that the poet could have introduced into a series of events known to the last detail an entirely alien figure, provided him with a carefully defined relationship to the royal house, described in some detail his burial with all the pomp and circumstance proper to a king, referred to his burial place in terms which suggest a familiar landmark, familiar that is in the story, set him in direct association with another hero Breca, and his father in association with a real people, the Wylfings, both well known as subjects of other lays. To state the case is enough.

Are the events known to the last detail? Professor Whitelock is not so certain: 'The greater fullness with which the Geatish wars are treated is capable of more than one explanation. It may be that the poet was less confident that his audience could supply all the relevant detail.'¹⁴

The connection with a royal house was required by the aristocratic courtly character of the poem.

The pomp and circumstance of Beowulf's funeral is traditional. We can be certain that the poet and his audience were familiar with the Sutton Hoo mounds, while the archeological connections between the Sutton Hoo finds and Sweden suggests a possible familiarity with the Uppsala mounds, the burial places of Ongentheow, Ohthere and Eadgils,¹⁵ and any such mound would serve as a landmark.

¹² Dorothy Whitelock, *The Audience of Beowulf*, Oxford, 1951, p. 66.

¹³ *l. c.*, p. 79.

¹⁴ *l. c.*, p. 55.

¹⁵ Cp. Sune Lindqvist, 'Sutton Hoo and Beowulf'. *Antiquity* 87 (1948), 131-140. Pictures of the Uppsala mounds are given by Chambers, *l. c.*, plate VIII.

The historicity of Breca is just as doubtful as Beowulf's. Panzer¹⁶ would interpret him as a companion of the folk-tale hero, whom he meets and defeats in the course of his wanderings; Breca is, then, an abbreviated form of *Steinbrecher*, a man so strong that he can break stones, though not as strong as the hero, and he points to Grettir's companion Stein in the Icelandic saga. In *Widsið Breoca* is made the ruler of the *Brondingas*, but Lawrence¹⁷ has already pointed out the suspicious nature of the connection: A breaker rules the surf, Du. *branding*, German *Brandung*, while in the preceding line of *Widsið* a fictitious king *Thyle* is made to rule the *Rondingas*.

The discussion of Girvan's arguments has made it clear that there is nothing that points to an historical Beowulf, except that the poet says that he becomes king of the Geats. But is this more than a mere poetical device? Let us see how the poet deals with the problem of harmonising Beowulf the king and Beowulf the folk-tale figure.

The hero of the epic makes his first appearance in line 194, after the description of the building of Heorot, the richly decorated gold hall, and of the nocturnal attacks of the monster Grendel, which killed thirty Danes on one occasion and was altogether too much for Hrothgar and his *comitatus*. Beowulf is introduced in a rather strange manner:

Ðæt fram ham gefrægn Higelaces þegn
god mid Geatum, Grendles dæda;
se wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest
on þæm dæge þysses lifes,
æpele ond eacen.

194-198

Hygelac's retainer, a good man among the Geats, heard at home of the actions of Grendel; he was at the time the strongest in might of all mankind, noble and big of limb.

The absence of the name of the hero in the passage in which he makes his first appearance is, to say the least, surprising. Yet all editors pass it over without comment or by saying only that the name is mentioned in line 343. We should expect, however, that the audience wants to know who or what the story is about. In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the names of the principal characters are given right at the beginning, and in a more popular story, in *Havelok the Dane*, the minstrel repeats several times that he is going to sing the deeds of Havelok. The Anglo-Saxon scop must have been conscious of dealing with a character and a name that were unfamiliar to his audience, so that, consequently, he had better start by awaking their interest and curiosity. At the same time he had to place the hero somewhere and what better place could be found for him than a court and a tribe that had vanished from the world for several generations when he composed his work. Towards the end he makes Wiglaf prophesy the destruction of the Geats, a prophecy which is most effective from an

¹⁶ l. c., p. 272.

¹⁷ l. c., p. 157.

artistic point of view; in reality it is no prophecy at all, for the poet and his audience have known all along that the kingdom of the Geats had ceased to exist. The end of the Geatish nation is more likely to have come after the disastrous expedition of Hygelac against the Merovingians, resulting in the death of the king and the best part of his fighting force, followed a little later by the fall of Heardred, than after a long and glorious reign of an invincible Beowulf. In other words, Beowulf is not an historical figure, famous in Scandinavian history, but an unknown character introduced into historical surroundings by a singer who was fully conscious of the shadowiness of his hero and who applies every artistic device at his disposal to lull the doubts and suspicions of his hearers. The greatest name in Geatish history, and one that is most definitely historical, is Hygelac, so the fictitious Beowulf is made to rise to the surface of reality on the back of the famous king: Hygelac's retainer, says the poet, a good man among the Geats, heard at home of the actions of Grendel. He is the strongest man in the world, noble and big of limb. O.E. *eacen* is related to Gothic *aukan*, Latin *augere*; it is usually translated by 'mighty'. My own translation 'big of limb' is partly based on line 1621: *eacne eardas*, 'extensive, large districts', and partly on *Deor* 11, where it is employed to indicate that Beaduhild is with child. Beowulf's extraordinary strength, *se wæs moncynnes mægenes strengest*, and his extraordinary size, *eacen*, are two folk-tale qualities.

The next mention of the hero is made when the coastguard addresses the Geats on their landing in Denmark, and again Beowulf's outward appearance is stressed:

Næfre ic maran geseah
 eorla ofer eorþan, ðonne is eower sum,
 secg on searwum; nis þæt seldguma,
 wæpnum geweorðad, næfne him his wlite leoge,
 ænlic ansyn.

247-251

Never have I seen a hero, a man in war-equipment, taller on earth than is one of you; he is not a (mere) retainer, honoured with weapons, unless his face, his unique appearance belie him.

The coastguard's observation has a ring of objectivity, typical of heroic poetry,¹⁸ as has also his courtlines. The poet admirably succeeds in absorbing the folk-tale qualities in the objective description of the conversation between the coastguard and Beowulf. The coastguard has a right to question the newcomers about their origin and their object in landing in Denmark. This matter-of-fact atmosphere is kept up by Beowulf, who answers that he is a Geat, a retainer of Hygelac's and the

¹⁸ Cf. Bowra, *l. c.*, p. 4: 'Heroic poetry is essentially narrative and is nearly always remarkable for its objective character. It creates its own world of the imagination in which men act on easily understood principles, and, though it celebrates great doings because of their greatness, it does so not overtly by praise but indirectly by making them speak for themselves and appeal to us in their own right. It wins interest and admiration for its heroes by showing what they are and what they do.'

son of Ecgtheow. He has come to cleanse Heorot and kill the monster which ravages the splendid hall on dark nights. Panzer¹⁹ hesitantly suggests that the name Ecgtheow may have been chosen for its meaning: sword-servant, i.e., smith, for in several versions the folk-tale hero is the son of a smith. This is possible, though perhaps not probable. Ecgtheow is a fairly common name in Anglo-Saxon England and combinations with *Ecg-* are very frequent, both in the South and in the North. It carries a certain suggestion of reality without pinning it down to a particular family. The Danish coastguard has to accept Beowulf's statement because of the accompanying offer by Beowulf to fight Grendel; he could not very well report to Hrothgar that he had sent away a man of Beowulf's size, who had come to assist his royal master in his present predicament.

The development of Beowulf's identity reaches its third stage in the meeting with Hrothgar's herald, Wulfgar. After stating once more that they are Hygelac's table-companions, Beowulf tells his name: *Beowulf is min nama*, 343. The rarity of the name in England makes it unlikely that the poet invented it, the more so as the meaning of Beowulf, 'bee-wolf', i.e., 'bear', connects it with Bjarki, i.e. 'little bear', a by-name of the hero in the *Hrolfssaga*. In our poem Beowulf kills Grendel as well as the Frankish warrior Dæghrefn by hugging them to death in a bearlike embrace. The name *Beowulf* may also have been a by-name, though it is difficult to see how an actual king could have been mixed up with the hero of a fairy-tale without our hearing of the brave deeds that were to have formed the bridge between the two characters. The other possibility, that a hero of humble birth becomes a king, is quite normal in folk-tales. Wulfgar does not give any intimation of recognising the name, when he advises Hrothgar to receive the strangers. He restricts himself to saying something about the impression Beowulf had made upon him :

huru se aldor deah,
se þæm heaðorincum hider wisaðe.

369-370

strong indeed is the leader who guided the warriors here.

Thus the poet has gradually prepared his listeners to accept Beowulf as a fitting opponent of a monster which had killed thirty thanes in their beds (122 f.).

The fourth and final stage, the full recognition and final acceptance of the hero, is reached in the speech by Hrothgar :

I knew him when he was a young boy; his father was called Ecgtheow, to whom Hreðel of the Geats gave his only daughter in marriage; his brave son has now come here, he has sought a friend who is well disposed towards him. Seamen, who took gifts of thanks to the Geats, have reported that he had the powerful strength of thirty men in the grip of his hand, that he was famous in battle. (372-381)

By saying that he knew Beowulf as a young boy king Hrothgar establishes his position, not only at Heorot but also at the Anglo-Saxon court, where

¹⁹ Panzer, l. c., p. 393.

the poem was recited. Who can doubt the hero's authenticity, when the king himself professes to know him? The detailed information about his father adds objectivity and verisimilitude to the story of Beowulf's strength, which is equal to that of thirty men. The warm welcome given to Beowulf and the polite speeches exchanged between him and Hrothgar are no doubt in conformity with the customs at an English court. Still the Bear's Son character remains visible in the Breca episode and in the place apportioned to Beowulf: The queen goes round among the *duguð* and the *geogoð*, until at last she reaches Beowulf (620 ff.). The strong man always sits in a humble place somewhere at the back, when he makes his first appearance at court. In the poem he sits next to Hrothgar's young sons, who to all appearance have not yet attained a seat among the *duguð*, in contrast to their cousin Hrothulf. Later on, in line 939, Hrothgar applies the term *scealc* to Beowulf. In all Germanic languages the meaning is 'servant', sometimes developing, as in Icelandic and Dutch, to 'rogue'; only much later in the combination 'marshall' do we find the development from 'groom' to a title of honour. *Beowulf* editors give it the meaning 'man, warrior', but I cannot see a good reason for doing so. In 918 ff. the poet wants to say that all the inhabitants of Heorot ran out to have a look at the hand of Grendel, the servants as well as the king and his retainers. *Swiðhicgende* is translated by 'strong-minded, valiant', but it probably means 'rejoicing', for which compare the Dutch 'zich verheugen', i.e., 'to rejoice'; as such, it is parallel to *fægere* in 1016. The root in 'verheugen' and in *hycgende* is the same. Its third occurrence, *beor-scealc* (1240), had also better be translated by 'beer-server', as given by Bosworth-Toller I, for the preceding sentence has: 'They cleared the bench-floors; beds and bolsters were spread upon them'. Such work is more likely to have been done by *þeowas* than by high-ranking *þegnas*. The adjective *fæge*, 'fated', applied to the beer-server, hints at the coming of another monster. Though the poet says that in this new attack only one man, Æschere, is killed, the death of a slave can easily be ignored, when Hrothgar mourns his dearest counsellor.

It remains to analyse Beowulf's position at the Geatish court in Sweden. The relations between Hygelac and Beowulf, as described by the poet, resemble those of two cousins rather than of uncle and nephew, which points to a similarity of age. But where was Beowulf then, when his uncle fought against the Swedes and revenged the death of his brother Hæthcyn? Hygelac's father, Hreðel, had adopted him and brought him up together with his sons (2428 ff.), so he cannot be said not to have known about the campaign. Girvan²⁰ explains his absence by saying that he was a retarded boy (cf. 2183 ff.), but a slow and tardy development is typical of the folk-tale hero, it is what is sometimes called the 'male Cinderella type'.

²⁰ I. c., p. 72.

When Hygelac falls in the Nijmegen expedition, Beowulf is with him, but the details are unreal. He kills Dæghrefn, the standard bearer of the Franks, in a Bear's Son manner: 'The sword did not kill him, but my battlegrip put an end to the surgings of his heart, broke the bones in his body — *banhus gebræc*.' This is not mere exaggeration, as in the other detail, which tells that he swims back to Sweden with thirty corslets in his arms, it is characteristic of the 'bee-wolf'.

Again, when Heardred is attacked and killed in his own country (2384 ff.), Beowulf is conspicuous only by his inactivity, although it was his special duty to protect his young cousin. The poet contents himself with saying that Ongentheow's son suffered him to occupy the throne and rule the Geats. Much later, *uferan dogrum*, he assisted Eadgils in returning to Sweden and killing Onela. As Deutschbein²¹ pointed out, it is strange that the Geats should be afraid of the Swedes after helping Eadgils to mount the throne. Why should Eadgils attack them? According to other Scandinavian traditions Eadgils was assisted by Rólf, i.e., Hrothulf, which would mean that Beowulf is out of the picture.

The description of Beowulf's succession to the throne is also typical of the fairy-tale manner: 'In turn it happened in later days, through the crash of battle, after Hygelac had fallen, and battle swords had caused the death of Heardred in spite of the covering shields, when fierce warriors, the warlike Scilfings, had assailed him among his victorious people, had attacked in their spite the nephew of Hereric, — then the spacious kingdom came into the hands of Beowulf' (2200 ff.). It is the folk-tale atmosphere, where everything is possible: the hero returns to his own country and is made king. The poet introduces the final statement by a short, vivid description of clashing armies, but the parallel can hardly be accidental.

What strikes one as the most incredible incident in Beowulf's career, is his refusal to accept the throne after the fall of Hygelac. It was offered him by Hygd, because her son Heardred was too young to defend the country against the threat of invasion by foreign tribes (2369 ff.). Hygd's offer must have been made with the approval of the Geatish *witan* and it is unbelievable that Beowulf should have shirked his political duties, when the country was in danger, for his protection of Heardred would still have left the Geats without the leadership they needed at that particular moment. It seems to me that here we have the central theme of *Beowulf*, for if there is one idea that the poet is continually harping upon, it is that of loyalty and friendship among kinsmen and retainers. Disloyalty leads to civil war in Denmark and Sweden, to civil war and ultimate disaster in Northumbria. *Beowulf* is not meant for the education of a young prince but it is to impart wisdom and moderation to young and old pretenders; its virtuous hero is contrasted with ominous figures like Heremod and Hrothulf. When closely studied, the verbal artistry of

²¹ l. c., 294 f.

Beowulf is amazing, and what person was more likely to be listened to, in every sense of the word, than a highly respected court-poet? At the same time its moralising purpose explains the un-Englishness of the Old English epic, as it was impossible to find an English hero, or indeed any historic hero, whose life exemplified what the poet wanted to state.

Nijmegen.

G. STORMS.

Some Notes on Early Anglo-Saxon Handwriting

It is, I think, justifiable to say that Latin palaeography, in so far as it concerns the history of early medieval scripts, has always been a remarkably conservative science. The chronological and evolutionary scheme that underlies accepted notions of the development of late Roman handwriting strikes one, at all events, as a product of long-standing tradition rather than of methodical research. Established in the seventeenth century by the French Benedictine scholars, and elaborated in the later nineteenth century chiefly by French, Italian, and German experts,¹ the usual classification of Latin scripts with the accompanying, often quaint terminology,² has only of late years been subjected to some measure of critical scrutiny with respect to fundamentals as distinct from details.³ To account for this conservatism, one might perhaps point to special circumstances that have affected, and to some extent hampered the investigation. Thus the number of experts has necessarily remained small, being limited mainly to those who through their constant access to important manuscript collections are enabled to gain wide experience of early handwriting; at the same time palaeography has commonly been relegated to the unmerited position of a discipline, or rather a technique, ancillary to the study of the classics and of history, whilst specialists in 'modern philology' have tended to neglect its important testimony. It may be said also that really satisfactory and comparatively cheap processes of reproduction have only recently been perfected, so that comprehensive research has only now become possible.

¹ Convenient summaries of the history of palaeography may be found in H. Foerster's *Abriss der lateinischen Paläographie* (1949), and in N. Denholm-Young's *Handwriting in England and Wales* (1954).

² Thus the continued use of such terms as 'Visigothic' for 'Spanish', which perpetuates an ancient belief that Bishop Wulfila of the Goths invented the *littera toletana*; 'Gothic' for 'later medieval', in the originally derogatory sense of the word as it was used by the humanists; and 'Merovingian' for types of hands best exemplified by early Carolingian documents.

³ An unorthodox and highly stimulating account of the history of scripts, of which one can only deplore the brevity, is given by Charles Higounet (*L'Écriture*, 1955).

However this may be, it is a fact that the handbooks most commonly consulted are relatively old and in varying measure obsolete, while even various recent general introductions tend to re-state older views somewhat uncritically.⁴ The only attempt, to my knowledge, at a historical description of Anglo-Saxon writing is that by W. Keller, *Angelsächsische Palaeographie*, of 1906, a booklet of some fifty pages with a set of thirteen facsimiles. It is not surprising that this pioneer effort should be considered inadequate by present-day students.

In the following brief notes, I propose to leave aside wider issues as to the relationship between Roman scripts in general, and to restrict myself to some few points concerning the origin and early development of Anglo-Saxon handwriting.

Prevalent opinion on the introduction of Latin handwriting into the British Isles may still be summarized in Sir Edward Maunde-Thompson's words:⁵ 'While on the continent the Roman Cursive hand formed the basis of the national forms of writing, in Ireland and in England the basis was the Roman Half-uncial.' Similarly, the *a priori* assumption that the pointed insular minuscule 'is nothing more than a modification of the round-hand'⁶ (i.e. the insular half-uncial) remains generally accepted. These basic ideas, for all their categorical simplicity — in itself, one might suggest, rendering them somewhat questionable —, have seldom been called into question by modern writers on the subject. Before any attempt can be made to test the validity of these fundamental views, however, the underlying conception, that of a clear-cut distinction between 'half-uncial' and 'cursive', has to be examined.

Such a distinction cannot in fact be made.⁷ Of the cursive, Maunde Thompson himself states that 'the letters are nothing more than the old Roman letters written with speed' (*op. cit.* p. 204), its later development

⁴ Thus Foerster's manual (above, n. 1), a compilation unfortunately wholly without illustrations, but useful for its copious bibliographical notes. — N. Denholm-Young, very obviously an expert in later courthand, gives no very clear account of pre-Conquest writing, and makes an inevitably hazardous attempt to classify scripts in the form of a genealogical table, which suggests, for instance, that post-Conquest courthands derive directly from the pointed insular minuscule. The error is corrected in the text, it is true; on p. 32 the author repeats the more orthodox and more acceptable view that 'court-hands developed in England from the Caroline minuscule'. Nevertheless, on p. 36, the reader is confronted with the truly amazing generalization that 'there is a continuous tradition from the Anglo-Saxon script of Cædmon' (possibly referring to MS Junius 11?) 'to the types adopted by fifteenth-century printers' (i.e. the *bastarda*). Most remarkably, on p. 32, n. 3 of this work we are informed that *ø* as a symbol for *oe* and *eo* is found in 'Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon script', a statement repeated from Wattenbach's *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie* (1886), ultimately deriving from *Miscellanea Graphica; Antiquities in the Possession of Lord Londesborough*, of 1857, a work I have been unable to obtain.

⁵ *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*, 3rd ed., 1906, p. 236.

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 241.

⁷ Even to differentiate clearly between 'uncial' and 'half-uncial' is in practice impossible. Intermediate types have inevitably to be recognized, sometimes designated as 'archaic half-uncial'.

being ascribed to 'the variations arising out of the system of connecting the letters together *currente calamo*' (p. 214). Consulting other authorities, we are faced with a bewildering variety of terms and definitions. What is called 'vorkarolingische Minuskel' by Wattenbach (*op. cit.* p. 27) — a term coined as an improvement upon 'half-uncial' —, in its insular form, hardly differing from the Continental, becomes E. A. Lowe's 'insular majuscule' or 'Anglo-Saxon majuscule'.⁸ The *reductio ad absurdum* of an unmanageable terminology was achieved by P. Lehmann, who distinguishes between a 'Minuskelskursive' and a 'Kursivminuskel'. Maunde Thompson assigns numerous manuscripts to a category which he terms 'mixed uncial and minuscule' (p. 196 ff.), speaks of 'various phases between the uncial and minuscule (or formal cursive) styles' (p. 200), and of 'book-hands elaborated ... from the cursive, with a certain admixture of uncial and half-uncial forms' (p. 217). It seems obvious that all attempts at too minute a classification result only in confusion. To subdivide on the basis of usage, and to equate the 'set' or (half-)uncial scripts with 'book-hand' and the cursives with 'business hand' is likewise unsatisfactory, as is pointed out by Higounet (*op. cit.* p. 79); Maunde Thompson, who adheres to such a distinction, comments on 'the survival of comparatively so many literary remains in this [the cursive] style of writing' (p. 215), and also remarks that 'the cursive hand, ... particularly when a book was being produced, not for the general market, but for private or limited circulation, would invade the literary domain of pure majuscule writing ...' (p. 196).

An entirely new terminology, which appears far more suitable than any of the earlier involved systems, is proposed by Higounet, following M. J. Mallon.⁹ It seems incontestable, at all events, that 'la cursivité est une qualité graphique que peuvent posséder des catégories bien distinctes d'écritures'. The only distinctions made by these French experts are twofold. For the first century A.D. two types are postulated: 'l'écriture commune classique', used for all purposes, and comprising a variety of small, more or less cursive scripts, as opposed to 'la capitale', which is calligraphic. Both are held to derive from an earlier, unknown 'écriture originelle'. In the course of the second and third centuries A.D., two new types are held to have emerged, 'la nouvelle écriture commune' and 'l'onciale', the latter again a 'graphie de luxe'. Both 'capital' and 'uncial', in this sense, are relatively unimportant elements in the history of Latin handwriting, as compared with the 'écritures vulgaires'.

Leaving aside difficult problems connected with the fragmentary evidence afforded by early and later Roman documents, I would suggest that in any case the above hypothesis provides a most convenient basis for the classification of the pre-Carolingian scripts usually designated as 'national hands'. Probably Higounet goes too far in altogether denying

⁸ *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, pt. II (Great Britain and Ireland), 1935, *passim*.

⁹ M. J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, 1952; Higounet, *op. cit.* p. 78 ff.

the existence of regional scripts in the early Middle Ages; what is interesting to the student of Anglo-Saxon palaeography, however, is that the insular minuscule would now seem to emerge as merely one variety of the 'nouvelle écriture', of the same origin as the continental 'national hands', and not, as is commonly opined, as an exceptional modification of the formal half-uncial.

It will, of course, be necessary to test such a new theory by a detailed comparison between insular and continental minuscule manuscripts on the one hand, and between formal and current insular scripts on the other. Within the scope of this article, such minute analysis cannot, of course, be attempted; one or two representative examples may however be indicated.

Typical instances of the 'nouvelle écriture romaine' are to be found amongst the highly important collection of Ravenna charters of the fifth and sixth centuries.¹⁰ The accompanying illustration (fig. I) represents a fragment from one of these documents, attributed to the seventh century.¹¹ Superficially, there is little resemblance between this straggling script and the insular minuscule; nevertheless, upon close examination, clear parallels may be found. Thus for instance the frequent appearance of ligatures, particularly of *e* with a following letter (*er*, *en* in the first line of our example; *et*, *es* in the second); this constitutes an important feature of insular script also, and is obviously cursive, not half-uncial in origin. Its appearance in 'Hiberno-Saxon' calligraphy (as in the Lindisfarne Gospels) as well as in the pointed minuscule might be accounted due to the interaction between formal and current script; the 'standard' continental half-uncial of the sixth and seventh centuries does not show this linking of *e* to any marked extent. Another common ligature is that of *i* with a preceding letter (thus *ti*, *li*, *ri* in line 1; *ci* in line 3), often found in early Mercian hands (see below, p. 17). Some individual letter-forms also call for comment, such as open *a* (in *actoribus*, *quam*, etc.); *g* (*rogitis*, *gestis*), virtually identical with insular *g*; its 'swung' cross-bar may be compared with the same characteristic in ninth-century Mercian charters¹²; *r*, descending below the line, as in the insular; etc. Very similar traits are shown by early specimens of the 'national' hands, whether 'Lombardic', 'Visigothic', or 'Merovingian'.¹³ Perhaps the most striking amongst these in its resemblance to insular writing is the script of a Milan manuscript¹⁴ of the seventh century containing the homilies of St. Maximus, originating from Bobbio (fig. II). All the features referred to above reappear here, whilst the script even has a 'pointed' look about it.

¹⁰ cf. Maunde Thompson, p. 213 ff.

¹¹ *Palaeographical Society Facsimiles*, 2nd Series (1884-94), pl. 51. The document, on papyrus, is a grant to the church of Ravenna.

¹² cf. K. Sisam, *Review of English Studies* xxv (1956), 116 ff., with references.

¹³ cf. Maunde Thompson's specimens, p. 218 ff.

¹⁴ *Pal. Soc. Facss.*, 2nd Series, pl. 32. (Ambros, Lat. c 98 inf.).

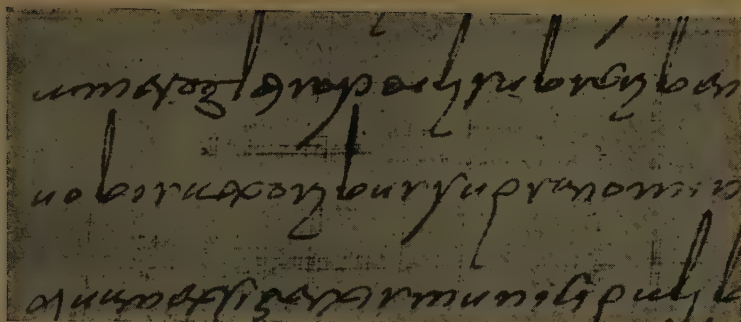


Fig. I. Ravenna Grant, seventh century. *Pal. Soc. II*, pl. 51.

- a me rogitis optuli subscriben(dam)
- uobis actoribus supranomin(atae)
- quam etsi gestis municipalib(us)

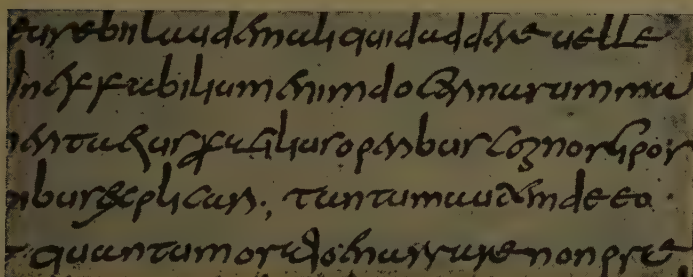


Fig. II. Homilies of Maximus, seventh century. *Pal. Soc. II*, pl. 32.

- eusebii laudem aliquid addere uelle
- ineffabilium enim doctrinarum ma(gister)
- (m)erita eius facilius operibus cognosci pos(sunt)
- (sermon)ibus explicari; tantum autem de eo
- (retinet) quantum oratio enarrare non prae(ualet)

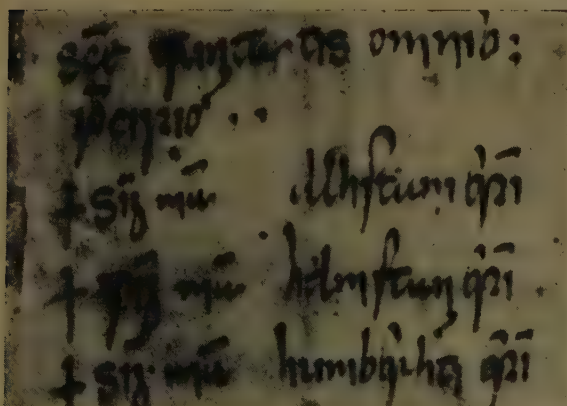


Fig. III. MS Cotton Augustus II, 20, mid-ninth century. *B. M. Facss. II* 26.

- sce trinitatis omnib;
- pcipio ..
- + sig mā alhstani epī
- + sig mā helmstani epī
- + sig mā humberhti epī

Various examples of early insular pointed writing are provided by W. M. Lindsay's *Early Irish Minuscule Script* (1910). Amongst these, the marginal hand in pl. IV (Bodl. Douce 140, Primasius, ascribed by L. Traube to the seventh century¹⁵) is of particular interest since it is unmistakably insular, but also cursive to a marked degree. Open a appears here, also various ligatures of the types described above. Another early insular example, similarly showing cursive traits, is the well-known letter from Waldhere, Bishop of London, to Berhtwald, Archbishop of Canterbury,¹⁶ ascribed by Sir Frank Stenton to 704 or 705 A.D.¹⁷ Again open a appears, as well as numerous ligatures. The fragment reproduced by W. Keller (*op. cit.* I, p. 18) shows linked *mi*, *tī*, and even *gi*, which is uncommon; also *er*, *em*, *et*; elsewhere the triple ligature *tio* is used (in *pactionis*, l. 10 of the text).

For the study of the early English minuscule, the ninth-century charters are of particular importance, which Keller seems not to have recognized, since he gives only one small specimen (Coenwulf 814, MS Cotton Augustus II. 74). A remarkable cursive hand is shown in our fig. III, from a document of the mid-ninth century;¹⁸ here the occurrence may be noted, amongst other characteristics, of ligatures such as *ni*, *st* (rare in early Anglo-Saxon script), *tī*; also the open a. Other charters of this period¹⁹ show many examples of cursive ligatures (*tis*, *tio*, etc.), of which the use was apparently discontinued after the age of Mercian supremacy.

It appears, then, on the basis of this admittedly insufficient material, that the evidence afforded by insular sources, if multiplied, might well support the theory advanced by the French palaeographers referred to above. It is of particular importance that, on the authority of W. Levison,²⁰ the formulas used in early Anglo-Saxon charters appear to be of Italian origin. The phrasing of the early Mercian charters in particular is reminiscent of that of the Ravenna documents and Papal privileges referred to by Levison; in spite of the latter's statement to the contrary (p. 226) there is an intrinsic probability that Italian influences extended to script as well as wording.

¹⁵ *Nomina Sacra*, 1907, p. 33. The hand may be English. I have here left aside the problem of Irish or English priority in the formation of insular script, although new researches into Continental palaeography might well lead to a reconsideration of current views.

¹⁶ MS Cotton Augustus II. 18; *British Museum Facss.* I, 5; Keller I. 18. A twelfth-century hand of Christ Church, Canterbury, has endorsed this, the first letter from one Englishman to another that is preserved, with the words: '*epistula inutilis*'! — The photograph I possess is unfortunately of poor quality, so that it cannot be reproduced here.

¹⁷ *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed., 1947, pp. 142f., 179.

¹⁸ MS Cotton Augustus II. 20, a copy of a grant by Egbert of Wessex to Ceolwulf, Archbishop of Canterbury, of 839. The copy is, according to Stenton, of shortly after 850 (*Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 1955, p. 41). *B.M. Facss.* II, 26; the text: Birch, *Cartularium Saxonum* 421.

¹⁹ e.g. Cotton Aug. II. 4, 10, 26, 27, 47, 61, 72, etc.

²⁰ *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, 1946, pp. 225, 232.

Palaeographical study of Anglo-Saxon records has of recent years centred upon the magnificent Hiberno-Saxon codices on the one hand, and upon the numerous manuscripts of the late Old English period on the other. Without belittling what has been achieved in these fields, I would suggest that the early minuscule charters and the numerous specimens of early insular hands appearing in sources preserved on the Continent might with great profit be investigated. Whether or not the theory of a common origin of insular and continental scripts can be maintained, it seems highly necessary that the largely preconceived schemes of development and the elaborate classifications devised by an earlier school of palaeography should be most critically reconsidered.

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The Middle English Dictionary

(Parts A, B1—4, E and F)

Since it may be quite a long time before the promised Supplement (see Preface to Part E 1. p. ii) will appear, the following observations may not be unwelcome.

It is possible that readers, being struck by the paucity of quotations from Barbour's *Bruce* (composed in 1375), will have ascribed this to the fact that this work does not contain lexicographical material that is not yet sufficiently documented from other sources. This, however, is not the case, for an examination of the text of *The Bruce* shows that it has not been adequately drawn upon. The consequence is that there are quite a few lacunae in the material presented in the parts of the Dictionary so far published. This is the more to be regretted because the number of Middle English writings in the dialect of Barbour's country is small enough as it is.

Thus the following words are not recorded :

Abaid n. = delay. II, 308,¹ 'Schyr Amer then, *but mar abaid*, .. Ischyt .. to the fycht'. Also IX, 600. **Mak abade** VI, 60, 'heir may *zhe mak abade*'.

[S.v. *abandoun* n.] **At abandoune** = recklessly XV, 59, 'And schot on thame *at abandoune*'. In **abandoun** = "in loose order" (Skeat) | XIX, 335, 'And bad thaim gang to bikkyr syne The scottis host *in abandoune*'.

Abando(u)nly = recklessly XIV, 433, 'And thame hungerit alsua weill sair. Tharfor thai come *abandonly*' | XI, 629, 'Saw how the Erl *abaundonly* Tuk the playn feld.'

Affer n. = pomp II, 182, 'bot off thar nobleis gret *affer*, Thar seruice, na thar realte, *ze* sall her na thing now for me'. Also XX, 87.

Affraitly = in a frightened way VI, 295, 'the kingis men .. full *affraitly* Com for to

¹ The quotations are taken from Skeat's edition in E.E.T.S. (1870-1889). The reference is by book and line.

seik thair lord the king'. | VI, 433, 'The laif fled full *affrayitly*'. (Not under *afrightly* in Dictionary).

Allye (with stress on *é*) = allies XVII, 318, '[Thay] War of his blude, and sib men ner; Or ellis thai ear his *allye*. Of sic confort men mycht thaim se'.

Als-tit = very quickly V, 80, 'And that we may haf don *als-tit*'.

Alswith = very soon VII, 553, 'The voman has he seyn *alswith*'. | = very quickly VIII, 151, 'The messinger, but mair abade, Till his mastir his vais raide, And his ansuer he tald *alswith*'.

Apane adv. = 'at a pinch' (Skeat) IX, 63, 'Folk for-uten Capitane, Bot thai the better be *a-pane*, Sall nocht be all so gud in deid, As thai ane lorde had thame to leid'. | IX, 88, 'Quhen thai the lord and his menze Seis fle, zit sall thai fle *a-payn*'.

Appurvait = provided IX, 'Swa that he mycht be *appurvait* To defend, gif he was assayit'.

Astrolog = astrologer IV, 706, 'it war gret mastry Till ony *astrolog* to say, This sall fall heir, and on this day'.

Ay-quhar = everywhere II, 91, 'Iames off dowglas, that *ay-quhar* All-ways befor the byschop schar'. Also IV, 702; XII, 22.

[S.v. *bak* 6] **Ta the bak** = to flee XII, 337, 'And thar gret vaward alsua Wes distrengeit *the bak till ta*'. | XVII, 121, 'Bot scottis men so weill thame bar, That thair fais ... haly *the bak can ta*'.

Barblyt = barbed VIII, 57, 'sum vith arrowes *barblyt* braid .. gret martirdome on thame maid'.

[S.v. *batail* (le n.)] **Battell-sted** = battle-field XV, 74, 'Als feill as in the *battell-sted*'.

Beiff = 'a cow fit for killing' (Skeat) XVIII, 278, 'Quhen the Erl.. That cow saw ... said he: This is the derrest *beiff* that I Saw euir zeit'.

[S.v. *biggen* v.] **Biggit land** = cultivated land XIV, 383, 'quhen thai come in *biggit land*, Wittale and mete yneuch thai fand'.

Blenknen v. = to shine VIII, 216, 'The sone .. *blenknyt* on the scheldis braid'. | XI, 190, 'Armys, that new burnyst wer, .. *blenknyt* with the sonnys beyme'.

[S.v. *ei* n. 3b] **Take e of** = to have regard for XII, 305, 'That nane of zow ... Haf *E* till *take of* thair Richess'.

Effer n. = appearance XI, 242, 'beheld thair contynyng, And saw thame of full fair *effer*'. | XVI, 27, 'he said, he wald blithly se His brothir and als all the effer Of that cuntre'. | = equipment, array XI, 196, 'suld I tell all thar *effer*, Thair countynans and thar maner, .. suld cummerryt be'. | = make, stature XX, 512, 'weill [he] couth ... his fais richt felonly Stonay, throu his gret cheuelry. The quhethir of litill *effer* was he'.

Eisfull adj. = full of ease V, 70, 'myne aurenture heir tak will I, Quhethir it be *eisfull* or angry'.

[S.v. *ese* n.] **Male ess; mail eiss** = disease, illness. (Fr. *mal-aise*) XX, 73, 'Ane *male ess* tuk hym so sare That he on na viss mycht be thar ... His *mail eiss* of Ane fundyng Begouth'.

Enforsaly adv. = forcibly V, 324, 'Than suld thai, full *enforsaly*, Richt in myddis the kirk assale'. | Also VII, 576.

[S.v. *endelong*] **Endlang furth** = "Straight onward continually" (Skeat) XVI, 548, 'And *endlang furth* held thai thar vay'.

Er(i)sche = Irish XVIII, 115 'The *erische* kyngis'.

Erischry = the Gaelic-speaking inhabitants of Ireland and Scotland XVIII, 443, 'All the *erischry* .. of Argyle and the Ilis alsua'.

[S.v. *failen* v. 5b] **Failen fete** = to lose one's footing III, 122, 'he lamsyt furth delyuerly, Swa that the tothir *failzeit fete*'.

[S.v. *fair* adj.] **Haill and feir** = safe and sound XVIII, 161, 'thai Com till cragfergus *hail and feir*', | VI, 315, 'thai thar lord fand *haill and feir*'.

[S.v. *fallen* v. 40] **Fall faire** = to happen well XVI, 668, 'To the bischop is *fallen faire*, That throu his pris and his bounte Has eschevit sa gret Iournee'.

Fall-brig — a drawbridge XVII, 418, 'Might ger cum till the vall so neir That thair *fall-brig* reik thar-till'.

[S.v. *far* adv. 6] *Fer by* = far past X, 630, 'And carpend held *fer by* thair vay'. | *fer out* = very much VI, 666, 'Noy thame *fer out* the mair I moucht'.

Fasteryn evyn, fastryn evyn = the eve of the fast, i.e. Shrove Tuesday X, 372, 'on the *fasteryn evyn* rycht, ... Till the castell thai tuk the vay'. | X, 440, 'As apon *fastryn evyn* is The custom'.

Fechting-sted = place of fighting, battle-ground XV, 378, 'Ewwond de Caleone wes ded Richt in that ilk *fechting-sted*'. Also XVI, 663.

[S.v. *feld* n. 6b] *Winnen feild* = to gain ground II, 374, 'thai *wan feild* ay mar & mar.

Fellely adv. = fiercely, cruelly V, 350, 'dicsone Drew out his suerd, and *fellely* Ruschit emang thame to and fra'. | XII, 84, 'Reboytit *fellely* thai war'.

Feys v. 3 pers. sing. = (he) gives a fee to, suborns V, 485, 'Heire the Inglis Knycht *feys* a tratur'.

Fiff-sum = five in all VI, 149, '*fiff sum* in the furd he slew'.

Firth n. = Frith (of Forth) XVI, 541, 'And toward scotland went in hy, And in the *firth* com hastily'. Also XVI, 547.

Flaggat n. = fagot XVII, 611, 'And dry treis that weill wald brin, ... And gret *flaggatis* tharof thai maid Gyrdit with Irne-bandis braid; Of thai *flaggatis* mycht mesurit be Till a gret Tunnys quantite. Thai *flaggatis* byrnand in a baill with thair Cren thought thai till avail'.

Flawmand = blazing, flaming XI, 192, 'Vith baneris richt freschly *flawmand*'. | XI, 466, 'stedis, All *flawmand* in-to thair wedis'.

Flechand = cajoling, flattering, smilingly deceitful (connected with *flen* v. 3) V, 619, 'Bot he, vith fals vordis *flechand*, Ves vith his sonnys ay cumand'.

Flynging = a kicking VIII, 323, 'The hors that woundyt war .. ruschit the folk in thair *Flynging*'.

[S.v. *folk* 1 a(b) or 3] *Small folk* = common people IX, 261, 'quen the *small folk* ... Saw thar lordis vith-draw thame swa, Thai turnit thar bak all'.

Forbeft = ? exhausted; ? forced to retreat XVII, 792, 'Fra the assalt with-drew thame all | Voundit, and wery, and *forbeft*. | With mate cher the assalt thai left'.

[S.v. *force* n. 10c] *Mast fors* = 'most especially, for the most part' (Skeat) (the opposite of 'no force') VIII, 10, 'He maid till him all obeysand; The men *mast fors* com till his pess Syne eftirward'.

Forfalt = subjected to confiscation XIII, 488, 'all his land Was sesit, and *forfalt* to the kyng'.

Forouth adv. = forward, before VI, 201, 'Bad his constabill .. *forouth* ga'. | IX, 582, 'thair fais, that *forouth* raid'. Also XI, 511, XIX, 544. | = before, previously XVI, 504, 'as 3e *forrouth* herd me tell'. | XIX, 394, 'novelreis that day thai saw, That *forrouth* in scotland had beyn nane'.

Forouth, forouch prep. = before I, 163, 'myn eldris *forouch* me Held It in freyast reawte.' | Also I, 356; I, 603; X, 602; III, 629.

Forrow adv. = formerly IV, 435, 'Tharfor thai left thame ilkane thair ... Quhar that the men war *forrow* slane'.

Forrow prep. = before V, 17, '(the king wes) to the se ... A litill *forrow* the evyn gane'.

Fra-thine = thence XIII, 671, 'thar wes *fra thine* send him worde That the riche Erl of herfurde ... wes thar'.

Frontly adv. = face to face XVI, 173, 'For thai, that hardy war and wicht, Ant *frontly* with thar fayis can ficht, Pressit thame formast for till be'.

Frusching n. = a breaking XII, 504, 'Sic a *frusching* of speris ..'.

Fundyng n. = "a benumbment with cold" (Skeat) XX, 75, 'His maill eiss of Ane *fundyng* Begouth; for, throu his cald lying ... Him fell that herd perplexity'.

The following meanings of words listed are not given (or scantily instanced).

Anerly adv. Only one instance. It occurs frequently in Barbour's *Bruce*, e.g. XII, 249,

'And thai for thair mycht *anerly* ... Mais thame to ficht'. | XVIII, 279, 'quhen the Erl of varane That cow saw *anerly* cum swa'. | Also II, 58; V, 281; VI, 132; VII, 59; X, 608; XII, 435. It also occurs in *How a Good Wiif Tauzt Hir Dougtir* (in Skeat's ed. of *The Bruce*) 71, 'Kepe thame ... fra all dedis dishonerabill, Nocht fra the deid all *anerly*'. 171, 'Hant nocht with men our (= over) *anerly*'.

Atour n. Not mentioned: = gear, used as a warlike preparation for an assault XVII, 717, '[Thay] pressit with that gret *atour* Toward the wall'.

Engreven v. The intransitive, non-reflexive, use of this verb is not instanced: XI, 502, 'Thame thought that na myscheif mycht be So gret [with-thi] thai mycht hym se Befor thame, that suld swa *engreiff* That na hys vorship suld thame releif'. | XX, 199, "'For it", he said, "mycht nocht releif, And mycht gretly *engreif*".'

Enkerli adv. The only meaning instanced in the Dictionary is 'eagerly, boldly'. In the following quotation from *The Bruce* the sense is 'extremely': I, 425, 'The king then wrethyt him *encrely*'.

Erden v. Sub 4 the Dictionary says: "?To bury (a corpse); ?poet. to take (someone) back to his country". The query before "To bury" had better be dropped, *teste*: XIII, 665, 'the laiff syne that ded war thar In-to gret pittes *erdit* war'. | XV, 239, 'He stude thar by quhill he wes ded, And syne had him till haly sted, And him with Worschip gert he be *Erdit*, with gret solempnite'. | Also XX, 574, 586.

Erding n. The meaning 'burial' not given: IV, 254, 'The king sall fall in the fichting, And sall fale honor of *Erding*'. | XIX, 86, 'He broucht him [the dead king] menskfully till *erding*'.

Frush n. Not mentioned: the meaning "a sudden breaking of the ranks" (Skeat): XIII, 290, 'That he and all his cumpany ... In-til a *frusche* all tuk the flycht'.

Fore-speken. The following meanings of *forspoken* are missing: (a) = agreed upon: XII, 55, 'Quhen men thir thyngis *forspokin* had, And with selys and athis maid Fesnyng of frendschip and of pess...' | (b) = promised: XX, 288, 'the worthy lord dowglass His hert, as it *forspoken* was, Hass resaut in gret dantee'.

Bargain n. 5. Of the meaning 'contention' the Dictionary has only one example. There are numerous instances in Barbour: XIV, 33, 'In vaveryng fyrth arivit thai Saufly, but (= without) *bargane* or assay'. | XV, 488, 'Betuix thame gret *bargane* wes'. | Also II, 385; IV, 96; V, 236; VI, 432; VII, 221; IX, 542.

Bargainen v. The meaning 'to combat' is not recorded: VIII, 183, 'Thar thoct he battale to beid, And *bargane* thaim; for he na drede Had at thai suld on syde assale'. | IX, 222, 'And bad his men all mak thame *zare* ... for he wald fare To *Bargane* with his Enmyss'.

Fleting. Not mentioned: the meaning "Floating, hence, progress over the sea" (Skeat) III, 586, 'Wes nane that euir disport mycht have Fra steryng, and fra rowyng, To furthyr thaim off thar *fleting*'.

Forouten. The meaning 'besides' is not given: XI, 109, 'fifty thousand of archerys He had, *forouten* the hobleris". | XI, 236, 'of fechtand men thai ware Thretty thousand, and sum deill mare, *Foroutyn* cariage ande pouerale, That zemyt harness and wittale'.

The following spelling variants from *The Bruce* are not listed :

(The forms between square brackets are the entry forms in the Dictionary).

[**Abad** pr. of *abiden*] *abaid* III, 14; XIII, 444

[**Abad** n.] *abaid* II, 308; IX, 600; X, 222, etc.

[**Abaishing**] *abasing* IX, 68; *abasyng* XVI, 566; *abaysyng* II, 250; *abaysing* XIV, 62

[**Above** adv.] *abovin* XVII, 367; *abuf* XII, 172

[**Aqueintance**] *acquyntans* XVIII, 121

[**Affere** = behaviour] *effere* (e I, 361, VII, 126; VII, 382; X, 305

[**Afright** ppl.] *affrait*, *affrayit* I, 291; IX, 613

[**Al-welding**] *all-veldand* V, 577; VI, 314

[**Appareil**] *aparale* XVII, 241

[**Arghnesse**] *eryness* II, 295

[**Ariven**] *ariffe* IV, 559

[**Ariving**] *ariwyng* V, 122; XIV, 86

- [Arwes pl.] *arravis* VI, 121
 [Assemblen] *assemmyll* XII, 267; XIII, 64; XVI, 90; XVII, 341; XVIII, 101; *assem-bill* II, 294; III, 26; XV, 421
 [Assoilien] *assolze* XX, 295
 [Assurance] *assouerans* XI, 309
 [Averti] *awerty* II, 213; II, 469; *awerte* X, 37
 [Baillif] *bailzhey* I, 190
 [Baronie] *barne* II, 50
 [Bataill-ed] *batayllyt* II, 221; *battalit* IV, 134
 [Baumen] *bawlmén* XX, 286
 [Berfrei] *berfroiss* X, 708
 [Bihove-s] *bihufis* VI, 285; XIX, 156
 [Bihove-d] *bihufit* VI, 114; IX, 725
 [Bikeren] *bikkyr* XVI, 102; XIX, 334; *bykkir* IX, 152; IX, 154; X, 811; XVI, 104
 [Bisili] *besaly* IX, 149; X, 499; XVII, 332; *besely* VIII, 512
 [Bitreien] *betreyen* IV, 23; V, 539
 [Bitwixte] *betuix* III, 109; VI, 211
 [Egrel] *egirly* VI, 421; XIII, 27; *egyrly* VI, 642; XVI, 451; XVII, 725
 [Eie-n pl.] *eyne* III, 526; *eyn* I, 547
 [Embandounen] *enbandown* I, 244
 [Embusement] *enbuschement* VI, 209; VIII, 45; X, 163
 [Endelong] *endlang* XIX, 356
 [Enemi] *enmy* VI, 372; VIII, 80
 [Enkerli] *enkrely* I, 92; *encrely* I, 301
 [Engreven] *engreif* XX, 200; *engreiff* XI, 504
 [Ensigne] *assenzhe* II, 378; *ensenzhe* V, 323; XIII, 159; *enssenze* II, 426; *ensenze* III, 27
 [Entermes] *entremass* XVI, 457
 [Envie] *enwy* I, 47
 [Envirounen] *enveron* II, 585; XI, 567
 [Er prep.] *eir* IX, 442; XIII, 219; XVII, 732
 [Escapen] *eschaip* III, 618
 [Essoinen] *assonze* II, 125
 [Et pr. of eten] *eyte* II, 495
 [Ethe adj.] *eyth* XVII, 454
 [Eve(n n.)] *ewyn* I, 106; XIX, 719; *ewin* XVII, 63
 [Ever] *ewyr* III, 160
 [Fable] *fabill* I, 2
 [Failen] *failze* II, 393; I, 582; I, 371; III, 297; *failze* I, 231
 [Falling (noun)] *falding* XIII, 632: 'Lo! quhat falding in fortune is.'
 [Fallen past pt.] *faldyn* XI, 547, 'ane rose of his chaplet wes faldyn'.
 [Falshe] *falsat* XV, 122; *falsade* X, 286
 [Farwen] *ferry* XVII, 701
 [Fastnen] *festnen* X, 402; XIII, 237; XVII, 716
 [Fastninge] *fesnyng* XX, 57
 [Faute] *falt* VI, 345; IX, 318
 [Wel farand] (s.v. 'faren' 15a) *weill farrand* XI, 95
 [Feble] *febill* XVI, 355
 [Feblishen] *febliss* XIV, 349; XVIII, 256, 257
 [Fecchen] *feche* III, 428
 [Feinen] *fenghe* I, 344; *fenze* III, 300
 [Feining] *feynzeyng* I, 341; *fenzeyng* I, 74
 [Feintise] *fayntice* III, 289
 [Feden] *feyd* VI, 489
 [Fellau] *follow* V, 581; *fallow* VI, 608; VII, 137; XIII, 580; XVII, 40
 [Fele num.] *feill* IV, 273, 659, 684; V, 178; VI, 46; *feyll* VIII, 117
 [Felen] *feill* XI, 655; XII, 588; *feyle* I, 304
 [Felonie] *felouny* I, 440
 [Feloun] *felloun* V, 102; VIII, 454; *felloun* IV, 234; XV, 70; XVI, 457; *fellone* I, 194
 [Felounli] *fellounly* I, 315
 [Fermeli] *fremly* XX, 178
 [Fet pl of fot] *feyt* II, 359
 [Feteren] *fetter* X, 763
 [Feuel] *fuwaill* IV, 64, 170; *fewale* XI, 120
 [Feute] *fewte* I, 427; II, 459 etc.
 [Fewer comp. of feue] *fewar* IX, 516; XVII, 550
 [Fisher] *fischer* XIX, 648
 [Five] *tiff* XVII, 198; *fiffe* V, 381; *fyffe* VIII, 181
 [Fif-tene] *fyften* II, 17
 [Fighten] *fecht* VI, 155, 287; VIII, 197
 [Fighter] *fechtar* XI, 106
 [Fighting] *fechting* IV, 282; IX, 237; *fechtyn* III, 241
 [Fixed p. ptl. of fixen] *fyschit* XX, 178: 'And my hert fyschit fermly wass'.
 [Flashe = a pool] *fluss* XIII, 20
 [Fleer = a fugitive] *fleier* III, 81
 [Pres. part of Flen] *fleand* VI, 414; VII, 331; IX, 278; XVIII, 78
 [Fleing n. (2)] *fleying* XIX, 459
 [Pret. of Flie] *flaw* III, 115; X, 636; XVII, 624
 [Flight] *flicht* XV, 501; *flycht* II, 267
 [Flor = floor] *flure* V, 400
 [Fode = young man] *fute* III, 578
 [Foinen] *fwnze* VIII, 307
 [Fol n.] *fule* I, 582; IV, 222; XI, 21
 [Foisoun n.] *foysoun* XVII, 308; XVII, 417; *fusioun* IX, 439; XIII, 71; XIV, 228; XV, 93; XVI, 167; XVII, 175

[Foled past ptl. of *folen*] *fulit* IV, 222
 [Fol-hardiment] *fulle-hardyment* VI, 227; 340
 [Folwen] *fallow* VII, 141; XII, 190; XVI, 322
 [Fonden] *faýnd* I, 42; VI, 618; XII, 148
 [Fonding] *faýnding* III, 289
 [Forbeden] *forbeid* XII, 255: 'As god for-beid.'
 [Fore-sight] *forsicht* XX, 314; *forsyght* I, 460
 [Forfaren] *forfaýr* I, 478
 [Pret. of *forfaren*] *forfure* X, 529
 [For-gein(es)] *forpane* (= opposite to) XVI, 555
 [Past part. of *Foryeten*] *forzet* I, 16
 [Forraien] *forra* XIX, 643
 [Forreour] *forrayour* III, 75
 [Forci adv.] *forsy* XI, 215; 'gud men ... Hardy and forsy'; XV, 420: '(the lorde dowglass ..) how forsy he wes in fycht'. The Dictionary has one quotation with *forsye*, but this is put between square brackets.

[Further-more] *forthirmar* VII, 8; X, 297; XII, 113
 [Forteresse] *fortrass* X, 155
 [Forthwardes] *furthwardes* IV, 488
 [Fortravailled] *fortravalit* III, 326; VII, 176
 [Fortune] *fortoun* III, 271
 [Forwondred] *forvounderit* VI, 939
 [Fot] *fufe* I, 103; III, 118; VI, 591; X, 547
 [Fot-hot] *fut hat* XIII, 454; *fut-hate* III, 418
 [Fot-brede] *fut-breid* XI, 365
 [Fother n.] *fudyr* X, 198
 [Foul adj.] *foull* V, 404; IX, 272
 [Foule adv.] *fowly* VII, 615; IX, 91; XV, 350; *fowlely* IX, 275
 [Founden ppl. of 'finden'] *fundyn* I, 322
 [Frekli adv.] *frakly* VII, 166
 [Fre-est superl.] *freyast* I, 164
 [Frend] *freynd* IV, 11
 [Friendsom] *freyndsom* I, 88
 [Freshli] *freschly* XI, 192; XIII, 126
 [Fruit] *froyt* X, 191
 [Frush n.] *frusche* XIV, 212; XII, 545; XVI, 160; etc.
 [Fulli] *fullyly* II, 423

Missing cross-references to words still to appear in the forthcoming parts are:

Ath n. → *othe* IX, 540; *ar, ayr* n. → *or(e)* = an oar III, 576, 581; IV, 630; *eneuch, enew* → *inough* IV, 373; X, 780; XIII, 404; *entyr* v. → *interren* (= to bury) I, 623, 630; XIX, 224, 286; *bedeyn* adv. → *bidene* XI, 265; XII, 570; *benethe*, → *binethen* X, 637; XI, 286; *beteche* v. → *bitechen* I, 610; XV, 538; etc.

Apart from the non-listed words occurring in Barbour's *Bruce*, the following from other sources are not listed either.

Agagement n. = agreement. 14.. in Robbins, *Secular Lyrics XIV & XV Cent.* No. 116, 22, 'ffor he & þu are at assent Al day ȝyuen *agagement* to ȝyuen us strokes grete'.

Ale-schoth n. = scotale (festival with levies for ale). 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 29, 25, 'Iacke wol pay for my scoth, a sonday atte þe *ale-schoth*'.

Alure v. = ? This word occurs in the Northern Prose Version of the Rule of St. Benet (ed. Kock, EETS) 35, 12, 'Ilkain, when þai ga and when þai cume, sal *alure* to-gidir ouþir wid þe heuidis ouþir wid al þe bodi, ... When þai ere rechaiuid and auid, babesse sal sitte wid þaim'. This *allure* is clearly not the verb *alluren* in the Dictionary. (= to entice, attract). Kock (Notes p. 152) remarks: "Murray [sc. OED], under the verb *allure*, quotes: *God's love allure* (1616), *alluring the mercy of God* (1622). Thus, certainly, it does not seem altogether impossible that the idea of worship, expressed by *anure* (Lat. honorare) and *aure* (Lat. adorare) was, at an early period, associated with the verb *alure*. But the expression *ouþir wid þe heuidis ouþir wid al þe bodi* would go better with an *alute*, "bow down in deference or worship"; the Lat. has *inclinata capite vel prostrato toto corpore in terram*; and, as is well known, the letter *t* and *r* were easily confused. A third possibility is the assumption of a simple blunder for *anure* or *aure*." A reference to Kock's comment would have been welcome.

Arkses n. = water-newts. c1330 Sunday Homilies in Verse, B. (Morris/Skeat, Specimens II) 95, 'snakes and nederes, thar be found, And gret blac tades ... And *arkses* and other wormes felle'.

Arvyst-gos n. = goose eaten at feast at end of harvest 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 42, 5, 'A yong wyf and an *arvyst-gos* Moche gagil'.

Astrapotent n. = God. 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 121, 1, 'The high *Astrapotent*, auctor of all ... He graunt yow and yowres his precious pease'.

Auremgates = ? 14.. in Robbins, o.c. No. 121, 4, 'The high *Astropotent*, ... Whiche from his paleys ... The puissant prince, breker of *Auremgates*, His owne sone sent'.

Awaiten = to behold. c1394 Peres the Pl's Crede 172 (Skeat, Spec.), 'panne y munte me forþ þe mynstre to knowen, And a-waytede a woon wonderlie well y-beld'.

Bakluking = looking behind. 1430 How the Good Wiff Tauȝt Hir Douȝtir (in Skeat's edition of Barbour's Bruce) 208, 'In the kirk kepe ... fra smyrking, keking, and *bakluking*'.

Baner = ?acme. c1325 Ichot a Burde in Boure (in Dickens/Wilson, Early ME Texts) XXXVIII, 45, 'Heo is coral of godnesse, Heo is rubie of ryhtfulnesse, Heo is cristal of clannesse, And *baner* of bealte'. (Cf. *baneour* in Dictionary).

Bay adj. = ?stout. c1390, Gawain & Green Kn. 966, 'Hir body [sc. of a 'mensch lady'] watz schort and þik, Hir buttokeȝ *bay* and brode'. The meaning 'bay-coloured' is of course impossible here. Tolkien/Gordon (in their ed. of Gawain) alter the word to *balȝ*, assuming (Notes p. 98) that the copyist misread *lȝ* as *y* in this instance. A cross reference in the Dictionary to *balȝ* would have been helpful.

Bille of amowris = love letter, billet-doux. 1430 How Gd Wiff etc. (in Skeat's Bruce) 111, 'kepe thame fra giftis to gif or craff, Or *billis* of *Amowris* till resaff'. (Cf. s.v. *bille* n. 6a).

Blasteren = to rage. 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 212, 17, 'Als terne as tygir ... o thow violent virago ... *blasterand*, bald brym, and abhominable'.

(S.v. *brede*) **Pax brede** = tablet kissed during Mass. 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 27, 16, 'Tankyn at þe agnus beryt þe *pax brede*'.

Encres n. = interest (money). c1450 Jacob's Well 122, 27, 'gouyll is whenne þou lenyst, & of couenant takyst encres for þi lenyng'. Cf. s.v. *encres* 1c).

Enþer adj. = latter. (*þis enþer dai* = a day or two ago). 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 24, 1, '*þis enþer day* I mete a clerke'; idem No. 200, 1, 'As I my-selfe lay thys *enderȝ* nyght, all alone with-owten any fere'.

Ersche = Irish. c1460 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace (in Skeat, Spec.) Bk. I, 217, 'Ane Ersche mantill'.

Facund adj. = eloquent. c1477 The Makculloch MS; Prol. to Esop's Fables (in: G. G. Smith, Specimens of Middle Scots) 3, 22, 'This nobil clerk esop ... In gay meteyr & in *facund* purputat be figowr wryt his buk'.

Fallacioune n. = falsehood. 14.. A Dietary (in Skeat's edition of *The Bruce*) 28, 'Of false rownaris and of *fallacioune* Within thi court suffer no diuisioun'.

Falleth = ought. c1390 N. Hom. Narrat. (in Horstmann, Proprium sanctorum, Archiv 81) 309/94, 'Heo is so vnsemely ... þat heo *falleþ* not to come Bifore Men: heo is so fulsome'. (The quotations in the Dictionary s.v. *fallen* v. 38 only illustrate the 'impersonal' use of this verb: 'It falleth to ...', 'him falleth' etc).

Fassit ppl. = pledged. 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 132, 24, 'And for þat caus hes in þis world bene brocht To be hir seruand *fassit* ay'.

Feld = ?lay down, crouched. a1352 Minot, War Ballads (ed. Stedman) IV, 'He and þe king als of Nauerne Ware faire *feld* in þe ferene paire heuiddes for to hide'.

Fere-flunderys n. = fiery sparks. 14.. in Robbins o.c. No. 118, 12, 'here [sc. the blacksmiths'] schankes ben schakeled for þe *fere-flunderys*'.

Fethok n. = a polecat. 1424 Sc. Acts Jas. I, II, 6, 'And for x fulmartis skynnys, called *fethokis* viijd'.

S.v. *fish*: **Martyns fysche** = "fish to feast upon" (See Skeat, Spec., Notes, p. 393 for origin). c1470 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace, Bk. I, 382, 'Till him raid fyve, ... Ane said sone, "scot, *martyns fysche* we wald hawe"'.
Flitting. Go in (one's) *flitting* = "to go along with one" (Skeat). c1470 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace (in Skeat, Spec.) Bk. I, 393, 'Thow sall haif leiff to fysche, and tak the ma; All this [sc. the fish they had taken away from the fisherman] *sall in our flytting ga*'.

Forewriting n. = promise. 14... in Robbins o.c. No. 178,60, 'if ye will atast Th'entent of my forewriting'.

Forfalt v. = to offend. c1430 How the Gd Wijf (in Skeat's ed. of Barbour) 282, 'pouerte makis mony Ill woman Quhilk, and [= if] thai had a thrifty man ... wald neur forfalt'. (Cf. *forfeten*).

Format = exhausted, worn out, dead tired. a1449 Lydgate, 2 Merch. 622, 'He is i-entryd ... And leyd hym dcun ... So weyk, so wery forwandryd and for mat'. (Cf. Mod. Dutch *mat* = tired, and see OED s.v. *mate*).

Fruster adj. = fruitless, vain, useless. 1460 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace (in o.c.) Bk. IV, 345, 'In *frustyr* termys I will nocht tarry long'.

Fruster n. = frustration. c1460 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace (in o.c.) Bk. I, 313, 'Quhat suld I spek of *frustyr* as this tid?'.

Fur-breid n. = a furrow's breadth. c1470 Henry the Minstrel, Wallace (in o.c.) Bk. I, 405, 'The suerd fla fra him a *fur-breid* on the land'. (Cf. *forwe* in Dictionary).

NOTE. It is apparent that such Scottish writers as Henry the Minstrel, Henryson and others who composed their works before 1475 are poorly represented in the MMED material. Whether this is done on purpose one cannot find out, since the inclusion or exclusion of these writers is not touched upon in the *Plan and Bibliography*. In the *Title Stencils* the names Henry the Minstrel and Henryson do not occur; but then, although Barbour is not mentioned either, yet we find his *Bruce* cited a few times, e.g. s.v. *forci*, *embadounen*, *enforce*. Caxton seems to be excluded because the composition dates of his writings are supposed to be later than 1475.

The interpretation of the following words and constructions would seem to be questionable:

Atleten. The quotation 'Edie ben alle þo þe here gilty ben atleten' is said to instance the verb atleten (= to forgive) being construed with the genitive of a thing. Would it not be better to take *þe here* as equivalent to *whose* ('Happy are those whose sins are forgiven'), according to an idiom that was very common in Old and Middle English? Cf. Elene 162, 'se god ... þe þis his beacen wæs' (= 'whose beacon this was'. | O.E. Laws (ed. Attenborough 1922) 140, 25, § 1, 'se biscop amonige þa ofer hyrnesse æt þæm gerefan, þe hit on his folgode sy'. (= within whose diocese). | O.E. Martyrol. 118, 'þære fæmnan tid þe hira noma wæs sancta Anatolia'. | Ælfric, Deut. I, 13, 'Ceosaþ eow wise men of eowrum cynne ... and þa þe hira drohtnung si afundud' (quorum conversatio sit probata). | Ælfric, Job I, 8, 'Ne beheolde þu la minne þeowan Iob, þæt nan man nis his gelicu on eardan'. | 13... Curs. M. (Cott.) 10743, 'quilk man þat his wand suld blome, Suld Maria haf wit rightwis dome'. | c1450 Lovelich's Merlin 329, (a goodman) ... 'That here faste be-sydes is his dwelling'. | 1422—1509 Paston Lett. (Gairdner) III, 227, 'with other dyveres that I know not ther names'.

Beli-pipe. (s.v. *beli* n. 3c). The meaning of *beli-pipe* is said to be "the pipe of a bellows". When we consult the passage in which the cited sentence occurs, and in which the writer treats of the proper way for an abbeß to punish the sisters that misbehave, it becomes clear that this translation cannot be correct: (Ben. Rule) 42, 20, 'Ille vices salle sho hate, and luue his sisters. In hir pouste loke þat þære be nane vtrage in, Ne þat sho ne chaste nan so felliche, þat þai fle ne falle in wrang trouz ... Sho sall noht suffir þe *beli pipe* be brokin; þat when sho seis ani of hir sistirs be chargid with sinne, sho sall be besy more to be luuid þan to be dredde'. Here 'beli-pipe' answers to Isaiah 42, 3, 'Calamum quassatum non conteret'; Mt. 12, 20 (Vulgate) 'arundinem quassatam non extinguet'; O.E. 'Tocwysed hreod'; Auth. Version 'A bruised reed shall he not break'. Kock (in his ed. of the Rule of St. Benet 1902) (Notes p. 152) says "a participle like *berid*, beaten, bruised (instead of *beli*) would seem acceptable". For *pipe* = stem of a plant, cf. OED s.v. *pipe* sb¹ 7.

Biquethen v. 5. Concerning the meaning of this word in: (Gen. & Ex. 2448), 'Egipthe folc ... fast IX night ðe liches beðen, And smeren, and winden, and bequeðen' the

Dictionary says: "to pray for (sb.); lament". The reader might have been referred to J. Hall's conjecture (Selections, Part I Notes p. 655) that the orig. text had *biwreðen* = to surround with bands, so that the last line would then mean 'anoint, shroud and enwrap'.

Blein(e) n. It is improbable that 'bleinen' in 'The hude . . . beurst on to bleinen' should be a noun and not an infinitive. That there existed a verb 'bleinen' might be inferred from the form in *-ing* adduced under *bleininge*. If *bleinen* were a noun, it would be the only example with plural ending *-n*, instead of *-s* which all the other plurals show. *Burst* on + infinitive is a common ME idiom.

Bishenden. v. The meaning of this verb is given under (b) as 'to come to shame, be ruined'. This does, however, not fit in with the quotation 'Hym thoght his guttes fallen owt withal. And he *beschynde* that place'. 'He was ruined that place' does not make sense.

Bitwix(e). The following quotation is cited as instancing *betwixt* in the sense 'between': Peterb. Chron. 'Ic wille þæt markete beo in þe selue tun, & þæt nan oper ne *be twix* Stanford & Huntandune'. It is, however, clear that we have to do with the preposition *twix* preceded by the modally marked form of the verb *to be*.

Blosmen v. The form *blosmed* in Chaucer's 'a blossomed tree' and 'a garden . . . ful of blosmed boweis', being an adjective formed from the noun *blostm* by the addition of the suffix *-ed* rather than a past participle of the verb *blosmen*, might have been given a separate entry.

Blunt v. In: (Patience) 'He glydes in by þe giles . . . hourlande aboute, Til he *blunt* in a blok as brod as a halle' *blunt* is called a preterite. OED, however, has the same quotation under *blund* v., in which *blunt* is more normally looked upon as a 3rd pers. sing., present tense.

Farwen v. This verb is said to mean "Of a sow: to give birth to (pigs)". But this does not fit the third quotation (from Trev. Barth.): 'þe femeles and wyues of boores, whanne þay *beep y farewed*, *beep* ful scharpe'. Would it not have been preferable to have listed 'to be farwed' separately? The expression with *to be* also occurs in Barbour's Bruce: XVII, 701, 'On the wallis thai can cry, That thair sow *ferryit was* thair'.

Fell. The quotation: a1450 Ben. Rule (2) 185, 'When it [sc. a house] sall windes or flodes *fell*, Euer may itt stand stifli & wele' is given under *fellen* v. (5) = "to bring (buildings, walls, etc.) toppling or crumbling down to the ground; to demolish". One may ask how a house that has toppled down or is demolished can still stand stiffly = keep on standing. Evidently *fell* is not connected with the verb *fellen*. It may be a form of *felen*, with the sense 'to feel the force of an attack', which sense is also found elsewhere, e.g. in Barbour, Bruce XI, 654, 'I trow he sall hym help so weill, That of his fayis sum sal it *feill*' and in XII, 588, 'Swa that thair fayis suld it *feill*'. The rhyme-word *wele* (with *ē*) lends support to this conjecture.

Feue. It is not clear why the quotation from Peterb. Chron. 'In *feuna* geara wæs þæt mynstre gare' has been placed here, and not under *fon* num. (*fone*, *foyne*, *fune*, *fewne*, *foun*).

Fin. Would it not be better to interpret *fin* in Gen. & Ex. 'þor he biried . . . Alle ðe olde deden ðor *fin*' as an infinitive preceded by periphrastic 'do', and not as a noun? (= who did there die = who died there).

Fleme n. In: Gloc. Chron. A 6645, 'Men þæt him adde *fleme* ydo' *fleme* seems to be a verb, and not a noun, the sentence evidently meaning: 'Men that had caused him to flee'. Cf. the almost parallel construction in the quotation under *flemen* v. (4); 'Did him to *flem* intil and yle'.

Misprints and clerical errors (the words in question have been italicised by me):

S.v. *accidie* = "a) the deadly sin of sloth", read *capital*.

„ *aouren* v. last example: "When þai ere *rechaind*", read *rechaind* (= received).

„ *areren* 4; p. 363, l. 11 fr. b.: "to restore, cure, rise from the sickbed", read *raise*.

„ *beberken*. "ne mæg he of hunde *heon beborcan*", read *beon*.

- S.v. *benefice*. p. 730, 1-3 fr. t. "Other many syns þar er . . noht thynkand on God, . . *me* thankand hym", read *ne*.
 „ *beli* 2a, c. "the *instestines*", read *intestines*.
 „ *bettre* 1b (a), p. 778, 1. 12 fr. t. "Betere þe if freondscipe to habben þene for to fihten", read *is*.
 „ *bight* n. (Gawain) "Eft at þe gargulun bigynez on þenne, Ryuez hit vp radly ryzt to be byzt", read *þe*.
 „ *biheue* b. (Vices & V.) "We ne witen hweðer we bidden ðat godd *he* zecweme and us biheue", read *be*.
 „ *bilouken*. 1. 17 fr. b. "He set in`weres ofe watres wildernes And þare bilouked *he* hungrand ware", read *þe*.
 „ *bipath*. (Mirroure Our Lady) "There ys a dyfference *betwypte* an hyghe waye and a bypathe", read *betwypte*.
 „ *bipechen*. (Bod. Hom.) "We bepæceð us *zylfum* & soðfestnysse bið on us", read *sylfum*.
 „ *bisi* adj. The last but one quotation under 1 (Destr. Troy, 'þe kyng . . þat bisi was þe buerne to bide in his sadill') is also given under 4 (p. 899, 3rd l. fr. t.)
 „ *bithinken* 2. Lov. Grail 23, 25 "Gret *pletevousnesse*", read *plentevousnesse*.
 „ *bitunen* 1. (Ancr. 44a) "zet a wod liun urne zont te strete", read *zef*.
 „ *bisten* v. The meaning is not given.
 „ *blessen* p. 970, right h. col. 1. 2 fr. t. "Towneley Pl. 37/467", read 27.
 „ *-en* 2. "The full form is *perserved* in the North", read *preserved*.
 „ *farandli* adv. "cp. 'farand seemly' under *faran*", read *faren*.
 „ *folden* 6c: (Chauliac) "A symple wounde is in þe whiche is no dispocicioun folden togedre, and a compowned *woulde* is . .", read *wounde*.
 „ *forthinking* 1, p. 801, 1. 12 fr. t. (Love Mirroure 125) "All synful peple wolde folowe this womman in trwe *repent-thinking*", read *?for-thinking*.

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French Influence in English Phrasing¹

A Supplement

Since the publication of my work *French Influence in English Phrasing*² I have come across a good many more loan-phrases which English at some time or other adopted from French. A few of these have been published

¹ Abbreviations used in this article:

* My own quotation.

BT = Bosworth-Toller, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, Oxford, 1882-98.

BTS = *Supplement* to Bosworth-Toller. Oxford, 1921.

G = F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française, et de tous ses dialectes du IX^e au XV^e siècle*. Paris, 1881.

GC = Godefroy, *Complément*.

GH = R. Grandsaignes d'Hauterive, *Dictionnaire d'ancien français*. Paris, 1947.

H. = F. A. Heinichens *Lateinisch-Deutsches Schulwörterbuch*. Neubearbeitung, 1917.

L = E. Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française*. Paris, 1873

MED = *Middle English Dictionary*, Ann Arbor-London, 1952-

NED = *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*. Oxford, 1888-1933.

TL = Tobler-Lommatzsch, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*. Berlin, 1925-

² Leiden, 1952.

in various issues of this periodical.³ In the present article I have adopted a somewhat different arrangement from the one adopted in *French Influence in English Phrasing*. Whereas in that work the phrases were arranged alphabetically on the first word of the phrase, they are here arranged alphabetically on what may be called the leading term of the phrase. Thus all phrases with *doubt* are arranged under that word (*to make doubt, no doubt, out of doubt, without doubt*). Both systems have their advantages and disadvantages. It is convenient to have all the phrases containing the noun *doubt* together, but there is an equal advantage in having all phrases with *without* or *make* together. To facilitate the reader I have added an alphabetical list of the phrases discussed in this article and in previous issues of *English Studies*, which like the materials in *French Influence in English Phrasing* is arranged alphabetically on the first word of the phrase.

I take this occasion to draw attention to a point which I did not elaborate in my previous work, but which is of great interest, namely the fact that in many cases it was not the noun or verb which was borrowed first, and later used in a certain phrase, but the phrase as such was borrowed. There are many examples in my work which prove this, since the first entry of the phrase is in many cases at the same time the first entry of the noun or verb.

DOUBT

To make doubt — faire doute

L. 2. 1233. XIVe s. Eustrace fait ici une doute ... Oresme, *Eth.* 51.

XVIe s. N'en faictes doute aucune, J. Marot, V, 21.

Jamais je n'en ay faict une seule doute, Marg. *Letf.* 101.

Qui y peult faire doute [qui peut en douter]? Mont, I, 174.

TL. s.v. dote 2041-2: *Zweifel, Bedenken*, no example of the phrase.

G. 2, no example.

GC. 9. 411: mod. doute, incertitude: Je fais doute que ne vous blesse. *Nativ. N.S.J.C.*, ap. Jubin., *Myst.* II, 68.

Je ne fay nulle doute que plusieurs, parlans du duc Charles, murmureront et diront. O. de la Marche, *Mem.*, introd., ch. V.

NED s.v. *doubt*, sb. 616b. *To make doubt*: † (a) to hesitate, to scruple (*obs.*); (b) to doubt, to be uncertain.

1586 T.B. *La Primaud. Fr. Acad.* I (1589) 185 Boleslaus the seconde.. made no doubt to take women by violence from their husbands.

1709 Strype *Ann. Ref.* I. xxii, 264, I make some doubt, whether the ... Proclamation .. were ever printed.

1875 Jowett *Plato* (ed. 2) I. 320, I make no doubt that you will prove the truth of your words.

It will be seen that the two senses of the French phrase are exactly reflected in the English phrase.

It is no doubt — *dubium non est* — *ce n'est pas doute*

In OE there was already a *calque* on the Latin phrase, which is fairly frequent.

³ *English Studies*, XXX, 42; XXXII, 250.

In Latin there were two forms of the phrase :

H.s.v. dubitatio: nulla dubitatio fuit, quin. Livius.

s.v. dubius: dubium non est: Non esse dubium, quin plurimum Helvetii possent. Caesar.

The Old English *calque* is found in the *Cura Pastoralis* and *Boethius*, both translations from the Latin and in works whose writers undoubtedly were conversant with that language: *Elene*, *Ælfric's Homilies*, and the *Blickling Homilies* :

*Nis ðæs ðonne nan twoe . . . ðæt, etc. *Cura Pastoralis*, ed. Sweet, 47, 10.

*Nis ðæs nu nan twoe ðæt, etc. *Boeth.* XVI, 3, ed. Sedgfield, 37, 26; Fox 54, 20.

In the second example it is a translation of the Latin :

*Ita cum pessimos plerumque dignitatibus fungi dubium non sit. Ed. Loeb Classical Libr. II, pr. vi, 45, p. 208.

*Nis þæs nan twoe ðæt ælc wyrð bið good, etc. *Boeth.* XL, 1; 137, 6; Fox 234, 36.

The corresponding phrase is not in the Latin text.

*Forðæm nis nan twoe þæt þes andwearda wela myrð 7 let þa men. *Boeth.* xxxii, 1; 71, 10; Fox 114, 2. Latin: Nihil igitur dubium est quin, etc. III, pr. viii, 1; p. 252.

*Forðæm hit is nan twoe þæt, etc. *Boeth.* xxxvi, 4; 107, 6; Fox 178, 4. Latin: Num dubium est bonos quidem potentes esse . . . ? IV, pr. ii, 41, p. 306.

BT s.v. twoe, 1023b. Nis nan twoe ðæt he forgifnesse syllan nelle, *Blickl. Hom.* 65, 8. Na twy ys, ðæt . . . *non dubium est, quod, . . .*, *Scint.* 48, 10.

S.v. tweon, 1024a Nis nan twyn, ðæt eow ne beo forgolden. *Homilies*, Thorpe II, 444, 10.

*Ða þa wisestan wordum cwædon / for þam heremægene þæt hit heōfoncyniges / tacen wære, ond þæs twoe nære. *Elene*, 171, ed. Krapp, *A.-S. Poet. Records*, II, 70.

There is no doubt that the OE phrase is a true *calque* on the Latin one. But neither the substantive nor the phrase survived after the Conquest, and the new ME phrase is unconnected with the OE *calque*.

The OF phrase *ce n'est pas doute* is in all likelihood a *calque* on L *dubium non est*, but it seems probable that the ME phrase is due to OFr rather than to Latin influence. The fact that Chaucer uses it clearly points to this. Its later and shorter form *no doubt* seems to be a purely English development, not due to any extraneous influence, and must have arisen through the omission of *it is* in the older form.

TL s.v. dote, 2042: Zweifel, Bedenken :

tel pāor Ot de sa mort, ce n'est pas doute, Qu'el en tranbla et fremi toute, *Barb. u. M.* I, 278, 259.

ce n'est pas doute, *eb.* I 279, 279.

Ce n'est pas doute, *Ruteb.* I 11.

GC 9, 411. Tous est honis, che n'est pas doute. *Rencl., Miserere*, xlvii, 10.

Du fait n'est il point de doubte. *Ménagier*, I, 76.

NED s.v. doubt sb.¹, 616b a1300 *Cursor M.* 22612 (Gött.) Saint paul it sais, it es na dute.

*Chaucer *ABC* 25 Doute is ther noon ... That thou nart cause of grace and mercy here.

*Chaucer, *Cant. T.* I 296 For ther-of is no doute, that it is deedly sinne in consentinge.

No doubt:

NED. c 1380 Wyclif *Wks.* (1880) 378 And no dowte .. siluestre .. schulde haue synned more greuously þan giezi did.

1576 Fleming *Panopl. Epist.* 86 Your mother, a notable Gentlewoman (no dout).

1745 P. Thomas *Jrnl. Anson's Voy.* 65 It was done .. to the entire Satisfaction of five or six (no doubt) very disinterested Officers.

1885 *Manch. Exam.* 25 Febr. 5/1 No doubt it was adroit, but the adroitness was of a vulgar kind.

The above examples from the *Cursor Mundi* and Wyclif clearly show how the modern idiom may have developed. The absence of a fifteenth century instance cannot be considered a serious objection.

Without doubt (dubitation) — sine dubio (dubitatione) — sans doute (doutance)

H. sine dubio *Cicero* ohne Zweifel; sine dubitatione *Cicero*. (Bedenken, Bedenklichkeit, Zaudern.) sine ulla dubitatione *Cicero* (Zweifel).

Anglo-Saxon translators and writers formed *calques* on the Latin phrases, which, again, are fairly well represented: *butan (ælcum) tweon, butan (ælcere) tweonunge*.

*Ðonne secge ic eow buton ælcum tweon þæt ge magon þurh hine becuman to anwealde. *Boeth.* xvi, 2; 35, 20; Fox, 50, 27.

This sentence does not correspond to the Latin original.

*Ic þe healsige þæt þu me oðewe butan ælcum tweon hwæt sio soðe gesælð sie. *Boeth.* xxii, 2; 51, 17; Fox 78. 11.

The Latin idiom is not found in the original.

*An sceppend is buton ælcum tweon. *Boeth.* xxi; 48, 22; Fox 72, 28.

The corresponding idiom is not in the original.

*Buton tweonne ne bið se nauht. *Boeth.* xxxvi, 7; 109, 17; Fox 182, 9.

Not in the Latin original.

Since the translator uses the phrase in these cases without there being anything in the original to suggest it, it must have been fairly familiar to him. That it is indeed a *calque* on Latin *sine dubio* is obvious from the following example from Bede:

*multitudinem ... quae sine dubio diuinitatis instinctu ... uocabatur. Ed. Schipper, p. 24.

*Seo menigo monna butan tweon mid godcundre onbryrdnyse wæs gecized. Ibid. I, vii; 23, 408.

It is less pregnant in the following case :

*Et regnum sine fine cum deo uiuo et uero futurum sine ulla dubietate promitteret. Schipper, pp. 51-2.

7 se ðe him hyrsum beon wolde, buton tweon he 3ehet ecne 3efean on heofonum, etc. Ibid. I, xxv; 52, 1139.

The interlinear Anglo-Saxon version of *The Rule of St. Benet* also contains the loan-phrase :

sine dubio: buton twyn, 17, 4; Ed. H. Logeman.

Maxime tamen hoc sine aliqua dubitatione credamus: swyðest þeah-hwæðere þæt butan ælcere twynnung þa gelyfað. Ibid. 52, 12.

Besides there are the following instances :

BT 1023 b, s.v. tweo.

*Buton twyn, Homl. (Thorpe) I, 190, 18.

Butu tua *utique*, Mt. Kmbl. Lind. 9, 18.

BT 1024b, s.v. tweonung: Hi buton ælcere tweonunge sceolon on ecnesse forwurðan, Homl. Ass. 145,37.

Butan twynnung *absque ambiguitate*, Ælfr. Gr. 272, 13.

There is also an instance where it has the second sense of the Latin phrase, and is used to render *sine scrupulo*: *De consuetudine Monachorum* in Anglia xiii, 367, 24.

In this case also the Old English *calque* did not survive after the Conquest and the ME phrase *sans doubt*, *without doubt*, is clearly a *calque* on OFr. *sans doute*, *sans doutance*, which in its turn is undoubtedly based on the Latin phrase.

L. 2. 1233 XIIIe s. La tresmontaigne [le nord] est là sans doute, *Lais inédits*, p. iv.

XVe s. Sans doute, si ce n'eust esté . . . le roy n'eust jamais souffert . . . Comm. vi, 2.

TL. s.v. dote 2041-2: *Zweifel*, *Bedenken*:

Hui an cest jor fera le pis Que onques mes feïst, sanz dote, *Erec* 5713.

C'est il, voire! Sanz nule dote, *Clig.* 4661.

Li met sa main et sant sanz dote Qu'ele a el cors s'alaine tote, *Clig.* 5893.

Li chevaliers . . fu sanz dote Plus granz de moi la teste tote, *Ch. Lyon* 521. Etc.

sans nule doute, *GCoins.* 159, 209. sanz nule doute, *Dolop.* 59. Etc., etc.

TL. s.v. dotance, 2041: *Zweifel*: Sainz Alexis est el ciel senz dotance, *Alex.* 122a.

De cest chose sanz dotance L'anperere a joie et pesance, *Clig.* 169.

Bons chevaliers fust sanz dotance, *Perc.* 1288. Etc.

Mius t'en iert anuit, sanz doutance, *BCond.* 161, 245.

G. 2, 762. Doutance = doute, soupçon: Et sanz doctance le savons. Wace, *Vita S. M. Virg.* p. 84, Delius.

Qu'eles (les nefes) fussent arses lo jor Tot sanz dotence et sans retor. Ben., *Troie*, ms. Naples, fo 4a.

NED s.v. sans, 98a c 1320 *Gosp. Nicod.* 127 (Sion MS), Saunz doute swa dide þai alle bydene.

1375 *Canticum de Creatione* 62 in *Anglia* I. 304 Bote mete founde þeȝ non saun doute such as hy hadden byfore.

(*Chaucer CT D 1838 'Now dame', quod he, 'Ie vous dy sanz doute.')

c 1425 *Cast. Persev.* 74 in *Macro Plays* 79 Þe vycys arn ful lykely þe vertues to opresse saun dowte.

1610 *Muses Gard. for Delights* II, ii, 3 My life thou may'st command saunce doubt.

The earliest example of the phrase with the English preposition is of about the same time as the first entry with *sans*.

NED s.v. doubt, 616c: a 1300 *Cursor M.* 2053 (Cott.) Cham wit-uten dout Sal be his brothers vnderlote.

Ibid. 6557 (Cott.) Cums again, wit-vten dute.

*Chaucer *CT* Prol. 487 But rather wolde he yeven, out of doute, Un-to his povre parissshens aboute.

*Chaucer *LGW* Prol. B 383 With-uten doute, that is his offyce.

**Ibid.* 1932 And every thridde year, with-uten doute, They casten lot.

c 1410 *Sir Cleges* 44 Rech and pore . . . Schulde be there wyth-outon dought.

And later quotations dating from 1556, 1674, 1895.

Both phrases are found in *Kyng Alisaunder* (c 1400 (? a 1300)):

B 1756 De top . . . Signifieþ also, saunz doute, þat, etc. (L 1750 saun doute.) Also at ll. 3591, 7139.

B 1375 His messageres, wiþouten doute, Rideþ and gooþ her-aboute. (L 1371 wiþ oute doute) Also at ll. 4660, 6479.

There is one instance of *without dubitation*:

NED. s.v. dubitation: c 1450 *Cov. Myst.* (Shaks. Soc.) 67 I. . Alle . . ffeythfully beleve withowtyn alle dubytacion.

NED duly notes the fact that phrases like *sans delay*, *sans doubt*, *sans fable*, *sans pity*, *sans return* are French collocations taken over as such in ME. s.v. *sans*. 98. See also *French Influence*, etc. s.v. *without*, pp. 288 ff.

Out of doubt — hors de doute.

Though the French phrase exists with the same sense as the English phrase (L.2. 1233b: Hors de doute, incontestable, certain), I have not been able to find an early French example which has this sense. In English this sense is quite early (14th c.), whereas in the OFr instances *doubt* means 'fear' in this phrase.

G. 2. 763. Doute: crainte, peur.

Que le pais par dela soit bien assure et hors de toute doute. 28 août 1366, *Lett. de Ch. V.* [etc.].

.. qui sont . . . hors de la doute du siege. Du Villars, *Mém.*, IV, an 1558.

NED s.v. doubt, sb.¹, 616: †*Out of doubt*: without doubt, doubtless (obs.).

c 1340 *Cursor M.* 2276 (Trin.) þat story telleþ out of doute.

1549 *Paston Lett.* No. 323 I. 436 As I schall owt of dowght her after doo.

Further quotations of 1577 and 1656.

In view of the absence of an early French quotation in which *doute* has this sense, the French origin of the phrase must be marked as doubtful.

(To be continued)

Leiden.

A. A. PRINS.

Some Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart Actors and Musicians

In the course of a systematic review of the subject of the English strolling players on the Continent I have come upon some new material on the English careers of a number of later Elizabethan and early Stuart actors and musicians.¹ While most of these entertainers are known only in England, some can also be traced on the Continent. In the case of six of them the records printed below offer the first evidence of their existence.

Previous information about Elizabethan and early Stuart actors and musicians is admirably summarized by Edmund Chambers,² Nungezer,³ and Bentley.⁴ The present article, which adds some fresh details to our store of knowledge and enlarges our realm of speculation, is offered as a modest contribution to the material garnered by these scholars.

The actors and musicians will be dealt with in alphabetical order. In presenting the information relating to them I propose to set down first the documentary evidence and then to add a brief commentary.

ROBERT BENFIELD

1615, April 23

Robarte Benfeyld, player, and Marye Bugge, mayden. Lic. Fac.⁵

Between 1616 and 1649 Robert Benfield was a well-known actor, who had parts in many of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays. His name occurs in the Folio list of actors in Shakespeare's plays (Nungezer, p. 42-44; Bentley, II, p. 374-376). The entry printed above establishes the maiden name of his wife and the date and parish of his marriage. In the will of Richard

¹ I am grateful to the Netherlands Organization for Pure Research (Z.W.O.) for the grant of a subsidy which enabled me to gather this and other material. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge the generous assistance of Mr. Noel Blakiston, Assistant Keeper directing the Search Department of the Public Record Office, London.

² E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford, 1923), II, p. 295-350.

³ Edwin Nungezer, *A Dictionary of Actors and of Other Persons Associated with the Public Representation of Plays in England before 1642*, Cornell Studies in English XIII (New Haven, Conn., 1929).

⁴ Gerald Eades Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Dramatic Companies and Players*, II (Oxford, 1941).

⁵ *The Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, ed. Willoughby A. Littledale. Vol. III: Marriages, St. Bene't, 1731 to 1837, St. Peter, 1607 to 1834. Publications of the Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. XL (London, 1911), p. 271.

Benfield of Gray's Inn, published by Bentley (II, p. 634), a certain John Bugges is mentioned :

Item I bequeath vnto my lovinge freind John Bugges Doctor in Phisicke the some of fiftene pounds of like money.

The actor's wife may have been related to this Dr. John Bugges. Richard Benfield was not an actor himself, but his will is of great theatrical interest because of the items concerning actors, including his kinsman 'Robert Benefeild'. Bentley supposes that this 'Robert Benefeild' was the well-known King's player. The discovery of Mary Benfield's maiden name would seem to strengthen this conjecture.

GEORGE DREW

1625, Nov. 8

George Drew, harper.⁶

George Drew, harper, is completely unknown except for this entry, from which it appears that he was buried in the parish of St. Bene't on 8 November 1625. At about this time there were two other Drew[e]s in the profession, notably Bartholomew Drewe and Thomas Drewe. The harper can hardly be identified with Bartholomew Drewe's son George, who was baptized at St. Saviour's on 12 November 1614 (Chambers, II, p. 313). Bentley (II, p. 427) suggests that Bartholomew or, less likely, Thomas Drewe may have been the Prince's musician who dined with Alleyn on 5 April 1620: 'I dined wt mr Hewitt & ther wase ye princes musitions mr ball & mr drewe'.⁷ But since both Thomas and Bartholomew Drewe are known only as actors, I am inclined to believe that the Prince's musician who dined with Alleyn may have been George Drew, the harper.

JOHANN EYDTWARTT

In the Public Record Office, London, I came upon the following two 'Licences to pass beyond Seas':

xxvij^o Aprilis 1629

Samuell Edwards 30 yeeres old, & his brother Jn. Edwards xxiiij yeeres old. Rotterdam to remaine there.

xiiij^o Junij 1631

John Edwards xxvj yeris old. resident in St Giles Cripplegate. Cal[a]is.⁸

⁶ *The Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, ed. Willoughby A. Littledale. Vol. IV: Burials, St. Bene't, 1619 to 1837, St. Peter, 1607 to 1837. Publications of the Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. XLI (London, 1912), p. 10.

⁷ W. Young, *The History of Dulwich College, with a Life of the Founder, Edward Alleyn, and an Accurate Transcript of his Diary, 1617-1622* (London, 1889), II, p. 174.

⁸ P.R.O., *Licences to pass beyond Seas*, E 157 (14) and (15).

These licences may refer to Johann Eydtwartt, one of the members of Robert Reynolds's company, who were lodged at private houses in Torgau during the marriage celebrations of Princess Sophia and the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt in the spring of 1627. Bentley, following Cohn, conjectures that this Johann Eydtwartt may have been a German rather than an English actor,⁹ but the name certainly does not sound very German. Johann Eydtwartt may represent a German phonetic transcription of the English name John Edwards. In the second licence the clerk specifically provides us with John Edwards's address, St. Giles's, Cripplegate, which was the residence of numerous actors. Although the licences are silent about the profession of John Edwards, I am inclined to take them as referring to the actor. The first licence states that John Edwards ~~was~~ proceeding to Rotterdam, where he intended to remain. Further research at the Public Record Office brought to light two other 'Licences to pass beyond Seas', which are of interest here:

Secundo Julii 1629

Jane Reinolds 29 yeeres old wife of Robert Reinolds resident in Utricht and his servaunt margerie Lloyd 22 yeeres old.

xviij^o octobris 1629

Jane Reinolds, 29 yeeres: wife of Robert Reinolds, resident at the Hage: with her sertes named Elizabeth Hughes. 25 yeeres. George Hill. 17 yeeres old, Celas Tarrant 14 yeeres old. & John Flowerday. 13 yeeres old.¹⁰

These two entries offer the first evidence that Robert Reynolds ('Pickle-herring'), one of the most popular English actors on the Continent, resided in the Netherlands in 1629, the year in which John Edwards left London. If my identification is correct, it is a reasonable surmise that John Edwards went to the Netherlands in 1629 to join the troupe of his old fellow-actor Robert Reynolds.

ROBERT HUBBARD

1606, Aug. 28

Robert Hubbard, Musitian.

1606, Sept. 20

Katheren d. of Robert Hubbard, Decesd.¹¹

Both Robert Hubbard, musician, and his daughter Catherine died of the plague and were buried in the parish of St. Helen within Bishopsgate.

⁹ Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the Plays Performed by them during the Same Period* (London, 1865), p. xcvi; Bentley, II, p. 432.

¹⁰ P.R.O., E 157 (14).

¹¹ *The Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman. Publications of the Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. XXXI (London, 1904), p. 270.

This is the only record we have of this musician. In the King's production of Massinger's *Believe as You List*, licensed on 6 May 1631, 'Gascoine: & Hubert' open the trap-door for Antiochus. Bentley (II, p. 480) conjectures that 'Hubert' was probably the Christian name of a hired man or musician. In the light of the entry printed above it is just possible that 'Hubert' was the surname of a musician related to Robert Hubbard, perhaps his son.

RICHARD JONES

Lord Mayor's Show of 1626

Item paide to Richard Iones for the chardges of ye Greenemen and fier works . . . vijl^{li} [*£ 31, 5s. 0d. more were paid to him for chambers.*]¹²

Richard Jones was well-known as a player both in England and on the Continent.¹³ By 1622 he was a 'musician' in the service of Philip Julius, Duke of Wolgast. On 30 August 1623 he asked permission, with his fellows Johan Kostressen and Robert Dulant, to leave Wolgast and return to England. Having failed in his English project, he petitioned the Duke of Wolgast on 10 July 1624 to be taken again under his patronage. In 1630 Richard Jones and two others were indicted at Worcester for forging a licence from the Master of the Revels (Nungezer, p. 209; Bentley, II, p. 485-487). Nothing is known of Richard Jones between 1624 and 1630. If the record printed above refers to our actor, it would prove that by 1626 Jones had succeeded in getting some profitable employment in England.

THOMAS KING

Nov. 23 [1599]

Grant to John (or William) Gosson, the Queen's drum player, in place of Thos. King, lately deceased, of the fee of 12*d.* a day and 16*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* for his livery. [*Docquet, Nov. 23 and 24.*]¹⁴

Thomas King was known on the Continent as an actor and instrumentalist. From 17 June to 18 September 1586 he was in the service of Frederick II, King of Denmark, and father of Queen Anne of England, together with Thomas Stevens, George Bryan, Thomas Pope, and Robert Percy. In

¹² *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, ed. Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon (Collections, vol. III, The Malone Society, 1954), p. 110.

¹³ For his early theatrical career cf. Cohn, p. xxviii-xxxiii; E. Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland*, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen XVIII (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1903), p. 7, 8, 12, 18; Chambers, II, p. 273 seq. and 324.

¹⁴ *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1598-1601*, ed. Mary Anne Everett Green (London, 1869), p. 346.

October 1586 the same English comedians entered the service of Frederick's nephew, Christian I, Elector of Saxony. On 17 July 1587 they quitted the Saxon Court at Dresden and returned to England via Danzig.¹⁵ George Bryan and Thomas Pope subsequently attained a prominent position on the London stage, where they appear amongst Strange's men, and thereafter as fellows of Shakespeare in the Chamberlain's company. Both their names occur in the 1623 Folio list of actors in Shakespeare's plays (cf. Nungezer, p. 63-64, 285-287). I have been unable to find any further information on Thomas Stevens and Robert Percy. The record printed above offers the first evidence that Thomas King was dead on 23 November 1599. Nothing is known of the John (or William) Gosson who succeeded Thomas King as the Queen's drum player. He may have been a relative of Stephen Gosson, the author of *The School of Abuse*, to whom Lodge, in his *Defence of Plays*, refers as 'a player' (Nungezer, p. 156). A Henry Gosson appears as one of the defendants in Gervase Markham's suit (Bentley, II, p. 446, 682-683). Most of these were actors.

PHILIP KING[s]MAN

Philip King[s]man is known from German and English records. He is named in an undated warrant, probably about 1596, appointing him ('Philipp Kinigsmann') and Robert Browne, one of the most conspicuous of the English actors on the Continent, to translate German plays into English and to write English plays in the service of Maurice the Learned, Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, who was himself a dramatic author. On 7 August 1599 King[s]man was the leader of a company of players at Strassburg. On 3 June 1615 he and Philip Rosseter and others were named as patentees for the erection of a new Blackfriars theatre on the site of the Porter's Hall near Puddle Wharf (Herz, p. 11, 15; Nungezer, p. 225-226). Supplementary material on the battle of the City of London with Rosseter and his fellows about the erection of a new theatre was recently published by F. P. Wilson.¹⁶

JEREMY KITE

According to Bentley (II, p. 494-495) 'Knight and his Companie, beinge Players' and 'Mr Kite, a playe & his Companie' were at Leicester in 1628. In the form in which Bentley quotes it, the second entry was first published

¹⁵ Cohn, p. xxiii-xxvii; Herz, p. 3-6; J. A. Riis, 'Hamlet's Castle', *Century Magazine*, LXI (1901), 391; Chambers, II, p. 272-273.

¹⁶ 'More Records from the Remembrancia of the City of London', *Collections*, vol. IV (The Malone Society, 1956), p. 55-65.

by Maas in 1907.¹⁷ Three years later both entries were printed by Murray.¹⁸ Bentley assumes that neither 'Knight' nor 'Kite' in the Leicester records of 1628 is a mistake, but that the two entries refer to distinct companies. This is doubtful, since the *Records of the Borough of Leicester* print the name in the first entry as 'Kyght'.¹⁹ If this reading is correct, 'Kite' and 'Kyght' probably refer to one and the same player. The Leicester Kite/Kyght may perhaps be identified with Jeremias (Jeremy) Kite, the English actor who resided at The Hague from November 1644 till about February 1645.²⁰

ROBERT MARKHAM

1630, Feb. 20

Robert Markham of Stepneigh, Middlesex, Lutonist, & Margaret Elsmore, virgo, d. of John Elsmore of Stepneigh aforesaid, mariner. Lic.²¹

Robert Markham may have had nothing to do with the stage, but so many of the musicians who lived in the adjoining parishes did that it seems worth while to record this entry. One would guess that he was a relative of Gervase Markham, the dramatist, but there is no evidence.

THOMAS MORLEY

1596, Aug. 19

Frauncys d. of Thomas Morley, Musition.²²

This baptismal entry in the Registers of St. Helen within Bishopsgate probably refers to Thomas Morley (1557-1603), one of the greatest of the secular Elizabethan composers. A Thomas Morley is listed among the Choir boys of St. Paul's in 1574. Though Hillebrand says that none of the names in this list is familiar,²³ I think it not unlikely that the Choir

¹⁷ H. Maas, *Aussere Geschichte der englischen Theatertruppen in dem Zeitraum von 1559 bis 1642*, Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas, ed. W. Bang, 19 (Louvain, 1907), I, p. 127.

¹⁸ J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642* (London, 1910), II, p. 317.

¹⁹ *Records of the Borough of Leicester: Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester, 1603-1688*, ed. Helen Stocks and W. H. Stevenson (Cambridge, 1923), p. 248.

²⁰ Cf. L. Ph. C. van den Bergh, *'s Gravenhaagsche Bijzonderheden* (The Hague, 1857), I, p. 21-22.

²¹ *The Registers of St. Margaret Moses, Friday Street, London*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, Publications of the Harleian Society, *Registers*, vol. XLII (London, 1912), p. 52.

²² *The Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, Pubs. Harl. Soc., *Registers*, XXXI, p. 7.

²³ Harold Newcomb Hillebrand, *The Child Actors: A Chapter in Elizabethan Stage History*, University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature XI, Nos. 1 & 2 (Urbana, Ill., 1926), p. 110-111.

boy ought to be identified with the composer, who was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1591-1592. On 24 July 1592 Morley entered the Chapel Royal, where he successively filled the offices of epistler and gospeller. From the dedication to his *First Book of Canzonets to Two Voices* (1595) it seems that in 1595 he was married. Morley's reputation rests mainly on his musical treatise entitled *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597). In his *The First Booke of Aires, or Little Short Songs, to sing and play to the Lute with the Base Viol* (1600) there is a setting of the Page's song, 'It was a Lover and his Lass', from *As You Like It*, which is interesting as one of the few pieces of original Shakespearean music which have survived (cf. *D.N.B.*).

RICHARD PYTES

1615, April 23

Richarde Pytes, player, in the churchyard at ye further end by the stonne wall, uncoffined.²⁴

This burial entry from the Registers of St. Peter's, Paul's Wharf, London, offers the first evidence of the existence of Richard Pytes, player. Chambers, Nungezer, and Bentley do not mention him. Since Richard Pytes was buried from St. Peter's Church, Paul's Wharf, one may safely conclude that he was a resident of this parish in April 1615. I have been unable to discover anything further about this actor.

THOMAS ROBINSON

In the account of the four stewards 'elected to make preparation of a Dynner for the [Kyng] entertayning of the Kings Maty, the Queene and Prynce, &c.' (*Merchant Taylors' Accounts*, ix, for the year 1606-1607) there occurs the following entry:

To them that plaid on the Lute. To Thomas Robinson xxx^s, }
and to Iohn Done - xl^s } liij^{li} x^s.²⁵

Thomas Robinson is known as a player with Robert Reynolds's troupe in Germany. He perhaps acted women's parts, for in the housing-list at Torgau (1627), referred to above, he is called 'Thomas die Jungfraw'. He accompanied Reynolds at Cologne in May 1628 (Nungezer, p. 303; Herz, p. 31, 32, 54). Thomas Robinson, the player, cannot with certainty be identified with Thomas Robinson, the lutanist.

²⁴ *The Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, IV, ed. Willoughby A. Littledale, Pubs. Harl. Soc., *Registers*, XLI, p. 206.

²⁵ *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485-1640*, p. 173.

ROBERT SHATTERELL

Shattrell, Robert, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, 'player', bachelor, 21, and Jane Brett, of same, about same age, widow of John Brett, gent., late of same, deceased — at St. Gregory. 1 March, 163 $\frac{5}{6}$. B. [Signed, not crossed, but 'vacat' in margin.]²⁶

Robert Shatterell was a very well-known actor after the Restoration (cf. Nungezer, p. 322; Bentley, II, p. 571-572). This entry, which antedates the earliest record we have of him by three years, establishes the year of his birth, the parish in which he lived in 1635/6, the probable year of his marriage, and the name and approximate age of his wife.

JOHN SHAWE

18 February 1599

A lyke [warrant of payment] for the somme of xx^{li}e markes to be payd unto John Shawe for two other playes shewed before her Majesty by the servauntes of the Lord Admirall, viz., on St. John's Day and Newe Yeare's Day at night, and to them besides for reward the somme of viij^{li}. xiiij^s. iiiij^d.²⁷

This pay warrant refers to the John Shaa or Shaw[e] who witnessed an advance to Dekker by Henslowe for the Admiral's men on 24 November 1599.²⁸ Sir Edmund Chambers suggests that he is possibly to be identified with the Jehan Sehais who, on 25 May 1598, hired from the Confrérie de la Passion in Paris their theatre, the Hôtel de Bourgogne.²⁹ The record printed above adds a little to our scanty knowledge of John Shawe's stage career.

THOMAS WARNER

1634, June 8

John s. of Thomas Warner, Musition, and ... his wife.³⁰

Apart from this baptismal entry in the Registers of St. Helen within Bishopsgate (and two other references on p. 291 of the same volume) nothing is known about Thomas Warner, musician.

²⁶ *London Marriage Licences, 1521-1869*, ed. Joseph Forster (London, 1887), p. 1211.
²⁷ *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, N.S., vol. XXX, A. D. 1599-1600, ed. John Roche Dasent (London, 1905), p. 89.

²⁸ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Walter W. Greg (London, 1904-1908), I, p. 114, II, p. 309.

²⁹ Chambers, II, p. 293, 338. Cf. Frances A. Yates, 'English Actors in Paris during the Lifetime of Shakespeare', *R.E.S.*, I (1925), 392-403.

³⁰ *The Registers of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, London*, ed. W. Bruce Bannerman, Pubs. Harl. Soc., *Registers*, XXXI, p. 24.

JOHN WILLIAMS

1634, Nov. 7

John s. of John Wyllames, mussession to the king, in the church ney unto the allay at the hender pew from the pulpett.³¹

Except the name there is nothing to connect the King's musician recorded in this entry from the burial registers of St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, with his namesake, the theatrical speculator referred to by Bentley (II, p. 620).

In the foregoing notes, limitation of space has forbidden anything more than the briefest commentary. Fuller biographical data about some of these actors and musicians are to be found in the works of Chambers, Nungezer, and Bentley referred to above.

Nijmegen.

J. G. RIEWALD.

A Note on the Journals of Lodewijck Huygens, Youthful Dutch Visitor to Mid-Seventeenth Century England and Wales

On the 16th of January, 1652, one Johannes van Vliet wrote in almost impeccable English from London 'in the fields' to Sir Constantine Huygens at The Hague:

I should be much wanting to myself and to those duties your many favours did impose upon me, if I should not give you an accompt of what I have done in performance of your last commandments about your sonne. And that you may have the summa of all at once: you may be pleased to beleieve I have lived with your sonne, ever since our first meetinge and comeinge away, like fellow-travellers, nay, I shall say more, in truth, like brothers in such occasions ought to doe...¹

This, to us decidedly over-emphatic, reassurance of parental solicitude is characteristic. On the 20th of December, Sir Constantine — formerly Secretary to the Princes William II and Frederick-Henry of Orange and, earlier still, a member of several Special Embassies to the Kingdom of Great-Britain where he had been knighted by James I in 1622 — had entered in his diary:

Ludovicus meus cum Legatis Catsio, Schaepio et van de Perrio in Angliam proficiscitur. Deum habeat comitem.²

³¹ *The Registers of St. Bene't and St. Peter, Paul's Wharf, London*, IV, ed. Willoughby A. Littleale, Pubs. Harl. Soc., *Registers*, XLI, p. 218.

¹ J. van Vliet to C. Huygens, 26 January, 1652 (Leiden University Library, MS. Hug. 37).

² "Het Dagboek van Constantijn Huygens" (*Oud-Holland*, III, 52).

And previously — like a true citizen of a world in which his second son, Christiaen, was to immortalize his name in the annals of science in three countries — he had drawn up for the benefit of this twenty year-old, third son of his an extensive list of instructions in French; a list which began:

Mon fils Ludovicq, passant en Angleterre, se souviendra que ce n'est pour se divertir que je luy laisse faire ce voyage, mais pour apprendre et revenir plus sçavant qu'il ne part d'icy...³

and ended

De tout ce qu'il verra et apprendra il en tiendra journal et ... finalement un compte exact et sans interruption de la despense qu'il sera obligé de faire.

Both injunctions were fully implemented. By a gracious Fortune young Huygens was preserved sound in wind and limb for the entire seven months of his stay. And he did return a wiser, if not a sadder man than he had departed on that cold morning, three days before Christmas 1651, when the Ambassadors and their numerous train left The Hague by four barges for Rotterdam — where they 'saw in passing' (as he was careful to note in the account ordered) 'the house in which Erasmus was born'.⁴

But before we proceed to consider the importance of the journals thus inspired — and so far never printed⁴ — a few words about the occasion and the personalities concerned. The occasion had been the diplomatic mission dispatched 'to the Republic of England' by the States General, as soon as Cromwell's Parliament had passed the 'Act of Navigation' and, by its Monroe-foreshadowing implications, threatened to ruin the Dutch carrying trade and the Dutch fisheries, those two corner-stones of the national economy of the United Provinces. It is true, for the course history was to take, this Embassy with its three Lords Commissioners, its suite of young gentlemen-in-waiting (which included Lodewijck Huygens), its Secretary Johannes van Vliet (cousin to Sir Jacob Cats, their 'Chef de Mission'), and its dozens and dozens of clerks, servants, messengers, transport- and household personnel, 120 in all, was of little consequence. It had apparently become inevitable that the emergence in quick succession of two world-wide empires, based on the same twin foundations of trade and sea-power, and built up by nations which by the middle of the seventeenth century held far more in common than their dearly-bought official religion and recently consolidated political system, should lead to a crisis which could only be overcome by coalition or war. Cromwell himself had, from the first, wanted to establish the closest of ties between

³ Royal Library, The Hague (MS. Hug. XLVI, f. 390-2).

⁴ Lodewijck complied with his father's wish by keeping two journals, one in Dutch, which deals with the period from the Embassy's departure from The Hague until the beginning of April when he could be spared for a leisurely trip to Wales (British Museum, MS Egerton 1977), and one in French, dealing with this excursion and his return with the Embassy in July (Royal Library, MS. Hug. LVIII). — The present writer is in the course of preparing an edition of these journals for publication.

the two Protestant Republics; this had been the very object of the Commonwealth's purposely impressive Embassy to The Hague in the spring. Certain pressure-groups in both countries, however, together with Royalists and Orangists — no matter how different their motives — wanted and eventually obtained, as we know, an ordeal by fire which took the form of the first Dutch War.

All this, of course, has been often and amply described,⁵ but what has not, on the whole, is how popular feeling reacted and what articulate individuals felt. Here Lodewijck Huygens' journals provide a well-nigh unique short-cut for the student of the period. Indeed, this young Dutchman's experience may prove even more instructive for us than it had been at the time — though how much he had been making of it himself and how well he had heeded his father's commandments, may appear again from van Vliet's letter which continued

No comission, no message, no visite, nor publick, nor private, I have been charged withall, in which your Sonne did not assist me. And whither-soever My Lords went, the first Gentleman (that) was called to their attendence, was your Sonne. Whereby My Lord Cats so well is informed of his good parts and abilities, . . . that no message of his Lordship was delivered or trusted to any of our Gentlemen, but to him. And although by this continual employement many dayes are spend abroad, neverthesse I can assure you that they are as well bestowed, both in excercising the English tongue and seeing how publick matters here now are handled, as any he passeth in his study. For besides that he and I doe use almost no other language in our discourses upon the way, he findes also in meane while many opportunities, nay sometimes necessities to trye and make the best use of what he studied and learned hitherto. And really . . . I may tell you, he alone hath more advanced in this moneth, and gotten more English, then all his companions put together.

But then, there is more to this than meets the eye. In the volumes of father Constantine's correspondence there are several other letters received from J. van Vliet, off and on. And before touching on the cultural-historical significance of the Lodewijck Huygens journals against the background of the Embassy concerned, it is well to state that its English-speaking Secretary was none other than the Janus Vlitius who, together with his learned friend Francis Junius of Leiden, was to be a minor Latin poet and a major pioneer of comparative philology, establishing Gothic as the origin of Germanic languages. That Vlitius should be a nephew of the poet-Advocate Sir Jacob Cats, whose judicious interest in the English land-reclamation of their countryman, Sir Cornelius Vermuyden, had resulted in his acquiring in 1628 the manor of Hatfield Chase in Yorkshire, only completes the picture. For this polyglot young lawyer, who had originally read Classics at Leiden, had stayed at his uncle's estates across the North Sea more than once. There, although chiefly occupied in settling legal wrangles, he had become a member of a Hunting Society

⁵ See Elias, *Het Voorspel van den Eersten Engelschen Oorlog* (The Hague, 1920), 172-177, and Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart* (Utrecht, 1939), 101-115.

and had worked at his study of the chase in classical and modern authors in connection with the new edition of Grattius' *Cynegetica* he was preparing. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that its publication in 1645 had inspired a well-turned epigram by Sir Constantijn Huygens.⁶ Van Vliet, too, was a devoted servant of Stadtholder William II who had procured him an Aldermanship at Breda shortly before his early death in 1650. And for van Vliet, too, the ensuing political changes had been far from favourable, so that this appointment as Secretary to the Embassy led by his uncle had been most welcome to him, although there was no question of his not being an eminently suitable person for the post.

Now, this brings in what may well prove a central point in any consideration of the material in hand, viz. the intellectual status and attendant pattern of behaviour of seventeenth-century figures whom we come across now in one function, now in another, and, ever since, merely described from their respective commentators' own specialist angles. Neither Rubens — to draw a perhaps somewhat startling analogy — nor Cats, nor Vlitius can be done justice by dealing with them as creative artists alone. Again and again, the circumstances of their lives can be made to throw an unexpectedly revealing light on their works — and on the place of these works in their time. In Vlitius' case one of those allegedly minor details is the following.

In January 1652 — a fortnight, in fact, before the one to Sir Constantine Huygens — van Vliet wrote a letter to his friend Nicolaas Heinsius in which he announced in his sober Latin his intention to meet Milton and Selden.⁷ This intention was not based on literary interest alone, however. From its inauguration in 1646 onwards, the Orange College at Breda had been a general training centre for young men of quality, many of whom were to be officers or already held that rank in the Prince's army. A not inconsiderable number was English or of English extraction. Sir Constantijn Huygens was one of the Curators and his son Lodewijck one of the students. Several distinguished English and Scottish noblemen who had come over during the Civil War spent some time there, including the exiled Prince of Wales who had invited Professor Salmasius of Leiden to write a treatise in defence of his martyred father. Milton, as Cromwell's Latin Secretary, had been asked to produce a reply to this *Defensio Regia* from Holland, and the result was the latter's fascinating *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* which had appeared only a few months before our Embassy was being organised. What, then, could be more commendable in a budding neo-Latin author who happened to have sat at Salmasius' feet and to be a friend of the very Heinsius whom Milton had also attacked,⁸ than to wish to meet the great Puritan writer? What could be more commendable, besides, than for a young patriot whose friends were

⁶ See 'In Grattium cura Jani Vlitij recognitum' (Worp, *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, IV, 59).

⁷ See Burmannus, *Sylloge Epistolarum* ... etc. (Leiden, 1727), III, 742.

⁸ See Blok, *Nicolaas Heinsius* (Delft, 1949), 167.

Orangist and Royalist and who had also a clear notion of the value of propaganda, to wish to meet the author of *Mare Clausum*? The main goal, after all, of the Embassy he was joining was to obtain the revocation of an 'Act of Navigation' which had been based on the very points argued by John Selden in support of King Charles I's policy in 1635.

No more of the background to Lodewijck Huygen's journals, however, since, with a view to the space available, it is time to discuss the outcome itself of the close association described in our opening quotation from van Vliet's letter. And here the first observation to make is that the main emphasis in the 87 closely written pages in Dutch (and in the 142 more wastefully covered pages in French), has obviously fallen on 'exteriora'. This, of course, must be seen in the light of Sir Constantine's instructions. Lodewijck Huygens was to earn while he learned, that is to say he was to do so not in terms of remuneration but of experience. And it is well to remind ourselves that this way of rounding off a liberal education was for the seventeenth-century Dutch a far less unorthodox equivalent of the Grand Tour than has commonly been assumed.

Young Huygens, therefore, has to show his father that he can use his eyes and move with ease in a foreign country. What we are given, accordingly, is 'facts' above all. But how telling their implications can be, often appears only at a second reading. Never, for instance, are we able to forget for more than at most a page or two either the precarious political situation or the mentality current in the circle he was wont to move in at home, though the passage may be of the most neutral character. Indeed, both manifest themselves again and again in the most unexpected fashion, as the former 'motif' is responsible for the countless graphic descriptions of details reminding him of the so gruesomely terminated Monarchy, and the latter introduces innumerable asides of the kind which reveals that Captain X. had served in the Dutch Forces, that Lady Y. had apparently travelled in the United Provinces and known his father, or that Mr. Z. had spent years in certain Dutch cities. As to their great 'occasions', few accounts of the pomp and circumstance involved in the entry of a foreign Embassy into London could be more detailed. From the moment the party landed at Gravesend (with the number of salutes fired by the Captains of their three warships, one of whom was drunk 'as usual') and the manner their first day at the Swann Inne was spent ('the weather was wondrously mild ... so that we picked flowers') while waiting for the Parliament's Master of Ceremonies to arrive with his fleet of state-barges in which they were rowed to the Tower — from these beginnings down to the cries of 'Remember our poore King!' from the London crowds, as their procession of 60 coaches with outriders conveyed them to their first abode in the Palace Yard, Westminster ..., we can visualize practically everything that happened. And the same holds good for audiences, receptions, law-suits, and special outings. But this is only one category of data to be culled from these journals.

What we are also given are the main items of the writer's private life. Each Sunday, for instance, he attends divine service with van Vliet (and often with young men he had known at Breda) in an English Church in order to become familiar with English oratory. Of the sermon we are told little, but he is careful to note peculiarities such as the writing-out of 'la prêche' in short-hand by two or three persons standing up behind the minister in the oblong pulpit, besides the score or so members of the congregation ('men as well as women, among others a beautiful young lady hung with jewels all over'). People sat as in a theatre, partly in boxes, and prices of admission varied from a few pence to 1/— or more. We are told of the food they ate, the errands they had to run, the entertainments they enjoyed. We get more than a glimpse of the importance attached to 'face' and prestige even in private encounters — a state of affairs which is given a special sense of reality when we bear in mind, while reading young Lodewijck's journal, that in the Embassy's official account-book one of the biggest items among the expenses incurred in its preparation were the 282 guilders paid to the sculptor and the painter at The Hague, who had produced the three blazons required for fixing to the Embassy's London lodgings and to its two state-coaches.⁹

But then, every time the description of a certain excursion or visit tends to anticipate Baedeker's industry, some odd remark about an unforeseen incident, some mishap, some enchanting new acquaintance, some strange custom, some unforgettable sight, makes us read on with an eagerness as keen as if it were a matter of personal records of a recently deceased relative. Even a visit to Westminster Abbey becomes bearable because we learn where one of the Dutch young ladies who had come in the Ambassadorial train as the wife of another member (and had one day insisted on accompanying Lodewijck and Vlitius) tripped and broke her arm. We are not spared a single one of the London sights, but in this way know what the Banqueting House with its Rubens ceiling looked like after it had been stripped bare of furniture by the Puritans. When we read about the Tower we are given the most vivid sense of reality by the very dryness with which he mentions the several noblemen among the prisoners who tried to enter into a conversation, sent a messenger through to come and talk to them in front of a barred window, or could merely be seen reading, oblivious of their changed fate. And neither Huygens, nor his companion, dared to commit themselves under the watchful eyes of the Parliamentary soldiers in the offing.

One night an English friend of his invited him to a Masque to be given at the house of Lady Newport. Unfortunately, the special licence of 'General Cromwell', under whose personal protection such performances appear to have been given, could not be obtained. Lodewijck and his

⁹ Aen Beeldsnijder voor het snijden van 't Blasoen voor het Logement tot Londen op te hangen: item voor 2 Wapens achter op de 2 Carossen geordineert f 150; aen schilderen ende vergulden van voorzegde 3 blasoenen f 132' (*1e Minute vande Rekening Generael ... 1652*, Alg. Rijksarchief, Legatie 781).

party left the brilliant gathering when this finally transpired. Afterwards they learned that thus they had just escaped being molested by a Roundhead patrol which broke up the meeting with the same, resentment-inspired glee similar situations have shown in our own time. Comparisons impose themselves continually, moreover. Battlefield after battlefield is practically forced upon them during their ride through England in April and May, when their services could be dispensed with after the Ambassadors' formal negotiations had practically come to a standstill. The smell of powder is still in the air; the ghosts of the defeated, killed or exiled, still haunt not only places but people as well. In London they had seen confiscated paintings and other treasures of the late King stored away in Somerset House and on view for prospective buyers only. The public funeral of Ireton in January had struck him as a Government demonstration. But Hyde Park he had learned to frequent as a meeting-place of gallants on horseback and their ladies in coaches, polished defiance of the 'ci-devant' vying with the blunt yet often disarming energy of the upstart. The Stock-exchange had proved everybody's business rendez-vous. And his father's surviving middle-class friends had been the most useful providers of information and introductions.

A few names may be mentioned. There was Humphrey Robinson, the bookseller, Jacques Gaultier, the musician, Messrs. Cruso and Nevill, the merchants, while his most profitable connection was Mrs. Morgan-Strickland whose first husband had been the son of Colonel Thomas Morgan, the oldest volunteer in the cause of William the Silent, and Elizabeth de Marnix. As the Embassy, after five days as the guests of Parliament, had moved to a house in Queens Street and, subsequently, had hired a country-place at Chelsea, we are taken to endless varieties of rides into the country or through the City, alternated with as many trips in pairs-of-oars. Indeed, with the latter means of conveyance they became so familiar that after a time the phrase used in his Dutch journal becomes 'wij namen water bij...', to indicate the wharf or Stairs where they embarked.

As to the less usual places seen in London, there is the Admiralty Court where we witness a law-suit about impounded Dutch vessels; the Inns of Court and the Temple where we hear all about living conditions; the Charterhouse, whose organization is extensively described; and St. Paul's dome (after 'the monument of Dr. Donne' had been inspected at his father's express command), where, for his pains, after the long climb, he merely found an enormous cloud of smoke over the City so that he could only see part of the river and Southwark ('the wind coming from that corner') and neither the Tower nor the rest of the town. In the cathedral they heard the great Ussher preach. And, by way of contrast, they soon after paid their respects to Hobbes — a visit, the description of which is a vignette in its own right, telling us how the philosopher received them with open arms and, sickly but voluble, discussed with unabating gusto the works of brother Christiaen and Descartes, while he systematically refused to

speak Latin or French although he was more than generous in his praise, in English, of the young Archimedes at The Hague.

On the 13th of February they went drawing Valentines at a gay party at Lady Pye's. One day they dined with the Lord Mayor's family, on another they interviewed the Keeper of the Rolls in Chancery Lane. They took part in private concerts, and they visited the Bear-garden in Southwark and, later, a cock-fight in Bristol (where Lodewijck lost 2/6). Castles and palaces, parks and gardens, pass the review, sometimes yielding quite touching moments as when, in Queen Elizabeth's one-time prison at Woodstock, they find themselves suddenly confronted by the verses which Lodewijck's father had scratched into a window-pane fully 34 years before...

More, however, need hardly be said to suggest the wealth of material contained in these seemingly so impersonal journals. It is true, there is also much which may be called commonplaces of travellers' accounts. But, again, what is decidedly uncommon, is the emotional climate of the visit. Not many foreign observers, and certainly no other Dutchman, saw and recorded that in 1652 there were Inns whose signs read '*This was the Kings Head*' or '*Here was ye Kings Armes*'. And rare are the sources, it would seem, where the tips may be found that were given upon having stayed in a private country-house, the 2/- bestowed on the guide at Windsor, the -/3 at Eton College, the £1/-/6 paid at '*Ye Beare*', Oxford, for three days' lodging and looking after the horses, the 1/- given to tumblers at Branford, the 2/6 for the Sergeant of the Bathes in '*the Crosse Bath*' in the City of Bath, the 1/- for the ferry across the Severn, the -/6 given to the people working the open lead-mines near Wells, etc.

The conclusion is almost a natural climax — the climax reached when the news came through of the fatal encounter of Admirals Tromp and Blake. Young Lodewijck's pages remain factual. But we can fully imagine what it felt like to wake up and find a cavalry unit at the gate to 'protect' the Dutch Ambassadors against the possibility of mob-violence. We exult over the laconic observation that, on the ensuing official Day of Prayer, many were seen openly to take a stroll instead of rushing to the churches. Breathlessly we follow the last moves and counter-moves, the farewells, public and private, and that splendid moment when our narrator adds to his report of their last official function before leaving — the welcoming-in-state of the allied Danish Ambassador who was called Rosenkrantz and, as if to flaunt the Shakespeare-association, wore '*un ruban en chaque moustache*,' being got up in such an extravagant way as to resemble '*plus à un charlatan qu'à un Ambassadeur*' — that splendid moment which he recorded simply by adding:

J'ay oublié de dire que les femmes ne cessoient de crier par tout où nous passasmes '*God blesse you, if you goe to meet with our King Charles*'...

In the development of Anglo-Dutch relations the period between 1651

and 1652 was a crucial one. Perhaps it is symbolic that of no other Embassy in the long procession of missions which went backwards and forwards between the two countries up to that period, we have such a fulness of records — political, personal, and financial — as of the one whose members were to experience the violent end of the old order in this relationship. And it seems certainly fitting that its Chief should have been first and foremost an Arbiter Morum in verse, its most valued Gentleman-in-Waiting a poet's son, and its Secretary an aspiring philologist who put down among his official expenses 'for the getting wet of his books: £ 2/-'.¹⁰

Leiden.

A. G. H. BACHRACH

Notes and News

A Note on *Beowulf*, ll. 2526b-2527a and l. 2295

Beowulf, ll. 2526-2527 read in the MS:

swa unc wyrd geteoð
metod manna gehwæs.

I shall take the chief editions of the poem and see what the editors have made of these lines.

Chambers puts a comma after *geteoð* and makes no further remarks as to the translation.

Sedgefield also prints a comma. From his Glossary it appears that he takes *wyrd* as a nominative. In the Note to this line he remarks: 'Note the use of *wyrd* and *metod* as equivalents here.'

Klaeber also prints the comma. In the Glossary he takes *wyrd* as a nominative. In the Notes he mentions that Grein took *wyrd* as an accusative, but Klaeber evidently rejects this. This presumably refers to Grein's editions of 1817 and 1867, where no comma is placed after *geteoð*. In his revision of Grein's edition in the *Bibliothek der Angelsächsischen Poesie* Wuelcker restored the comma.

Wrenn (2nd. ed.) prints the comma. In the Glossary (Supplement) the verb *geteon* is given the meaning 'assign'. In the Note to this line Wrenn says: 'Here Fate is expressed by *wyrd* as usual; but *metod* in apposition with it could be taken as either "God" or "destiny". The latter view seems preferable.' So Wrenn also takes *wyrd* as a nominative. In his revision of Clark Hall's translation he renders: '... as Fate, the lord of every man, decides.'

Else von Schaubert, in her edition of Heyne-Schücking, prints the comma and in the Glossary she gives *wyrd* as a nominative. There is no note.

¹⁰ *Rekening Generael*, l.c.

Van Kirk Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, IV, has the comma. There is no note

Hoops, in his *Kommentar*, in the note to the passage, remarks: '... "das Schicksal, der Walter jedes der Menschen". Bemerkenswert ist hier die Gleichstellung von *wyrd* und *metod*', which he prints with a small *m*.

Grein-Köhler, *Sprachschatz der Angelsächsischen Dichter*, s.v. *wyrd*, gives: '2526 nom.'

Bosworth-Toller *Supplement*, s.v. *geteon* III (2): 'to appoint a course of action, lot, condition to a person, determine an event, B. 1. 2526-27', and they quote the passage *without* the comma, evidently taking *wyrd* as an accusative.

So far, then, we may summarize the views of the above-mentioned scholars: most of them take *wyrd* as a nominative, parallel with *Metod*; Wrenn prefers the sense of 'destiny' for *metod*, which Hoops takes to mean 'ruler'. Only Grein in 1857 and 1867 and B.T. Su. take *wyrd* as the object of *geteon*. Von Schaubert (Glossary) takes *metod* as 'fate'.

Clearly there is here some doubt about the exact meaning of the lines and the difficulty hinges on the use of *geteon*. Now this verb occurs in one other place in *Beowulf*. L. 2295 reads:

þone þe him on sweofote sare geteode.

Let us first see what the chief editors have made of this line.

Chambers: *sare*. In the Note he says: 'Cosijn³³, followed by recent editors, reads *sar*. But cf. l. 2526'. In the Glossary he gives: 'acc. *sare*, "harm", 2295.'

Sedgefield: *sar*. Glossary: acc.

Klaeber: *sare*. Glossary: *sare*, adv. Note: '*sare* is adverb, not object of the verb, the fem. gender of the noun *sar* being more than doubtful. *geteon*, "decree, allot", is used absolutely, perhaps "deal with". (Cp. 2222).'

Wrenn: *sare*. In the Glossary (Supplement) he renders 'grievously dealt with' (like Klaeber and Hoops).

Von Schaubert: *sare*, which in the Glossary she takes as acc. sing.

In the Note she remarks: 'Hh. u. Sed. ändern, da *getēon* transitiv sei, wie auch frühere Aufl. vorl. Ausg., mit Cosijn (Aant. 33) in "*sār*". Schon Cha. verwies demgegenüber auf 2526: "*swā unc wyrd getēoð*", Kl. (Angl. 50; 215) noch auf Gnom. Ex. 174: "*hafað him wyrd getēoð*", die zeigten das *getēon* auch ohne Objekt gebraucht worden sei.' She then goes on to raise objections to the intransitive use of *getēon*, in spite of the fact that in l. 2526, as appears from her Glossary, she takes *wyrd* and *metod* as nominatives. Referring to l. 2468, where *sio sar* occurs, she remarks: 'Methodisch richtiger dürfte sein, beide Stellen (viz. 2295 und 2468) ungeändert zu geben u. im Glossar "*sār*" auch als fem. anzusetzen, wie es Cha. getan hat u. vorl. Neuauf. tut.'

Van Kirk Dobbie reads *sare* and in the Note agrees with Klaeber that *geteon* is used absolutely and that *sare* is adverb.

Hoops, *Kommentar*: 'Chambers verweist mit Recht auf 2526, wo *geteon*

auch ohne Objekt *gebraucht* wird.' He agrees with Klaeber that a feminine *sar* is 'sehr unwahrscheinlich' and that *geteon* is usually transitive, but it 'steht hier absolut und bedeutet "zusetzen, mitspielen"; *sare* ist Adv.'

Holthausen in Grein-Köhler p. 891 *s.v.* *sar* and p. 893 *s.v.* *geteon* wants to read *sar* in l. 2295.

We are now in a position to make the following points:

1. From Chambers's objection to Cosijn's emendation we may deduce that he took *wyrd* in l. 2516 as object of *geteon*, in spite of the comma after *geteoð*.

2. In order to do so he had to assume a feminine *sar* in l. 2295, presumably on the basis of *sio sar* in l. 2468. In this he was followed by von Schaubert. Klaeber and Hoops stated that the existence of a feminine *sar* is 'more than doubtful' and 'very improbable.'

3. Those who take *wyrd* as subject in l. 2526, parallel with *metod*, have to assume: (a) that *geteon* is used intransitively, for which they have to assume a meaning in l. 2295; (b) that *wyrd* and *Metod* can be used synonymously, or that *metod* in *Beowulf* can mean 'Fate' or 'destiny'.

4. Following from 3(a): those who assume an absolute meaning for *geteon* (Klaeber and Hoops) base this assumption for l. 2295 on l. 2526.

Some objections may be raised to all this:

Ad 2. The only evidence for a feminine *sar* seems to be l. 2468, but Sedgfield and Wrenn have plausibly emended this to *sio þe him sare belamp* on the basis of l. 2222 *se ðe him sare gesceod*, which forms an almost exact parallel. Klaeber's emendation of *sio sar* in *to sare* is palaeographically unsatisfactory.

Ad 3(a): I can find no evidence of an intransitive use of *geteon*. In Anglia 36, 174 f. Klaeber refers to Gnom. Ex. l. 174: *hafað him wyrd geteod*, but the right explanation of that line is that *habban* is here used with an object and past participle, equivalent to the modern English use of *had* with past participle in the sense of *to experience* (see Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, section 113, p. 51), e.g. he had his licence endorsed. Gnom. Ex. l. 174 therefore means: 'he has his destiny appointed for himself'. — To base an argument on a textually doubtful line is dangerous. To base an argument on an assumed meaning in one line in support of that meaning in another line is not very good editorial policy, but all this is what Klaeber, Hoops and Else von Schaubert have done with l. 2295.

Ad 3(b): in the Introduction to his edition of *Beowulf* (p. XLIX) Klaeber states that the functions of fate and God seem quite parallel and he gives examples; in Anglia 50, p. 215 he makes a similar statement and in both places he includes amongst his examples ll. 2526-27. For the relationship between God and *wyrd* I may refer to my article 'Wyrd in Anglo-Saxon Prose and Poetry' (*Neophilologus* XXVI, 1939-40). To say that the functions of God and *wyrd* can be parallel is one thing, but to say that God and *wyrd* can be synonyms is quite a different thing. As far as I know there is but one place in the whole body of Anglo-Saxon poetry

where *Metod* and *wyrd* are used as synonyms and that is in the spurious and rather corrupt passage at the end of *The Seafarer*, ll. 115-16:

Wyrd biþ swi(b)re,
Meotud meahtigra....

but these lines almost certainly do not belong to *The Seafarer*. On the whole in the body of Christian poetry God was considered to decree and *wyrd* to execute that decree (see Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and Alfred's translation, and the discussion of the relevant passages in my above-mentioned article). It is then natural that the functions could run parallel, but the ideas were still just too far apart to be used as synonyms.

Finally, Wrenn's and von Schaubert's *metod* in the sense of fate or destiny does not seem very likely in *Beowulf*. Not only would l. 2527 be the only occurrence of this sense in the poem, but almost the only one in the whole body of poetry, with the possible exception of *Waldere*, l. 19, where 'God' is also possible for *metod*.

The conclusion, then, must be that in ll. 2526-27 *wyrd* is the object of *geteoð* and that there should be no comma after *geteoð*. The translation then becomes: 'As the Lord of each of men allots one's destiny'. For l. 2295 I suggest that *sare* is also the object of *geteode* and that the form *sare* is either a case of dittography or an illustration of the tendency in late Old English of a weak pronunciation of weak-stressed endings, which made it possible for an *e* to be omitted or added (for a possible omission of such an *e* see Sedgefield's and Wrenn's emendation of *sar* to *sare* in l. 2468). In view of the gender of *sar* in all other Germanic languages and of the fact that l. 2468 may well be corrupt a feminine *sar* should no longer be assumed.

This explanation of the lines in *Beowulf* agrees with the mid-nineteenth century editions of the poem by Grein and with Bosworth-Toller (*Supplement*).

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B. J. TIMMER,

Stansby and Jonson Produce a Folio

A Preliminary Account

An authoritative account of the printing of the first collected edition of an English playwright, the Jonson Folio of 1616, does not exist, and in fact cannot yet be given. What is certainly known is that the volume contains work produced up to 1615 (or even 1616 if *Mercury Vindicated* is correctly dated to that year), that some other works from before 1616 are omitted

(notably *Bartholmew Fayre*), and that Stansby registered copy for it on 20 January 1615 and produced the volume some time in 1616.

It was originally conjectured by the Oxford editors¹ that the copy went to press in 1612 or 1613; the foundation for this was quickly demolished by Sir Walter Greg (1926),² but the damage was done. In 1940³ it was revived by Mr William A. Jackson, who proceeded to give the Jonson Folio respectability by suggesting an interruption in the printing due to another work — not, of course, Vincent's *Discoverie of Errours*, but Raleigh's *History of the World*, 1614. In vol. IX, 1950, the Oxford editors then made the same suggestion, minus the claim that 'the date of the entries in the Stationers' Register' [?] helped to confirm it. The 1615 entry might of course just as well represent the first consideration of the scheme as its final stages.

In reviewing vols IX-XI of the Oxford *Jonson* (E.S. XXXVIII, 1957, 120-6) I already had occasion to show that the history of the Jonson Folio will bear further investigation. As a full report is still several years away, an interim report offering some tentative conclusions and indicating the evidence for them would seem in place.

In the absence of further outside data knowledge of the Folio's history must depend on internal evidence of the printing, and on the particular and general knowledge we can gain on work in and works from Stansby's shop.

The sequence of the printing can be inferred from the several varieties of recurrent material, principally the headlines. Thus it is immediately evident that printing cannot have started with *EMI* (that the prelims should have been printed last is so usual as to need no comment) but that the first quire through the press must have been G, the initial quire of *EMO*. This gives a slightly different aspect to the observed fact that *EMO* is by far the most heavily corrected play in the volume. The Jonson Folio, after all, was a new departure, and its author must have been as conscious of it as its publisher. It would therefore be natural to expect somewhat heavy correction in the early stages of the undertaking, when printer and author still had to work out their *modus operandi*. In folio and in english, things are apt to look somewhat different from in quarto and in pica, and it is therefore no surprise to find that in the Folio several further departures from the quarto text are introduced at the correction stage. As a rule they are press-corrections, but in quire G there are further complications through resetting. At some time long enough after the original impression for the ordinary text type to have been distributed, but not too long for the block of double pica italic from the dedication to have remained intact, sheets G1.6 and 2.5 were reset with

¹ *Ben Jonson*, I, 64.

² *R.E.S.*, II (1926) 137.

³ *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. English Literature 1475-1700*. New York, 1940, p. 575, where the misstatement that the volume contains nothing dating after 1612 is also repeated.

new corrections, bringing them into line with the practice of the later sheets as well as improving the text on many points. These reset sheets occur in about a quarter of the copies and they appear in all the large paper copies I have information on. The question then arises whether perhaps the resetting represents a decision to increase the size of the edition and to print a number of copies on large paper. Against this there is the observation that G3.4, all H, and I3.4 were also printed short, and that here apparently the deficiency was not made good until much nearer the completion of the volume. In these cases, however, the large paper copies always have the original setting.

After this initial hesitation printing seems to have proceeded steadily as far as the end of *Volpone*.⁴ At about that time, it appears, the first batch of copy may have arrived for *EMI*, the first quire of which was printed off roughly concurrently with the first quires of *Epicoene* and probably accounts for the remarkable headline juggling during the printing of 3A and 3B. It is this in turn which makes it possible to determine that of the two settings of quire 2Y, containing the beginning of *Epicoene*, one was printed normally between 2X and 2Z, the other between 3E and 3F, i.e. after the play's completion. It turns out that the rare setting found only in the large paper copies is the original, the very superior setting of the ordinary copies the re-set, obviously corrected by the author. The Oxford editors took the large paper version for a hurried re-set, and therefore followed the other — rightly, as far as substantive readings are concerned, if for the wrong reasons. The critical position has, however, altered in an important respect, because we now realize that the first setting follows author's copy — whether MS or the putative 1612 edition. I am inclined to think that what we have in this first quire of *Epicoene* is new trouble arising because now, for the first time in the book, Stansby's compositors were to set from *manuscript*. The evidence is tenuous, but among the various errors of the first setting I find nothing that indicates printed copy, while one would think that if Jonson had edited a quarto for press he would not have left it till the Folio proofs before altering the prefix DAU. to DAUP. throughout, to prevent confusion with DAW. Also such an error as mon'ments for moniments (I.ij.10) is more easily understood if the copy was MS, and so is the error now—mistris for now-mistris on 2Z5^v (II.ij.20). And of course we may take it for granted that if no early quarto served as copy for *Epicoene*, none existed.

If this is what happened, then we are perhaps less justified in thinking that the deferred printing of *EMI* in two batches represents lack of copy, i.e. that Jonson was still revising it as printing on the Folio was going forward. It *could* be, though I still consider it unlikely, that the *Epicoene* MS was returned to Jonson when 2Z and 3A were already in type, and that A was set up for filling in time, the whole *EMI* MS having been available all along. Even if copy was returned to Jonson it might still be that to

⁴ Misnamed *The Alchemist* in my review (p. 123).

enable Stansby to continue he let him have a first instalment of the new *EMI MS* he was preparing. Had the whole *EMI MS* been available from the start I do not think it very likely that a competent printer like Stansby would have put it by in order to be able to start on printed copy.⁵

However this be, after quire A had been set up *Epicoene* was proceeded with and printing went on normally to the end of *Catiline*, except for an accident to the forme, or more probably forgetfulness in perfecting, necessitating the resetting of 3R3.4^v. Another such reason, or perhaps a reluctance to decide on its form, deferred the printing of 3S2.5^v till the end of the volume (3S2 is the title-page of the *Epigrammes*, i.e. the beginning of the Poems).

Printing now went on regularly to the end of the volume, and so to the preliminaries, and all would have been well but for short printing in the last four or five quires. When this was discovered, all the undistributed type of these quires was collected, the missing portions were reset, and further copies printed to make up the numbers. One interesting conclusion we can draw here is that when the error was discovered Stansby had at least 37 folio pages standing in type, possibly even more.

4Q was not reimposed or reset. It was not, however, printed quite to the full number, for in one copy at least we find it completely reset at a later date, at the same time as 3T1.6. Other sheets were also reset later, viz Q3.4, 2X1.6, 2M1.6, 3A1.6 and 3L3.4. The Oxford editors think this was done after 1640, an unlikely hypothesis based on modernized spelling in the resets which agree textually with F2. It seems at least as likely that the resetting was done earlier and that the copy for F2 was one of the latest copies of F1 to be gathered, such as the Yorke copy in the Library of Congress, Washington D.C.⁶ In one case there is proof apart from one's judgment of the condition of the typographical material (always Stansby's). It appears that 2X1.6 was reset twice, and that both the reset described by the Oxford editors and F2 must have been set from a copy containing the first reset (reset 2 copies some errors of reset 1, and produces some new ones; F2 copies the first, but not the second).

Finally a word about dating. By examining on the one hand the typographical material and on the other the stocks of paper used by Stansby at different times it is possible to say that the printing of the Folio must have taken place in the course of 1615-16, and had reached mid-way by the spring of 1616. Even one press, printing the maximum number of copies allowed, could have dealt with this small folio in fairly large type (easy work) within a year. In fact, two presses seem to have been regularly employed, and sometimes three, which would place the start of the work in late 1615, and its completion not long after the beginning of summer.

Groningen.

JOHAN GERRITSEN.

⁵ This need not mean, of course, that Jonson *first* started to revise the play in 1615.

⁶ Yorke W 4.4; Press-mark PR-2600-1616 Office.

Sir Thomas Browne Institute

The close intellectual relations that existed between the Netherlands and Great-Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries have long been recognized, but have never been adequately studied. The reason for this is due in large part to the fact that the subject has only been touched upon incidentally in the course of other pursuits — biography, political and social history, art history and bibliography. The wealth of material available, however (and the importance and fascination of the subject itself) is such that it is now being felt advisable to devote greater attention to it in all its varied aspects. The University of Leiden, which has had such a long and continuous association with British scholars and men of letters, consequently set up last year, on the 400th anniversary of the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the Sir Thomas Browne Institute for the express purpose of systematically bringing together records of all available material and of facilitating research and publication in the field. Sir Thomas Browne's name was taken as the most suitable in view of the multifarious interests of this Leiden graduate. The Institute, which has had official support from its inception, would warmly welcome advice and information leading to a wider exploration of this remarkable instance of international intellectual exchange, and will co-operate wholeheartedly with scholars working elsewhere.

Leiden.

A. G. H. BACHRACH.

Reviews

Wartime English. Materials for a Linguistic History of World War II. By R. W. ZANDVOORT and Assistants. Groningen-Djakarta: J. B. Wolters N.V. 1957. X + 254 pp. fl 7.90.

It is a reasonably safe assumption that a nation fighting a war will be relatively more articulate about its activities and experiences than an angrily grunting individual fighting for his life. But the answer to the question how a particular language, at a certain point in its history, behaved under the impact of wartime conditions, how and to what extent it met the challenge of social disruption, new ways of life and death, and a sudden speed-up in technical developments, can only be found by means of a timely study of contemporary documents.

In *Wartime English* we are presented with a carefully documented collection of 'materials for a linguistic history of World War II'. The book covers the period between 1938 and 1948-49 and consists of an extensive glossary, which aims at recording 'all neologisms and other

(e.g. semantic and morphological) new developments not to be found in the last pre-war edition of the Concise Oxford Dictionary; also a number of old-established words whose frequency of usage was typical of wartime conditions'.¹ Each article consists of a 'definition, selections of quotations illustrating the history and development of the word within the period, its variants and contexts ... and an indication of entries in contemporary dictionaries'.¹ This last item 'helps to indicate areas of usage and is of value for showing the measure of recognition accorded at the time and so representing something of the contemporary attitude, especially to those words which have since died out.'² Although, as Prof. Zandvoort points out in the preface to the work, 'slang and technical terms, as well as exclusively American forms, have on the whole been avoided and attention concentrated on words commonly used or known by the majority of adult civilians in England' the number of entries is well over twelve hundred, the illustrating quotations running to nearly two thousand.

When I first opened *Wartime English* I fully intended to maintain an attitude of critical detachment towards its contents. But it required no more than a few minutes' browsing to sweep me off my feet. The book stirred numerous wartime memories. Many of the quotations carried emotional overtones and I could not help reliving the war in all its phases and nearly all its aspects, seeing it through British eyes and thus being strongly reminded of the many hours spent listening to the B.B.C. in German-occupied Holland.

But, of course, the materials were not collected for their emotional appeal. Nor was it the needs of the sociologist or the historian — useful though the book must be to them — that the writers had in the first place in mind. This is primarily a book for students of the English language. They will find that the material may be approached from a variety of angles, that it is of interest to the lexicographer and the semasiologist, as well as to the morphologist and the syntactician. The writers have rightly made no attempt to classify the results of their investigation: the reader is invited to join in the hunt and draw his own conclusions.

One thing seems pretty obvious: English is an amazingly adaptive and resourceful language. Wartime conditions acted as a violent stimulus, to which the language responded so gratefully that one feels inclined to be crudely ironical and suggest that it battered on human suffering. The challenge was met not in the first place by the invention of entirely new words. These are comparatively few and tend to be slangy or restricted to the jargon of a particular group (*boffin, erk, gremlin; to prang, to stonk*). Rather more frequent are the new words which owed their origin to one of the numerous alphabetic shortenings recorded, words such as *ack-ack, Fido, jeep, radar*, etc. *Bren gun, Sten gun* and *nylon* are shown to be hybrids.

¹ Prof. Zandvoort, in a paper contributed to the *Brunner Festschrift* (Vienna 1957).

² N. E. Osselton, in an article in *English Studies*, August 1954.

New derivatives are many. I have counted no fewer than 17 productive suffixes and as many prefixes. Some of these derivatives are linguistically interesting in that they are the result of unusual or apparently complex processes. Thus the hypocoristic *clippie* is derived not from a noun but from a verb; *civilianisation* and *to compartmentalise* both derive from words which, though recorded in OED, belong to the potential rather than the actual vocabulary of the English language;³ *slittie*, for slit trench, is the diminutive of a non-existent clipped compound; *Maggie*, for magnetic mine, is, one presumes, the diminutive of a non-existent stump-word formed from a non-existent clipped compound. In fact, the old game of making stump-words has lost none of its appeal, witness *ammo*, *compo*, *demo.*, *demob*, *frat*, *frig(e)*, *inter-com.*, *Met*, *ops.*, *prefab*, *Prog.*, *prop.*, *recce*, *sit. rep.*, *tarp*, *Winco*, etc. Aphaeresis, however, seems to be less fun (*chute*, *drome* and (?) *gen*).

There are several new back-formations (*to fire-watch*, *to force-land*, *to hedge-hop*), and it is amusing to find that the noun *formation* itself has now toed the line and produced *to formate*. But there is only one new portmanteau-word recorded, *macon*, which can hardly have survived VE Day.

New borrowings from outside England number about thirty; most of these are German words, only one is French (*maquis*) and one Scots (*to jink*). Linguistically there is little of interest here, though the offensive *Kraut* (from Sauerkraut) to denote a German soldier shows true invention. And it was a fine flight of fancy which produced *Chindits* in reference to the members of the force commanded by Brigadier Wingate operating behind the Japanese lines in Burma, Chindits being 'the fabulous lions which guard the Burmese pagodas'. Since it was Prof. Zandvoort's declared policy to avoid exclusively American forms, only a few American words are recorded, words like *bulldozer*, *to contact*, *G.I.*, *hide-out*, *hitch-hike*, *stooge*, etc.

New conversions of various types are numerous, new compounds and close word-groups are legion. Among the conversions there are not a few proper names turned class-noun, words such as *Anderson* (shelter), *Blimp*, *Dunkirk*, *Mae West*, *Quisling*, etc. A few of the scores of new compounds were telescoped by turning the first element into a stump-word: *catafighter*, *evacuimp*, *paratrooper*, *spitfighter*.

Finally, there were a great many old-established words, especially nouns and verbs, which acquired new meanings or developed 'wartime semantic overtones'. This in its turn might lead to new developments, such as the formation of new derivatives (*to decontrol*) or the intransitive use of a verb hitherto used transitively only (*fully feathering* airscrews).

Inadequate as this summary of the contents of the book is, it may give the reader some idea of the richness of this quarry of information. Prof.

³ 'civilianize' is labelled a nonce-word in OED.

Zandvoort has put all students of English very much in his debt by the happy initiative which led to the inception, as well as by the scholarship and perseverance which went to the making, of a work which may well be unique in the field of English studies.

In conclusion it may be permitted to point out one or two minor blemishes. It seems to me that, although the material is presented in glossarial form, the provision of an index would have made it easier for the reader to locate some of the words discussed. Thus the phrase (French, Polish, etc.) *Forces of the Interior* is tucked away under the initials F.F.I. (French Forces of the Interior). Similarly, the various word-groups with *gun* for their second element are all listed under the general heading 'gun'. But the reader is referred to separate articles elsewhere in the book for a discussion of some of these, e.g. *Bren gun*, *rocket gun*. *Sten gun*, on the other hand, though separately entered under *Sten*, is discussed under *gun*, while *Tommy gun* and a few others have no separate entries elsewhere in the book.

The writers have also recorded a number of words and phrases which date back to WW I but regained currency during WW II. Some of these have acquired new meanings, but this is not always clearly indicated. Thus 'to bombard heavily' seems to me no longer an adequate definition of *to strafe*. Surely, during WW II the word was primarily used with reference to bombing or machine-gunning aircraft? And the verb *to straddle* (a target) is not recorded, although the meaning which it has, for instance, in 'a stick of bombs straddled the hangars' is not covered by the definition given in COD.

That there should be a few gaps in the materials is no matter. Here are some words, phrases and meanings which are not recorded in the work: *animals rations*, *armoured* (as in *armoured clash*, *armoured might*)⁴, *based* (home-, Indian-, land-based bombers), *beach-head*, *to beat the black-out*, *bomb-hatch*, *browed-off*, *cannon* (shell-firing gun of aircraft), *convoys* (in reference to supply columns), *derationed*, *forward* (bases, etc.), *handy-talkie*, (heavy cloud all the way out and on the) *homeward run*, *to key* (resources still -ed to peacetime production), (he knew that he could not) *make base*, *to mortar* (shell with mortars), *panzer* (as a class-noun; a tank-unit or an individual tank: 15 divisions, six of which were panzers; the panzers withdrew), (the R.A.F.) *paper raids* (over Germany), a *quickie* over Calais (= sneak raid), a *reconnaissance in force*, a *salvo* of bombs, *snorkel*, *sub* (for submarine), *surface raiders*, *tank asparagus*, good *tanking* country, *the target area*, *walkie-talkie*. But what difference can twenty or thirty words make where so many have been recorded?

I have one private little problem which I wish *Wartime English* could have solved for me. It concerns the use of the gender-denoting pronouns with reference to tanks and submarines. I once noted down the following two sentences, which I heard used on the wireless:

⁴ *armoured vehicle* and *armoured command* are recorded.

We hit him (sc. an enemy tank) first time.

She (sc. the destroyer) caught him (sc. a U-boat) just behind the conning-tower.

Can it be that the crews use the feminine gender when speaking of their own tanks or submarines, and that those who fight or hunt them, use the masculine? It would be in accordance with the British sportsman's instinct.

Amsterdam.

R. BORN.

The Muse Unchained. An Intimate Account of the Revolution in English Studies at Cambridge. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. London: Bowes & Bowes, 1958. 142 pp. 16s. net.

Anglistik en English Philology. Rede uitgesproken bij de aanvaarding van het ambt van Gewoon Hoogleraar in de Engelse Taal en de Oudere Engelse Letterkunde aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht op 6 oktober 1958 door Dr. R. VLEESKRUYER, B. Litt. (Oxon.) Amsterdam: N.V. Noordhollandse Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1958. 20 pp.

These two publications form a curious contrast; they might also be said to supplement each other. Dr. Tillyard describes the foundation and early development of the English Tripos at Cambridge, where towards the end of the First World War a School was created with a syllabus entirely devoted to the study of English literature, without any admixture of linguistics or philology. Professor Vleeskruyer outlines a programme of English studies in a continental university which is centered in the study of Old and Middle English as practised by the most enlightened representatives of these subjects in England. In both cases the type of 'philology' common in German universities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries serves as a foil. At Cambridge reform became possible when two influential German philologists 'had been muzzled by the war' and only one uninfluential Englishman was left to plead the cause of the old order; while Professor Vleeskruyer, forty years later, resurrects Sweet's 'programme mongers' to point a contrast with the more practical orientation of English philological scholarship. (That German *Anglistik*, too, has changed its character during the last half century becomes abundantly clear from the retrospect contributed by L. L. Schücking to a recent number of *Anglia*.)

Dr Tillyard's pleasantly written book contains vivid sketches of such prominent Cambridge scholars as H. M. Chadwick, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, G. G. Coulton, and I. A. Richards; it also affords interesting glimpses of the inner working of one of the ancient English universities. Of course, the aims and methods of an English Faculty or Department in

an English-speaking country are comparable only to a limited extent with those of similar Departments elsewhere. According to Dr Tillyard, the English Tripos exists primarily not to turn out dons but to construct people; in most continental universities the avowed purpose would probably be to turn out teachers. At a later stage, the Cambridge School also made provision for research students, 'but', Dr Tillyard observes, 'unlike Oxford, we have never made up our minds exactly what we expect of them.' What the Cambridge School has mainly stood for is Practical Criticism; some of its best pupils have been men like L. C. Knights and William Empson. At worst, the methods it has taught have degenerated into the 'dreary game' of seeing subtleties in poetry that no one else has seen, a development for which Dr Tillyard rightly disclaims responsibility.

An Oxford B.Litt., Dr Vleeskruyer clearly states the duty of an English Department to be research, not only teaching. His programme, culminating in 'een in ruimere cultuurhistorische zin georiënteerde taal- en literatuurgeschiedenis', may help to put an end to the sterility that has too long been the bane of a large section of academic work in English in the Netherlands.

Groningen.

R. W. ZANDVOORT.

The Editor regrets that on p. 277 of the December number the publisher of C. P. Brand's *Italy and the English Romantics* was erroneously given as O.U.P. This should be C.U.P.

Points of Modern English Syntax

XXXVII

Discussion of the sentences quoted in Vol. XXXIX. No. 6, December 1958

113 a. The meaning we attach to an imperative in any given case is dependent on the sentence in which it occurs — or which it forms by itself — and on the tone used, while these in their turn are conditioned by the speech situation. Since the latter naturally varies considerably, the meanings suggested by an imperative are many and disparate, and it is difficult, perhaps even impossible, to subsume all of them under one general head. None of the attempts, at least, made so far to find an all-embracing meaning for the imperative have been successful; all the definitions proposed break down when brought up against the multifarious linguistic reality. The sense of command, from which it takes its name, is but one of many, and perhaps not even the most frequent or important. Jespersen's

statement to the effect that the proper meaning of the imperative is a request, brutal or humble, to the hearer(s) to do something (Modern English Grammar V.24.11, p. 468; Essentials of English Grammar, p. 294) no doubt accounts for a good many cases, if interpreted in a liberal spirit. It may even be construed as applying to a case like *Let A.B.C. be a given triangle*, which may be interpreted as a request to assume something. But it does not hold good for *Oh, come now; I refuse to believe that* (incredulous rejection of a statement); *come one step nearer, and you're a dead man* (warning not to do something; surely the opposite of a request); *take any (of these books) you like* (permission), and many more of the like. In his *Philosophy of Grammar* (Ch. XXIII, p. 313) Jespersen says: (The imperative) 'is a will-mood in so far as its chief use is to express the will of the speaker, though only — and this is very important — in so far as it is meant to influence the behaviour of the hearer, for otherwise the speaker expresses his will in other ways.' But even this essential rider fails to take cognizance of *Enjoy yourselves, boys; have a good time; sleep well*, which sentences no doubt express a wish on the part of the speaker, but where there can obviously be no question of influencing the behaviour of the persons addressed.

Now to turn to our text. *Break away, let it be known, live on it* denote an advice or suggestion on the part of the speaker and conform to Jespersen's definition. But *earn your own living* and *earn a pound a week* present rather a different case. We can no more advise a man to earn a certain income than we can advise him to be well-born, handsome, prosperous, or happily married, for such things are either not at all or not exclusively dependent on his will. The same applies perhaps to *Get into the City*, since the finding of employment in some office is naturally dependent on one's capacities and the state of the labour market, as indeed the young man in the story was presently to find to his cost. These imperatives clearly mean *try to earn . . . , try to get . . . ,* as a translation into another language is apt to bring out. Thus in Dutch we would naturally and unhesitatingly render the passages in question by *Zie je eigen kost . . . probeer 'n pond per week te verdienen*. Similarly in *Find yourself a good husband*. Cases like these compel us to recognize the existence of an *imperativus de conatu* in English.

b. The speaker in our quotation is a physician who has just been examining a rich, spoilt, *blasé*, worthless young man, of whom he has a low opinion and to whom he has taken a dislike. Both *as much* and *so much* express that the doctor thinks a pound a week more than the young man is worth, considering his abilities. The two expressions differ in that *as much* suggests that the physician thinks the amount paltry enough, whereas *so much* would denote that the sum mentioned was in the speaker's opinion by no means negligible.

114. The word-group *to find anything useful to do* must be analysed as an adjunct to the predicative participle-group *hard put*. The meaning of

the adjunct may be defined as vaguely final: 'in order to find anything useful to do'. On analogy of the formal direct object *it* in *The fog made it difficult to see anything* and the formal prepositional object in *You may depend upon it that it's true*, the group *to it* in the sentence quoted might with some propriety be termed a 'formal prepositional adjunct'.

115. The definite article in *of the middle height* is used in a classifying function. The author divides human beings into three categories according to their height: small-medium-tall. The use of the article shows that he is thinking of all three classes at the same time and putting the person in question in the category intermediate between the two extremes. The mere *middle height* (without the article) would, of course, also have been quite possible, but it would consider the medium height as a class by itself, in its own right, so to speak, without relating it to the two extreme terms of the series. Our faithful and invaluable correspondent Dr. Wood, to whom all readers of these columns are indebted for many a shrewd remark, points out an illuminating parallel: 'It is interesting to note that while we can say both *in mid-stream* and *in the middle of the stream*... we can only say *in mid-air*. *In the middle of the air* would be impossible, since we cannot visualise any extremities for the air as we can for a stream.'

116. The points to consider, it would appear, are these:

a. Is *placed* a participle of occurrence or of state? In the former case the group *is placed* forms a 'passive voice' (Dutch: *wordt geplaatst*; German: *wird angebracht*); in the latter the group *is* is parallel to *the curtain is lined with pink silk*; *it's ten o'clock: breakfast is finished*. Dutch would render this meaning by *is geplaatst*.

b. why the present tense is?

c. are *is placed* and *is translated* syntactically on a par?

a. We interpret *placed* as a participle of occurrence and *is placed* consequently as a 'passive voice'; D. *wordt geplaatst*. We base this opinion on the fact that the personal agents are mentioned (*by his friends and neighbours*) and the year in which the putting up of the tablet took place.

b. Those who put up the tablet use the present tense because they are thinking of the present time only. What they are now doing is giving a testimony of respect, affection and gratitude to the deceased. They are not visualising their action from the standpoint of posterity; they are not thinking of the possibility that a later generation may one day wonder why, when and by whom this tablet was put up here. In the latter case they would have said: *This tablet was placed here*....

c. The groups *is placed* and *is translated* are syntactically not on a par. If *placed* is exclusively a participle of occurrence, *translated* expresses both occurrence and state. This may require some elucidation. The distinction between predicative participles of occurrence on the one hand,

and of state or condition on the other, although of vital importance in English grammar, is not absolute. In syntax, as elsewhere, distinctions, however real and essential they may be, inevitably create doubtful or overlapping cases. Thus the two classes of predicative participles mentioned are not mutually exclusive: a participle may be both at the same time. This will be clear from an example like *We were compelled by the rain to stay at home*, where it is equally possible to look upon *compelled* as describing the condition in which the persons concerned found themselves, as upon an occurrence caused by the non-personal agent, the rain. In accordance with this double function of *compelled* languages which express this difference formally allow of two renderings here: *werden* or *waren gedwongen*; *wurden* or *waren gezwungen*; *étions* or *fûmes obligés*. A parallel argument applies to *translated*. It is a participle of state or condition because the sentence means something like *The code exists in a translated form*; it is a participle of occurrence because the suggestion is *the code has been translated by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns*.

Readers may be interested to hear what Dr. Wood has to say about the matter :

Your correspondent states that the inscription on the memorial tablet 'may be compared' with the statement in the Pelican Book. If by this he means that the two are exactly parallel cases, I am not so sure that he is right. 'The code is translated' regards the fact or the situation from the point of view of the writer of the book or of his potential readers; it means 'a translation exists'. It is just the same as saying that a literary text *is* edited by a certain scholar, though the actual work of editing may have taken place several years ago, and the editor may even be dead.

The use of the present tense on memorials, on the other hand (*is placed, is erected, etc.*), is traditional, and those responsible for the wording on a particular memorial are probably, therefore, merely following the traditional formula. But we may still ask, what prompts the formula? I suggest that perhaps the answer is that those erecting the memorial, who have to draw up, or approve of, the inscription beforehand, think of it from their own point of view and not from that of posterity. It is their last tribute to the person who has died — something that they are doing. It is almost as if they were speaking in an impersonal way to *him*, not to future generations who may look at the tablet. Some force is perhaps given to this view by the fact that the inscription on the foundation stone of a building always uses the past tense (*This stone was laid by . . .*), for this is intended solely for the information of posterity, and the event is therefore recorded from posterity's point of view.

It may be added, finally, that the distinction between a participle of state and of occurrence can sometimes also be made in the case of attributive participles. Thus a *startled jay* may suggest a bird that is in a state of terror (D. 'n *verschrikte gaai*) or one that has been startled, say by a shot (D. 'n *opgeschrikte gaai*).

A new set of questions will be published in the December number.

Haarlem.

P. A. ERADES.

Andrew Marvell's 'The Garden':

A Hermetic Poem

Andrew Marvell's 'The Garden' has provoked more interpretative ingenuity on the part of contemporary scholars and critics than perhaps any other seventeenth-century lyric. The reasons are varied, but one contributive cause is surely to be found in the circumstance that so many of the now senescent 'new' critics have chosen to bury their teeth in it. Mr. Empson's discussion, in *Seven Types of Ambiguity*, springs readily to mind, and among his followers interpretations have been spawned with a fertility little short of amazing. However, the literary historians have also enjoyed contributing their share, and of their work Miss Wallerstein's is perhaps the most monumental.¹

The combatants are indeed numerous. Any publisher who might wish to print an anthology of critical exposition and commentary dealing with this one poem only, would be faced with a sufficiently formidable proposition. If it achieved nothing else, such a collection would at least provide interesting insights into early twentieth-century critical idioms and attitudes (not to say jargons), and might eventually lead to the adoption of a more chastened diction and a less exuberant fancy among the expositors of poems. It might also lead to a bridging of the gap between scholars and critics by exposing the weaknesses and the strengths of each.

Upon perusal of our imaginary anthology one interesting point would appear, to wit the fact that so many Marvell scholars have been puzzled by a contradiction between the stanzas that offer an austere, indeed almost ascetic vision of life, and those that seem to err in the direction of a voluptuous abandonment to the world of sense. It will be remembered that Marvell begins his poem with an impassioned apostrophe to the delicious solitude of the garden; next he denounces the stupid lovers who fail to see how far the beauties of the garden surpass those of a mortal woman, and finally he denounces erotic passion altogether in favour of a different kind of love ('When we have run our Passions heat, / Love hither makes his best retreat'). In the next stanza we expect a description of a non-erotic, elevated kind of love, but what do we get? This is surely no ascetic existence:

What wond'rous Life in this I lead!
Ripe Apples drop about my head;
The Luscious Clusters of the Vine
Upon my Mouth do crush their Wine;
The Nectaren, and curious Peach,
Into my hands themselves do reach;
Stumbling on Melons, as I pass,
Insar'd with Flow'rs, I fall on Grass.

¹ *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Poetic* (University of Wisconsin Press, 1950).
E. S. XL. 1959.

The 'garlands of repose,' it would seem, can be employed in the pursuit of sensual pleasure, and the amorous behaviour of the vegetable world more than compensates for the loss of a mere female mistress. To one critic, writing for *Scrutiny*, Marvell's garden, as described in this stanza, seemed 'a sort of giant fleshy orchid, deliciously hostile and unbridled by any rational end or discipline, which closes around the man and devours him'. A curious kind of sexual experience is hinted at when he adds that there is 'an ominous air of uncontrol about this picture of sensory pleasure, in which man becomes not agent but victim'.² And in a recent article in *ELH* Lawrence W. Hyman asks: 'What kind of garden is this where all the pleasures of passion can be enjoyed among trees and flowers, where plants are sexual and man is not? Despite the efforts of the critics, this central contradiction remains.'³

In an interesting attempt to solve this contradiction, L. W. Hyman applies the legend of the androgynous — or bi-sexual — Adam. This legend admittedly solves part of the puzzle. If one posits that Marvell was thinking of the time, before Eve was created, when Adam was supposed to have been bi-sexual, one understands why he describes this kind of solitude as 'delicious' and why he rejects the presence of Eve. 'When the poet enters the Garden, he is Adam in his innocent and androgynous state, walking about the Garden of Eden.'

In offering this solution Hyman does not claim originality, since Ruth Wallerstein had already referred to the same legend as a possible strand in the intellectual pattern of the poem. Much can be said in favour of Hyman's interpretation, which cannot be summarised here. My main objection is simply that his solution does not go far enough. More particularly, he fails to offer a sufficiently convincing explanation of the amorous behaviour of the vegetable world. He does not really succeed in explaining why plants make a better mistress than Eve. The circumstance that they reflect the androgynous state desired by the poet does not explain why *they* should pursue *him* so persistently with their love. This central problem still remains. It also remains to establish whether Marvell possibly was familiar with a specific literary source for the legend.

One possible source is the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which refers to this particular piece of abstruse learning as to so many others. This work, however, presents only a passing reference. A much more likely source can be located in a work which so far has received but scant attention by scholars concerned with Marvell's poem. Yet once this source has been consulted it will be seen that the context in which the legend there is placed, offers a very satisfactory explanation of the amorous behaviour of the 'lovely green.' Moreover, in this source the androgynous state is

² Harold Wendell Smith, 'Cowley, Marvell, and the Second Temple,' *Scrutiny*, XIX (1953), 190. Smith's interpretation has been discussed by me in my article on 'Benlowes, Marvell, and the Divine Casimire,' *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, XVIII (1954), 13-35.

³ L. W. Hyman, 'Marvell's Garden,' *ELH*, XXV (1958), 13.

given a spiritual explanation which leads up to the ecstatic experience which forms the crux of the poem. Finally, it can actually be proved that Marvell must have been familiar with this particular work.

The source which I have in mind is one which is connected with Plato as well as with *Genesis* (works consulted by Hyman), in that it presents an account of the creation of the world in Platonic terms. It consists of a number of brief books which the Renaissance believed to have been written, through divine revelation, by Hermes Trismegistus, a contemporary of Moses. True, in 1614 Isaac Casaubon had published a Latin edition of the Hermetic books in London, where he expressed the conviction that Hermes was a fictitious character, and that the books attributed to him must have been written by various authors who lived in the first century A.D. However, even he did not doubt that these authors were Christians, nor did 'that Learned Divine Doctor Everard' whose English translation appeared in 1649 or 1650.⁴ We now know that the authors were pagan Platonists living as late as the third or fourth century after Christ, and that the pronounced similarity to many Biblical passages is due to a common basis in the philosophy of Plato.⁵ Ficino, who published the first Latin translation of the Greek text in 1471, supposed that Plato had derived his theology from Hermes through Pythagoras. The presence of a continuous demand for the text is revealed by the fact that no less than twenty-two Latin editions appeared between 1471 and 1641. And no wonder, since the churchmen themselves recommended a close study of the Hermetic corpus.

If we now turn to the Hermetic books, and particularly to the first *Libellus* with its account of the creation of a totally androgynous world, even a fairly cursory reading reveals that here we have material which may serve very well to illuminate from within those intriguing passages in 'The Garden' which for the last twenty years or so have provoked so much interpretative cunning. As one reads on, one's conviction deepens that Marvell must have been writing within a convention established by the Hermetic, rather than the Mosaic, account of the Creation. However, subjectively convincing as internal evidence may be, it will always require objective corroboration to command general conviction. And, interestingly enough, such corroborative external evidence is found if one examines the conditions under which Marvell lived in the years from 1651 to 1653 — the period when he is generally supposed to have written not only 'Upon the Hill and Grove at Bill-borow, To the Lord Fairfax' and 'Upon Appleton House, to my Lord Fairfax', but also 'The Garden'. 'The Garden', too, is believed to be a poetic compliment to Thomas, Lord Fairfax, in whose household Marvell spent these years as a teacher of languages to the young Mary Fairfax.

⁴ The title-page gives the date as 1650, but the copy preserved in the British Museum shows a contemporary correction, in ink, to 1649.

⁵ See the introduction to Walter Scott, ed., *Hermetica* (Oxford, 1924-36).

Fairfax, although a general, was a man with pronounced literary and philosophical interests. On his retirement from active service in 1650 at the age of 38, Fairfax proceeded to put his leisure hours to account by composing metrical versions of *The Psalms*, *Canticles*, and other Biblical books, as well as original poetry. However, the interesting fact, to us, is that Fairfax was preoccupied with the Hermetic books to an extraordinary extent, in that he was working on a translation of these books into English. When he entered Fairfax's household, Marvell therefore came in direct contact with a milieu where Hermetic doctrines were a living reality.

Fairfax, indeed, was much more than an amateur translator working to while away the tedious hours of his repose. On consulting the manuscript volume now preserved in the British Museum, one discovers that Fairfax's translation was merely a point of departure for learned theological comment. His work was clearly a very real labour of love. Like so many of his contemporaries Fairfax believed that the Hermetic books presented divine revelations antedating those of Moses, and that they therefore came second only to Holy Writ itself. Indeed, in a way they *were* Holy Writ.⁶ It was clearly Fairfax's ambition to present an authoritative commented edition in English. In view of the fact that Dr. Everard's translation had already appeared before Fairfax's retirement, it would have been utterly pointless to work on a mere translation. Fairfax's procedure, instead, was to translate a fairly brief paragraph, and then to add several folio pages of close theological exposition. Fairfax's own writing therefore forms the most important part of his manuscript volume.

It will easily be realised how this fact strengthens our case. In his capacity of professional linguist and man of letters Marvell must have been consulted time and time again by his noble employer. Most probably he would have been involved in almost daily discussions of various aspects of the Hermetic philosophy. Such a situation offers the only possible explanation of why Marvell, in his poetic compliments to Fairfax, took care to include so many allusions to Hermetic lore.

Marvell may very well have been ignorant of the fact that other English poets were incorporating Hermetic doctrines into their poetry, but he was clearly familiar with the works of the most celebrated neo-Latin poet of his age, Casimire Sarbiewski, in whose Horatian odes and epodes Hermetic

⁶ 'It is verily believed', so Fairfax writes, 'had all his writings come to the view of this age, there would have been found in them a great concordance with The Holy Scriptures, seeing soe little as remains of them soe conforme to them, so as if itt had not beene writ before them, one would have verily thought he had taken the sence & substance of this present treatise out of them.' Mercurius Trismegistus Pimander, translated by Thomas Lord Fairfax. British Museum Manuscript Number 25447, page [3^v].

A similar view is expressed in the preface to Dr. Everard's translation, written by one J. F. 'In this Book . . . is contained more true knowledg of God and Nature, then in all the Books in the World besides, I except onely Sacred Writ.' *The Divine Pymander Of Hermes Trismegistus . . . Translated . . . By that Learned Divine Doctor Everard* (London, 1650), p. [A5^v].

ideas are frequently encountered.⁷ Marvell, then, could have been inspired by literary precept as well as by direct contact with a man who was submitting Hermetic doctrines to close scrutiny.

After these preliminary remarks let us turn to the test of internal evidence. Is it actually possible to apply a persistently Hermetic interpretation to Marvell's poem, and, if so, will such an interpretation solve all our difficulties so that unity and coherence are imposed upon what so far has seemed paradoxically conflicting?

Our analysis will take as its point of departure the strong contrast which is drawn in stanzas 1 and 2 between the 'unceasing Labours' of men in society on the one hand, and, on the other, 'delicious Solitude', 'Fair quiet', and 'the Garlands of repose'.

This contrast between a meditative, introvert existence and a worldly, busy life is, of course, frequently enough encountered in contexts that are purely Christian or neo-Stoic. This contrast, however, is also a basic part of the Hermetic philosophy. It is a basic part because the establishment of complete silence and bodily repose there is seen as the first step towards establishing the reign of mind over matter and hence towards union with God. The vision of God, so one reads in Everard's English translation of 1650, induces 'a Divine Silence, and the rest of all the Senses: For neither can he that understands that, understand any thing else, nor he that sees that, see any thing else, nor hear any other thing, nor in sum, move the Body.'⁸

This was a point that stirred Fairfax's interest deeply. The first Hermetic *Libellus* begins with the description of a vision experienced by Hermes, and in his extensive comments on this passage Fairfax again and again underlines the fact that while the vision lasts the body no longer functions but is, as it were, completely paralysed. He also compares the ecstatic experience of Hermes to that of the prophet Daniel, and again to that of St. Paul on his way to Damascus, 'where by a vision he was cast to the ground, deprived of all strength & corporal facultys, nothing remaining in him but the use of reason, understanding, & other intellectual powers.'⁹ And on another occasion Fairfax writes that silence is important, since by its means the 'intelligible powers' peculiar to man 'are maintained in their vigour, & garded from all hindrences and perturbation of speech'. Man's intelligible powers are diverted from their proper function by 'extravagant words unprofitable, or vitious'. And before sin was introduced, God 'was knowne, prayed, and revered' by silence.¹⁰

⁷ See the article by me referred to in footnote 3, and also Chapter IV of my book on *The Happy Man*, Vol. 1 (Oslo and Oxford, 1954). For contemporary translations of some of Casimire's odes, see Vaughan, *Olor Iscanus* (1651) and G. Hills, *The Odes of Casimire* (1646). The latter is available in Number 44 of the publications of the Augustan Reprint Society, published at Los Angeles in 1953.

⁸ Everard, *op. cit.*, p. 44. From Book IV, paragraph 17.

⁹ From Fairfax's comments on the opening lines of the first book.

¹⁰ Fairfax, *op. cit.*, p. [64Y].

The concepts that we are discussing — 'Fair quiet', 'repose', and 'delicious Solitude' — should also be related to the Hermetic view of the dual nature of man. Since man is compounded both of matter and mind, he is mortal and immortal at the same time. It is the mortal part that insists on the pursuit of inferior pleasures ('the Palm, the Oke, or Bayes'); the immortal part reveals itself only 'While all Flow'rs and all Trees do close / To weave the Garlands of repose.'

To understand the curious relationship between the poet and 'this lovely green' (stanzas 3, 4, and 5), it is necessary to give a brief summary of the Hermetic account of the creation of man.

During the first stage in his development man was mind only, like God. However, soon after his creation man penetrated downwards through the seven planetary spheres until he reached the earth. There he sees reflected 'the fair and beautiful Shape or Form of God' and falls in love with it. This reflection is that of his own mind, which is immortal and divine and part of God. On seeing 'a shape like unto himself' reflected in the watery element, man 'loved it, and would cohabit with it; and immediately upon the resolution, ensued the Operation.'¹¹ As a result of this union was created man's 'unreasonable Image or Shape', that is an image devoid of reason because composed of matter only. The interesting fact at this point is this: not only is man in love with Nature, because it reflects the image of God and hence also of his own mind, but Nature itself loves man when it sees the reflection of God in him: 'Nature presently laying hold of what it so much loved, did wholly wrap her self about it, and they were mingled, for they loved one another.'¹² One now sees exactly why 'No white nor red was ever seen / So am'rous as this lovely green', and why the poet submits to its passionate embrace. As in the Hermetic account, the sexual embrace reflects a union between the images of God in man and in Nature.

It is at this stage in the history of the creation of man that it is explicitly stated that man is a Hermaphrodite. In the words of Fairfax, 'being male & female, in the same body as the Scriptures said of the first man before he sined & before god took the woman out of the side of man.'¹³ All creatures, moreover, shared this bi-sexual structure and retained it for a certain unspecified period. During this period they were tied in a certain bond or knot which, in the words of Fairfax, 'held all things from action, poyse or motion'.¹⁴ Since this bi-sexual stage prevents all beings from indulging in action (forces them to enjoy the garlands of repose, as it were), it possesses a profound spiritual significance. While it is the property of matter to move, the mind is utterly quiescent. The androgynous state, therefore, is one in which matter is subordinated to mind. When

¹¹ Everard, *op. cit.*, p. 21. From Book II, paragraphs 23-24.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 21. Book II, par. 25.

¹³ Fairfax's own text, p. [42^v].

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. [44^x].

Marvell in his poem explicitly rejects motion, or physical pursuit (whether of honour or of women), in favour first of repose and then of a state 'without a Mate', we can be sure that Fairfax would have grasped the Hermetic context immediately. He would at once have seen that the Earthly Paradise visualised by Marvell reflects the androgynous period during which the divine element in the Creation reigned supreme, and when this element was mutually recognised and loved on all levels, whether animate or inanimate.

The androgynous period, however, was destined to come to an end, and so 'the bond of all things was loosed and untied by the Will of God ... and so the Males were apart by themselves, and the Females likewise.'¹⁵ Subsequently God commands all creatures to increase and to multiply (i.e. to engage in action or motion), but with this important caution attached: '... let him that is endued with Minde, know himself to be immortal; and that the cause of death is the love of the body.'¹⁶

If one returns to Marvell's poem with these passages in mind, one sees how pregnant with meaning his lines are. The usual type of mortal lover is 'fond' or stupid because he permits his soul to be engrossed by the vastly inferior love of the body, which is the cause of death. He is ignorant and cruel because he does not know himself or the true character of the Creation. He sees neither his own divinity nor that of the trees. Only the man who sharpens his intellectual powers through silence and bodily repose sees how far the beauty of 'this lovely green' exceeds that of women. Man, to him, is revealed as a 'mortal God'¹⁷ just as nature becomes a 'material God'.¹⁸ The amorous green, moreover, does not tempt him to lose his true identity as a mortal God by succumbing to the world of sense. Man's erotic or sexual passion, he realises, is nothing but a thoroughly undesirable preoccupation with the world of sense and motion. Indeed, the act of generation is in itself evil: 'For all things that are made or generated, are full of Passion; ... and where Passion is there is not the Good; where the Good is, there is no Passion.'¹⁹ Hence Marvell writes with admirable Hermetic logic: 'When we have run our Passions heat, / Love hither makes his best retreat.' The true good, in other words, is in the garden, in silence, physical repose, and in loving communion with the

¹⁵ Everard, *op. cit.*, p. 23 f. From II, 37.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24. From II, 38.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60. From IV, 93.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 48. From IV, 37.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 74. From VI, 10.

It should be underlined that a strong hatred of the body runs through the Hermetic books, a point which no doubt appealed to serious Englishmen like Fairfax. Thus Hermes admonishes his son: 'Except thou first hate thy body, O Son, thou canst not love thy self.' *Ibid.*, p. 163 (From XII, 26). Man should hate 'the wickedness of this garment [i.e. the body], and understand the traps and ambushes which it hath laid for thee.' This 'apparel' is 'hurtful' because it hides 'the things that are truly'. *Ibid.*, 101 f. (From VIII, 8 and 9).

'sacred green'.²⁰ The purpose of Marvell's re-enactment, in stanza 5, of that first passionate embrace between mind and matter seems to be to receive a taste of that purer love or *communion* which can be experienced only when the passions of the body have been stilled. This communion is apparently possible between superior and inferior parts of the Creation. 'But there is a communion of Souls', so Hermes says, 'and those of God, communicate with those [of] men; and those of men, with those of Beasts... Therefore is the World subject unto God, Man unto the World, and unreasonable things to Man.'²¹ And after having received mental illumination Tat, the son of Hermes, discovers that he is one with the entire Creation: 'I am in living Creatures, in Plants, in the Womb, every where.'²²

The process of purification or illumination through silence, repose, and communion with the amorous green leads logically to the climactic experience when the mind succeeds in 'Casting the Bodies Vest aside'. Marvell's description in this part of his poem, too, becomes much clearer if one relates it to the Hermetic exposition of the relationship between the mind and the body.

The Hermetic philosophy distinguishes between mind, soul, spirit, and body — the soul and the spirit forming intermediate stages between pure mind and pure matter. The mind informs the soul, and the soul is connected with the body through the spirit, which in its turn is diffused and passes through the veins and the arteries of the body.²³ The mind, it must be remembered, 'is of the very Essence of God' and hence 'is not cut off, or divided from the essentiality of God, but united as the light of the Sun.'²⁴ The mind therefore forms an ocean where 'each kind / Does streight its own resemblance find', just as the mind in its turn once had viewed its own image in the waters of the earth and thus had been led to cohabit with gross matter. 'Its own resemblance' would seem to be the image of God, since this image is in all things even in the inanimate world. The belief that the entire Creation is penetrated by soul is perhaps the most distinctive aspect of the Hermetic philosophy:

²⁰ The phrase is Casimire's. For a description of the 'sacred green' which woos man, see Casimire's Ode IV, 21 (a paraphrase of a passage taken from 'Salomon's sacred marriage song') as translated by G. Hills in his *Odes of Casimire* (London, 1646), pp. 83-89. Here, as elsewhere, Casimire's descriptions of Nature are pervaded by Hermetic concepts. His amorous green woos not only man, but also the wandering stars and the sun (cp. his first epode).

²¹ Everard, *op. cit.*, p. 57 f. From IV, 77 and 79.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 89. From VII, 47.

²³ 'The mind, which is immortal, cannot establish or rest it self, naked, and of it self, in an Earthly Body; neither is the Earthly Body able to bear such immortality: And therefore, that it might suffer so great vertue, the Minde compacted as it were, and took to it self the passible Body of the Soul, as a Covering or a Cloathing. And the Soul being also in some sort Divine, useth the Spirit as her Minister and Servant; and the Spirit governeth the living thing.' *Ibid.*, p. 53 f. From IV, 59.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138 f. From XI, 1 and 3.

All this Universal Body, in which are all Bodies is full of Soul, the Soul full of Minde, the Minde full of God.

For within he fills them, and without he contains them, quickening the Universe...

For there is nothing which is not the Image of God...

For therefore hath he made all things, that thou by all things mayest see him.

This is the Good of God, this is his Vertue, to appear, and to be seen in all things.²⁵

To summarise: In his mind man is united with God and with all creatures, animate or inanimate, and these creatures in their turn see the reflection of their own souls in the general ocean formed by the principle of mind. And once the proper degree of bodily repose has been achieved, it is possible for the mind to 'Withdraw into its happiness', that is, to withdraw into that part of the Creation which is God by dismissing 'the Bodies Vest'. In this moment the communion experienced in stanza five becomes absolute and complete. It becomes a complete union not only with God, but also with all the creatures and with the creative principle itself. This creative principle was not exhausted with the creation of man and the world, hence it comprises also 'Far other Worlds, and other Seas'. Through the process of withdrawal, 'all that's made' is annihilated to 'a green Thought in a green Shade'. This may possibly again be a reference to the rejection of that mortal aspect of the world which stands reflected in the division between males and females, and to the divine quality of bi-sexuality, a quality which very well may be referred to as 'green' since the vegetable world is the only part of creation which has retained its bi-sexual structure. An this bi-sexual structure in its turn represents the creative principle. This is underlined by Fairfax in his commentary on *Libellus I*, section 12, where he refers to God, adding: '(which was sayd before to have in him selfe both sexes) that is to say all power of production without any succour, or exterior ayde.'²⁶ By thus associating bi-sexuality with the creative principle, the legend of the androgynous Adam is again made the vehicle of profound spiritual insight.

But to return to the garden ecstasy. One notices that it is the soul which glides into the boughs; the mind is not released in its naked and divine state, it is still dressed in the soul as in a 'Covering or a Cloathing'.²⁷ The comparison to a bird is therefore very apt. As Fairfax would have known, the mind can be completely released only by the death of the body. The ecstasy which is experienced while in the body, yet out of it, consists in a release of the soul. Interestingly enough, the mind after death puts on a *fiery coat*, fire being its proper element. Pure mind 'hath the fire for its Body'.²⁸ In this circumstance one may possibly find an explanation of the 'various Light' which Marvell's soul 'Waves in its Plumes'. The fiery body of the mind shines through the outer

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 136 f. From X, 37, 134, 136 and 137.

²⁶ Fairfax, *op. cit.*, p. (23^r).

²⁷ See footnote 23.

²⁸ Everard, *op. cit.*, p. 54. From IV, 60—62.

garment of the soul, waiting for death, or 'longer flight', before it can be released.²⁹

It is significant that Marvell directly associates 'that happy Garden-state' with the ecstatic moment by adding a stanza on the Garden of Eden after the ecstasy has been completed. The implication is clearly that both the garden-state and the ecstasy consist in the reign of mind over matter. That the ecstasy consists in the release of the soul is a religious commonplace, but that the Earthly Paradise should symbolise a similar state is an idea closely associated only with Hermetic doctrines. When one adds the concept of the androgynous character of the Creation to this idea — as Marvell himself does in stanza 8 — the identification becomes complete. As far as I know, this particular juxtaposition of ideas can be found in no other context. The rejection of Eve, then, is no mere rejection of female companionship in favour of masculine solitude. It is a rejection of the reign of matter, symbolised by the act of generation, and an acceptance, instead, of that bi-sexual structure which man and the rest of the creatures originally shared with God, but which God alone retained together with the vegetable world.³⁰ As soon as man became mortal he could no longer remain solitary, since his mortality was the result of the division into two sexes. Hence 'twas beyond a Mortal's share / To wander solitary there.' However, unlike man, the 'fragrant Zodiac' of the concluding stanza has retained its androgynous structure and hence also its ability to commune with God and with the image of God in man. The world of flowers and herbs therefore forms the only suitable focussing-point for the concluding lines, just as it formed the point of departure for the opening stanzas. The 'sweet and wholesome Hours' are those in which 'all Flow'rs and all Trees do close / To weave the Garlands of repose.'

When thus related to a number of those Hermetic passages that Fairfax laboured to elucidate, Marvell's lines fall into a coherent and fascinating pattern. Thus, as we have seen, his rejection of women and of the passions of the body has now been placed in a context which explains why it is possible to turn from a rejection of sex and the world of sense in one moment to a frankly erotic intercourse with the 'lovely green' in the next. This 'central contradiction' now has completely vanished. The most impressive fact of all, however, is not the number of individual identifications that can be made with Hermetic doctrines, but the manner in which

²⁹ In the moment of death 'the Spirit is contracted into the blood, and the Soul into the Spirit; but the Minde being made pure, and free from these cloathings; and being Divine by Nature, taking a fiery Body, rangeth abroad in every place, leaving the Soul to judgment, and to the punishment it hath deserved.' *Ibid.*, p. 52. From IV, 56. It must be explained that the soul deserves punishment if it has permitted itself to love the body and hence to become corrupt.

³⁰ It is surely in keeping with the peculiar quality of Marvell's wit to interpret the concluding couplet of stanza 8 ('Two Paradises 'twere in one / To live in Paradise alone') as a clever allusion to bi-sexuality. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Kristian Smidt.

the poem now coheres. Moreover, Hermetic ideas are not found here and there in isolated stanzas, like philosophic fossils. Instead they carry the entire poem. On the esoteric level, the poem explains quite clearly how to achieve the reign of mind over matter in this life, and it does so in a manner which remains amazingly close to central Hermetic concepts. Like his great predecessor among the neo-Latin poets, Casimire Sarbiewski, Marvell knew how to transform philosophic ideas into Horatian lyrics.

Once one has grasped the various Hermetic references in Marvell's poem, one realises how surprisingly close to the surface the esoteric meaning actually lies. For a man like Fairfax (and one imagines, Henry Vaughan) it would have been mere child's play to catch the various allusions. They would have seen at once that the ulterior purpose of Marvell's retirement into the garden was to effect a process of regeneration. What Marvell has done, it to re-enact the history of man, but in reverse. He aims at ending where the whole process began: with pure mind.³¹

Regeneration is, of course, one of the key words of Marvell's period, and a concept which found ready acceptance not only among the Puritans. One of Vaughan's mystic poems carries this title, and this was also the title given by Dr. Everard to the seventh Hermetic book. Since this book presents practical advice on how to achieve regeneration, one must expect that a disciple of Hermes would pay particular attention to it. The advice is clear. It consists in an enumeration of twelve vices and of ten virtues, and therefore constitutes a Hermetic decalogue.

Since Marvel's lyric describes a process of regeneration, one must expect to find random references to the Hermetic virtues and vices. A complete correspondence would scarcely be compatible with the laws of poetic creation, but the more crucial concepts ought to be present, at least indirectly.

The first seven Hermetic virtues and vices form pairs of contrasting moral qualities, but this system breaks down since, for reasons connected with the mystique of numbers, the vices must correspond in number to the signs of the zodiac, while the virtues must be ten. Many of the virtues shade into each other, and this is even more true of the vices, so that identification is difficult. The first seven pairs, however, are more clearly outlined. These are: (1) ignorance — the knowledge of truth (2) sorrow — joy (3) intemperance — temperance (4) concupiscence — continence (5) injustice — justice (6) covetousness — communion, or a sharing, and (7) deceit — truth. The remaining vices are *envy*, *fraud* or *guile*, *wrath*, *rashness*, and *maliciousness*. The remaining virtues are *the good*, *life* and *light* — in other words, fairly vague Platonic concepts.

It is not difficult to discuss the contents of Marvell's poem in terms that employ the names of the Hermetic vices and virtues. Thus stanza 1 can be said to contrast the ignorance of those who pursue the palm, the oak, or bays, with those who have realised the truth that happiness is found only in repose of the body. Stanza two describes the sphere of sorrow,

³¹ 'And this Minde in men, is God, and therefore are some men Divine, and there [sic] Humanity is neer Divinity.' *Ibid.*, p. 138 f. From XI, 3-4.

which is that of 'busy companies of men', and points to the fact that true joy is found only in 'this delicious solitude'. So far, therefore, the poet has rejected two vices and embraced the corresponding two virtues. Stanzas three and four can be said to dismiss intemperance and concupiscence in favour of temperance and continence, while the fifth vice — *injustice* — may be found in the behaviour of the stupid lovers who attribute beauty to women, instead of to 'this lovely green'. And in the pursuit, by the gods, of Daphne and Syrinx, seeming injustice is turned to justice with the transformation of mortal beauty into immortal, bi-sexual creatures. As soon as the metamorphosis occurred, their pursuit became *just*. The purer love felt for 'this lovely green' leads to the virtue of *communion* and excludes the vice of *covetousness*, as exemplified by the behaviour of the fond lovers. *Deceit* and *truth* come fairly close to *injustice* — *justice*. One can say that if the gods had pursued Daphne and Syrinx as women, they would have been just as deceived as those who pursue the palm, the oak, or bays. Marvell seems to hint that they knew the truth concerning true beauty, since '*Apollo hunted Daphne so, / Only that She might Laurel grow.*' The eighth virtue of the full life seems described in stanza five, while *the good* and *light* are implied in the ecstatic experience of stanzas six and seven.

There is, then, a rough correspondence between Marvell's poem and the Hermetic virtues and vices, such as one would expect if he were thoroughly familiar with them and incorporated them without troubling to follow a numerical sequence. They seem *implied* by the context, but are nowhere directly stated. By itself this correspondence is not clear enough to convince, but when added to other material it serves to strengthen the case.

This article was prompted by the desire to find a source, if possible, for Marvell's use of the legend of the androgynous Adam. As a result of this quest it now seems apparent that Marvell drew upon Hermetic material for major parts of his poem. Such, indeed, was the extent of Marvell's indebtedness to the Hermetic philosophy in this particular lyric that it must be said to present an informed and competent handling of basic Hermetic principles. And, as we have seen, Marvell had every opportunity to acquire this familiarity during the period when he was the daily companion of Lord Fairfax. If it were only possible to learn more about the relationship between Marvell and Fairfax, further insights might be gained. Thus it would be desirable to know the contents of Fairfax's library and the exact dates when he worked on his commentary on the Hermetic books. Meanwhile it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that 'The Garden' is the finest example, in English lyric poetry, of the completely Hermetic poem. The fact that it can be enjoyed also by the uninitiated reveals the extent of Marvell's abilities as a poet.

'Ulysses' and Tennyson's Sea-quest

Probably more than any other Victorian poet, Tennyson has been belaboured by some modern critics for his simplicity, his lack of synthetic grasp of complex impulses and attitudes. It is held that while Tennyson was a poet of extremely varied moods and feelings, he preferred what I. A. Richards calls elimination to synthesis in the individual poem, and thus his failure to achieve the kind of inclusive richness which Donne and T. S. Eliot achieve through ambiguity, paradox and irony, has made him less attractive to critics whose criteria of greatness are mainly based on these aspects. Yet Cleanth Brooks observed some years ago that though Tennyson does not typically build his conflicting impulses into the structure of his poetry as enriching ambiguities, he is not always successful in avoiding the ambiguous and the paradoxical, and in some of his poems this failure becomes a saving grace.¹ As the present study will attempt to show, this is true also of 'Ulysses', a poem in which Tennyson effects an imaginative reconciliation of the perplexities of 'The Two Voices' and 'In Memoriam'.

It would appear that, in much of his poetry, Tennyson indeed fails or never attempts to express these impulses in complex and inclusive vision, and instead has recourse to a more perilous and annoying method — that of projecting the impulses singly into variations on the same theme, variations which tend to cancel out each other in an endless see-saw game, like the juvenile pair 'Nothing Will Die' and 'All Things Will Die'. Or, if the two voices are allowed their say in a poem, as they often are, we get the Tennysonian dialectic of simple discussion. The result in either case may be loss of dramatic intensity or emotional depth.

There is one group of poems where this contradictory handling of theme is strongly in evidence, and which for convenience we may call the poems of quest, or more generally, of the 'Homo Viator'. It is a fairly large and varied group, and the two voices here claim either that the quest is good and necessary, or that it is futile. In the first category the best known are 'Ulysses', 'Sir Galahad', 'The Sailor Boy', 'Merlin and the Gleam', 'Crossing the Bar'; in the second we find 'The Sea-Fairies', 'The Lotos-Eaters', 'The Voyage', 'The Voyage of Maeldune', and 'To Ulysses'.² The most successful of the entire group, and the most personal, is the early 'Ulysses' (1833). In this poem Tennyson created a powerful private allegory of courage and dedication within the framework of the Ulysses tradition, which serves as a vehicle, and whose limitations are respected, while the poet in his symbolic implications transcends them. It is by relating the images and symbols to their persistent meanings elsewhere in Tennyson's poetry that this extension of the quest becomes obvious.

¹ *The Well Wrought Urn* (1947), p. 153.

² The 'anti-quest' treatment in 'The Lotos-Eaters' is, of course, ironical. In most of the other poems it is stated by implication.

As W. B. Stanford has shown, 'it was Dante who revolutionized the interpretation of Ulysses's final fate by presenting him as a man possessed by an irresistible desire for knowledge and experience of the unknown world.'³ Tennyson may have been familiar with the *Inferno* at an early age, since Boyd's translation was in his father's library, and his interest in Dante was no doubt greatly stimulated by Arthur Hallam's enthusiasm.⁴ It seems certain that by the time of 'Ulysses' Tennyson knew Cary's translation of the *Inferno*, for the severe and majestic tone, as well as phrases and images in the account of Ulysses's last voyage (Canto 26), bear a resemblance to those in 'Ulysses' which could hardly be accidental. This is what Dante's Ulysses (in Cary's translation), tells Virgil:

Nor fondness for my son, nor reverence
Of my old father, nor return of love,
That should have crown'd Penelope with joy,
Could overcome in me the zeal I had
To explore the world, and search the ways of life,
Man's evil and his virtue. Forth I sail'd
Into the deep illimitable main,
With but one bark, and the small faithful band
That yet cleaved to me.

At last, 'tardy with age', they came to the 'strait pass' which Hercules had marked as 'the boundaries not to be o'erstepp'd by man', but still Ulysses urged his weary companions to persevere in the quest:

'O brothers!' I began, 'who to the west
Through perils without number now have reach'd;
To this the short remaining watch, that yet
Our senses have to wake, refuse not proof
Of the unpeopled world, following the track
Of Phoebus. Call to mind from whence ye sprang:
Ye were not form'd to live the lives of brutes,
But virtue to pursue and knowledge high.'

Here indeed Tennyson found a zeal congenial to his own intellectual craving, but what was to Dante an awesome characteristic in a great sinner becomes a virtue in Tennyson's hero. Between Dante and Tennyson there is the considerable distance between the mediæval and modern worlds, separated by Renaissance zest for adventure and knowledge and the Romantic yearning for fresh experience and fuller life. And it would appear that the reason why Tennyson could translate Dante into such personal terms is to be sought, not so much in the literary adaptations and metamorphoses of the Ulysses myth, as in the vague Romantic idea of the value and importance of man's spiritual quest, which drew upon varied traditions, neo-Platonic and Christian, of the 'Homo Viator', the crusader and the pilgrim. Moreover, in the eighteenth century the identification

³ *The Ulysses Theme* (1954), p. 202.

⁴ Cf. Charles Tennyson, *Alfred Tennyson* (1949), pp. 64-65.

of wandering and learning had been finally established, so that the 'Wander- und Lehrjahre' became a characteristic feature of the hero's, and the poet's, career.⁵ Pilgrimages to shrines of religion and centres of art and culture, and the search for knowledge and a richer experience of life outside the dulling routine of a familiar environment, were seen as the noblest forms of human fulfilment. Cervantes in the seventeenth century and Byron in the nineteenth might well expose the futility of the quest, yet it still continued to fascinate the poet, the scholar, and the young gentleman planning his grand tour of Europe. As for its literary uses, Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* and Goethe's *Faust* supply the most striking evidence of the allegorical possibilities of the idea, and among the English Romantics Wordsworth in *The Prelude* and Shelley in *Alastor* demonstrate how the quest might be handled both as direct projection and private myth, but increasingly with emphasis on the inward and symbolic meaning of the journey.

There are two poems by Tennyson where this conception of the search is exploited, 'Sir Galahad' and 'Ulysses'. In both the creative impulse is a need for dedication and fulfilment, but it is the more inclusive setting of the Ulysses theme rather than the Christian or Arthurian legend which provides the most congenial vehicle. The quest of Ulysses, as Dante told it and as the Romantics in various ways had amplified it, was one that strongly challenged Tennyson as a poet and as a man, and in the moment of crisis when 'Ulysses' was written, just after the death of his friend Arthur Hallam in 1833, it appears to have achieved for Tennyson something of a real catharsis.

There is more about myself in 'Ulysses', which was written under the sense of loss and all that had gone by, but that still life must be fought out to the end. It was more written with the feeling of his loss upon me than many poems in 'In Memoriam'.⁶

While it is important to keep in mind the Ulysses tradition and its influence on the poem, particularly that of Dante, there can be no doubt that the most relevant context for an interpretation of the poem is Tennyson's personal situation in 1833, and his poetry of that and other periods which through theme or treatment or symbolism is linked with it. It will be necessary, therefore, first to rehearse some of the biographical data.

Already before the death of Arthur Hallam, Tennyson had reached a point of crisis early in the year 1833, owing to the ruthless handling by the critics of his first collections of poetry. Arthur Hallam was Tennyson's 'artistic conscience' during those difficult months after the reviews by Christopher North and Croker. By September he was dead, and there was scarcely anyone left who believed, as Hallam believed, that Tennyson was the great coming poet — the heir of Wordsworth and Keats.

⁵ Cf. Goldsmith's *The Traveller*. More important still are the illustrations of this ideal, particularly of the poet as epic hero, provided by Goethe, Chateaubriand and Wordsworth.

⁶ Sir James Knowles, 'Aspects of Tennyson', *Nineteenth Century*, XXXIII, p. 182.

In the following months Tennyson lived through a crisis in which grief and perplexity and wounded pride released a chain reaction of other emotional and intellectual disturbances, never remote: his craving for truth and certainty concerning the fundamental questions of human existence; the conflict in his mind between religious faith and doubt; and his ambivalent attitude to death — partly a longing for absolute peace, for Nirvana, partly a horror of death as the end of identity. From this painful experience grew the direct confessions of 'The Two Voices' and 'In Memoriam', and it is significant that both these poems struggle towards a catharsis of intellectual certainty and fulness of life. So too, in a more indirect manner, does 'Ulysses', a poem, according to Tennyson, about 'the need of going forward and braving the struggle for life'.⁷ To appreciate the heroism of this determination one must accept the unique quality of his temperament and bear in mind that the temptation of 'The Two Voices': 'Were it not better not to be?' was no doubt real and persistent for a long time. There is a dream recorded in 'In Memoriam' (ciii) where Tennyson's desire to follow his friend into death is projected into a sea-voyage over the 'tides', 'from deep to deep', in phrases that point all the way to 'Crossing the Bar'.⁸

The other impulse, the love of life and 'need of going forward', is, however, victorious in 'The Two Voices' and 'In Memoriam', and Tennyson's description of his elegy as 'The Way of the Soul', like many passages in the poem (notably i, lxxxii, cxviii, and conclusion) suggest that Tennyson early conceived of his adversity as a spiritual pilgrimage through purgatorial grief and suffering towards fulfilment, truth and peace. Since the aspect of intellectual certainty is so important in this pilgrimage, it gives new impetus to the poet's craving for knowledge, his youthful passion

'To search through all I felt and saw,
The springs of life, the depths of awe,
And reach the law within the law.'⁹

And thus we find Tennyson planning with extraordinary determination his reading in the early months of 1834, in subjects ranging from theology to chemistry and electricity.¹⁰ His intellectual curiosity provided in this moment of crisis a clue for the only kind of action — apart from that of writing poetry — which was still meaningful and worth while. This, then, is the situation, and the mood, from which 'Ulysses' springs.

'Ulysses' is a dramatic monologue, and it has a unity of structure due

⁷ *A Memoir*, I, p. 196.

⁸ See also the death-wish in 'Tithonus': 'Release me, and restore me to the ground...', which was probably written about the same time. Cf. Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry* (1957), p. 218, on a similar attitude in *Tiresias*: 'But for me, / I would that I were gather'd to my rest...', dated by Tennyson's son to the same time as 'Ulysses'.

⁹ 'The Two Voices'.

¹⁰ *A Memoir*, I, p. 124.

partly to its compactness (70 lines), partly to the single point of view. Yet the structure is also remarkable for the varied rhythmic movement through which it develops: the perception expands and contracts, turns inward and reaches out to distant times and places; it changes from retrospect to anticipation, from the egocentric 'I' to the collective 'we'. This rhythm inheres in the temperamental dynamic of the hero, and emphasises his restlessness and discontent, his yearning for 'a newer world'. There are three main parts: the first presents the hero in situation and environment (ll. 1-32); the second dramatises the hero's task through a contrast with that of his son (ll. 33-43); and the third actualises his departure, and the purpose of his quest (ll. 44-70).

(Unlike Dante's hero, Ulysses has returned home after his long voyages, and, feeling disenchanted with his land and people, is impatient to put to sea once more. He finds himself in a paradoxical situation: he is 'an idle king', and unrecognised. Thus a conflict is set up already in the first lines between the hero and his environment, a conflict dramatised in the antithetical phrasing. Heroic travel and action is contrasted with a quiet, dull homelife, and the experienced, and by implication, cultured man with a coarse, lethargic people. The King's sense of alienation is expressed in these lines with a touch of egocentric arrogance and harshness. Yet from this sense of alienation and discontent rises the magnificent retrospect of the hero's past, and his craving for new adventure. In this situation Ulysses is seen to partake of various qualities and traditions. Dante's 'zeal... To explore the world...', and 'virtue to pursue and knowledge high' is linked with the Romantic zest for novel experience. Ulysses has lived a life between heroic extremes — 'enjoy'd greatly' and 'suffer'd greatly', but unlike the Byronic hero, his travels have not resulted in misanthropy and boredom. On the contrary, Tennyson stresses his enthusiasm through a sustained use of appetitive terms: 'I will drink life to the lees'; 'always roaming with a hungry heart'; and 'drunk delight of battle'. If it is true, as W. H. Auden suggests, that the classical hero is a happy man, pleased with his past, while the Romantic hero 'ought to be unhappy', then Ulysses in this respect stands in the classical tradition rather than the Romantic, though here too a balance is struck in the antithetical poise which characterises his speech.¹¹

In the 'autobiographical' first part of the poem, Tennyson insists on the richness and fulness of the hero's past, and on the heroic measure of his experience, through the emphatic use of 'all': 'all times I have enjoy'd greatly...'; 'but honour'd of them all'; 'I am a part of all that I have met...'. Besides the ample use of antitheses, the stately phrasing equally sustains this effect, notably in lines like: 'when / Through scudding drifts the rainy Hyades / Vext the dim sea...' and 'Far on the ringing plains of windy Troy.'

¹¹ On the Romantic conception of the hero as unhappy, and neurotic, see W. H. Auden, *The Enchafèd Flood* (1950), pp. 107, 111.

It would appear that Ulysses in his scorn of his people — 'that hoard, and sleep, and feed...' — is an arrogant Byronic alien in his own land, very different from Homer's nostalgic hero. Yet what he seeks is not Romantic solitude, and not the favourite companionship of Childe Harold: mountains, ocean, desert, forest and cavern.¹² His interests in the past were social and human, and far from being an outcast, he has enjoyed company and honour. The things he has seen and the values he has found are predominantly social and public values: 'cities of men / And manners... councils, governments...'; and while, like a true Romantic hero, he is proud of the legendary magnificence of his adventurous life, he equally asserts the value of his experience as knowledge and self-knowledge, and in this respect he is an Ancient Greek and a Victorian rather than a Romantic.¹³ What chiefly distinguishes Ulysses from the Romantic 'voyageur sans but' is the meaning of the journey itself: to him it is not an aesthetic enjoyment, not the reckless chase after a mirage, as in 'The Voyage' (Tennyson's version of Baudelaire's 'Le Voyage')

We know the merry world is round,
And we may sail for evermore.

It is that in this way, and in this way only, can he 'shine in use' — act himself out completely and to the best purpose. This usefulness, it is true, does not refer itself to a social or distinctly ethical context (as it does in 'The Sailor Boy'). But the ethical implications are not remote, for Ulysses is throughout concerned with the good life and with value. Hence his renewed condemnation of the sloth and inertia of those that hoard and sleep and feed: 'As though to breathe were life.' Here again Tennyson's hero speaks like Dante's Ulysses, but the phrase 'Life piled on life / Were all too little' draws a more poignant meaning from such contemporary poems as 'The Two Voices', where the voice of hope argues against the voice of despair:

"Tis life whereof our nerve is scant,
Oh life, not death, for which we pant:
More life, and fuller, that I want.'

And the early passages of 'In Memoriam' show a recurrence of the same idea. Tennyson achieves a singular emotional intensity here in contrasting the unabated life-zest of Ulysses with his feeling of approaching death — 'that eternal silence', and from the tension thus created a new sense of urgency arises which precipitates his determination to leave. On this impulse the poem moves to the splendid climax which ends the first part:

and vile it were
For some three suns to store and hoard myself.
And this grey spirit yearning in desire

¹² *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, III, xlii.

¹³ On the other hand, as Douglas Bush points out: 'The Greek world had no room for a mind and soul questing after the unknown.' *Mythology and the Romantic Tradition in English Poetry*, p. 209.

To follow knowledge, like a sinking star,
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

Here knowledge becomes identical with 'experience' (l. 19), and in this connection it is relevant to note that while Tennyson echoes Dante's doomed hero, (even the image of the star, Phoebus), the pivotal word 'knowledge', and the yearning for a larger view of the world and its meaning, are central themes in Tennyson's poetry. The idea of 'every hour' as a 'bringer of new things' links this yearning for knowledge with themes of advance and progress which also occur frequently in his early volumes, and which, for good or bad, coincided so well with the taste of his times.

In the second part of the poem, where Ulysses turns to speak of his son, we get a marked change in mood and situation. Stanford maintains that this passage is spoken in a Byronic mood, i.e. that Ulysses expresses an 'ironical contempt for the home-loving Telemachus' whom he finds 'intolerably complacent and priggish'.¹⁴ It is difficult to accept this reading, for though it may be in character (cf. the initial words about 'an aged wife' and 'a savage race'), it would appear that the hero's attitude has changed somewhat from the scorn and rejection in which the poem begins. Now that he is taking leave, he is free to recognise the usefulness of his son's task, while he marks his own different vocation: 'He works his work, I mine'. The intention of the passage is exactly this — to dramatise Ulysses' dedication through a contrast with the 'sphere of common duties', and this contrast is fully achieved without irony. Moreover, Ulysses speaks of his son with genuine affection, as 'mine own' and 'well-loved of me'; and he no longer sees his people as 'savage', but as 'rugged' (which is a different matter), and capable of being educated and civilised. The 'labour' of Telemachus implies the rule of order and of law, and it would be strange indeed if Tennyson, whose besetting fear was of chaos and disorder, in this personal allegory should heap ridicule on 'the useful and the good.' Ulysses rejects the ties of society as barriers to his independent perception of value, but equally he rejects the temptation of the Hesperidian gardens, i.e. isolation, and the easy choice of the Lotos Eaters to 'live and lie reclined / On the hills like Gods together, careless of mankind'. Unlike the Lotos Eaters, Ulysses has not had enough of action and motion, he does not seek 'death, or dreamful ease', but 'some work of noble note'. It may not benefit his people or mankind directly, but it will bear witness to one essential aspect of life: 'To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield'.

Tennyson was fully aware of the temptation to which the Lotos Eaters yielded, of the peaceful garden isle in the West, of the 'one fair vision' pursued by the mariners in 'The Voyage'. But at the moment he was far more concerned with his very existence as a man and as a poet, and it is 'Ulysses' which expresses his prevailing instinct. The important

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 203. The same view is taken by Friedrich Brie, "Tennyson's *Ulysses*. *Anglia*, LIX (1935), pp. 441-447.

allegorical correlatives in the poem are such emphatic words as 'work', 'toil' and 'some work of noble note', rather than the departure from land and people. One may question, therefore, W. H. Auden's opinion of 'Ulysses' as a 'refusal to be a responsible and useful person, a glorification of the heroic dandy'.¹⁵

In the last part of the poem Ulysses turns to his companions of the sea, in an appeal that again recalls Dante's hero. Here too the imagery groups itself in antitheses, and the heroic measure of the future task is emphasised, as well as its paradox: 'Old age hath yet his honour and his toil'. The terms of achievement are not the classical ones of marital glory, but of work. It is indeed remarkable that Ulysses, despite his Homeric ancestry, makes only one brief reference to battle, while the bulk of the first part is concerned with experience and knowledge, and the final part with work and toil. This emphasis on endeavour and work may indicate the change in taste, and the changing conception of the hero (rather the 'great man') which announces the Victorian era, but more directly it expresses the poet's awareness of the effort and perseverance needed to gain mastery in his art, an awareness which, as we know, resulted in the 'ten years' silence'.

As the poem draws to a close, the quest-impulse reaches a new climax:

for my purpose holds
To sail beyond the sunset, and the baths
Of all the western stars until I die.
It may be that the gulfs will wash us down:
It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles,
And see the great Achilles, whom we knew.

The hero's stoical acceptance of the fatal possibilities of the search throws into relief his yearning as well as his courage, and here, in the dramatic contrast between the gulfs and the Happy Isles, the only reference to the poet's dead friend — 'the great Achilles' — occurs. It is significant that Ulysses does not sail *in order to* reach the Happy Isles and join the great Achilles, (as the poet does in 'In Memoriam' ciii). His anticipation is merely to 'touch', i.e. visit the isles of the Blest, and not, apparently, to enjoy for ever an elysian life. If the Happy Isles are a symbol of beatific existence, of life after death, it is clear that they do not invite him as an immediate goal. This attitude suggests that underneath the stoical control and fine imaginative handling of the quest-impulse there is Tennyson's craving, as in 'The Two Voices' and 'In Memoriam', for more and fuller life rather than beatitude, the craving which justifies T. S. Eliot's remark that Tennyson's 'concern is for the loss of man rather than for the gain of God.'¹⁶ There are some lines in 'Wages' which apply to Ulysses' attitude:

She desires no isles of the blest, no quiet seats of the just,
To rest in a golden grove, or to bask in a summer sky:
Give her the glory of going on, and not to die.

¹⁵ Tennyson. *An Introduction and Selection* (1946), p. xix.

¹⁶ "Tennyson's *In Memoriam*", *Selected Prose* (Penguin), p. 181.

Whatever the private symbolic meaning of the Happy Isles, it is one of the few classical allusions in the antithetical pattern of imagery which actualises the search.

In the closing lines of the poem, the tone becomes more personal than before, and at the same time more objectively inclusive. Here the sense of loss, the weakness inflicted by time and fate, is poignantly expressed, yet it is assimilated to the mythical tradition (Dante) and expands into a universal feeling in the collective 'we' — 'One equal temper of heroic hearts.' Tennyson, exploiting the medium of rhetorical exhortation, transcends the egocentric 'I' of the first part and thus achieves a more powerful cathartic effect in the conclusion. Here, more clearly than before, the painful tension which underlies the emotional structure of the poem works towards a paradoxical balance through antonyms and contrasting terms, and in this way the central experience of the poem is concentrated for the splendid release in the final line.

The heroic character which thus emerges from the poem is remarkable both for its unity and complexity, and for the manner in which it integrates personal impulses and literary traditions. With the stoical bravery of Antiquity is linked the Romantic (and Dantesque) zeal for experience, and both are subordinated to the yearning for knowledge and self-knowledge which is both Socratic and Victorian. Arrogance and tenderness, egocentric introspection and sense of fellowship clash and mingle in the hero's pervasive sense of value and dedication. Ultimately, Ulysses is an embodiment of the imaginative power of the mind to create order from chaos, and unity of will from a multiplicity of impulses which threaten to shatter the sense of direction and identity in a moment of fatal choice. It is true that the search of Ulysses points to no definite goal, and thus is open to the charge of quixotic idealism, but in terms of its imaginative structure the search is justified by the hero's desire to achieve 'some work of noble note', and his yearning to 'follow knowledge', which implies both truth and its uses. The attitude of Ulysses in this respect is determined by his conviction that though his land is barren and his people savage, and he himself idle and unrecognised, the world is a place where action is meaningful and work noble. It is, in fact, through his recognition of the essential order and beauty of the world that Ulysses acts on his impulse to follow knowledge, to strive and seek. And, as the hero 'orgulous' of the opening lines bends his will to the search, his harshness and scorn, and his egocentricity, give way to the 'magnanimous reflectiveness' which Douglas Bush notes.¹⁷

The most enigmatic aspect of the poem is the hero's attitude to death. Underneath his yearning for life and knowledge there is a pervasive consciousness of death, and since this is natural in the old Ulysses, we realise once more how well Tennyson has chosen the situation of Dante's explorer to objectify his personal crisis. It would appear that the hero's

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 209.

acceptance of death is unequivocal: death is the 'eternal silence', 'Death closes all', and therefore, apart from the vague anticipation of the Happy Isles, Ulysses is bent on the experience of life and determined to make the most of it. The meaning of death, as the end of action and experience, is marked three times (ll. 27, 51, 61), and it is integral to the emotional structure of the poem — the sense of urgency which underlies the hero's 'purpose'. Yet in this way a tension is set up between the hero's insatiable love of life and the feeling that death closes all, and in this tension we recognise the obsessive emotional conflict in 'The Two Voices' and 'In Memoriam'. Indeed, a unique aspect of the poem is its apparently detached attitude to the disturbing question whether man in death will be for ever 'seal'd within the iron hills?' In its own manner, however, 'Ulysses' too faces this question, and the tension here too seeks release in fulfilment — in novel experience in the 'untravell'd world', in the pursuit of knowledge 'beyond the utmost bound of human thought', and the hope of finding 'a newer world', 'beyond the sunset, and the baths / Of all the western stars...' These phrases, in the context of Tennyson's poetry, carry strong connotations of spiritual quest and transcendent existence, and if we connect them with other aspects, particularly with symbolic uses of sea-scape, they form a pattern of meaning which extends the panorama in 'Ulysses' considerably beyond the limits set by the explicit statement 'Death closes all'. It is true that such a reading appears to contradict the hero's view of death, but it does so only if we assume that the explicit statements and the symbols work on the same level, and are subject to the same logic. Rather it would seem that for once Tennyson has given his conflicting voices not only different keys, but different languages, and the result is, paradoxically, a synthesis more interesting and satisfactory than the elimination which takes place in poems where they speak in the same discursive terms.

The symbolic pattern of the sea-scape emerges perceptibly when we relate 'Ulysses' to other poems where Tennyson uses the quest-theme — in 'Sir Galahad', 'In Memoriam' ciii, 'Merlin and the Gleam', 'Crossing the Bar', and poems which exploit the same key symbols, such as 'St. Agnes' Eve', 'In Memoriam' cxxv, 'De Profundis', 'Idylls of the King', 'The Ancient Sage', and 'Akbar's Dream'.¹⁸

The Tennysonian quest is almost always a mystical adventure and implies an exploration into the hidden meanings of existence, into the world of spiritual essence, and beyond death. The impulses active in this search are given various manifestations, but usually the *Homo Viator* is impelled by 'yearning' ('Ulysses', 'Tiresias'), or he is urged on by some externalised symbol of aspiration, like the 'voice' in 'Youth', the 'blessed vision' of Sir Galahad, the 'Gleam' which Merlin follows, or again it may be a 'summons' or 'call' from the sea ('In Memoriam' ciii, 'Crossing the Bar').

¹⁸ Also in the unpublished 'Youth', see *A Memoir*, I, pp. 112-115.

The quest, as a rule, is a voyage, and the sea thus represents the world of spiritual essence or potentiality. Even Sir Galahad leaves his charger to board a 'magic bark' on 'mountain meres', and his mystical experience, the vision of the Holy Grail, comes to him on 'dark tides'. In 'The Holy Grail' (*Idylls of the King*) Galahad sails away, into death, on the 'great Sea'. In 'St. Agnes' Eve' there is an anticipation of the 'sabbaths of Eternity / One sabbath deep and wide — / A light upon the shining sea —'. The dream in 'In Memoriam' ciii of the poet's reunion with his dead friend records a voyage over the 'forward-creeping tides... From deep to deep', and after the reunion, their 'shining' ship sails towards a 'crimson cloud / That landlike slept along the deep.'¹⁹ This dream points to the anticipation, and its conscious and definite use of 'deep' in a mystical sense, in section cxxv:

And if the song were full of care,
He breathed the spirit of the song;
And if the words were sweet and strong
He set his royal signet there;

Abiding with me till I sail
To seek thee on the mystic deeps,
And this electric force, that keeps
A thousand pulses dancing, fail.

Most explicit is the meaning of 'deep' in 'De Profundis' (1852): 'the deep / Where all that was to be, in all that was...'; 'that great deep, before our world begins, / Whereon the Spirit of God moves as He will —', which is the waters of Genesis, but also the Platonic world of spiritual essence: 'that true world within the world we see...'²⁰ In that sense 'deep' is used also in 'Akbar's Dream', where the 'Great Voice' (God) is synonymous with the 'true Deep'. The spiritual connotation of the word is sometimes emphasised by epithets like 'boundless'. Merlin's final vision of the Gleam is on the border of 'boundless Ocean'. In 'The Ancient Sage' 'boundless deep' is again the Platonic conception, while in 'Crossing the Bar' it is the world of spirit to which the soul returns. In this latter context 'deep' becomes synonymous with death, and implies this sense in both the sections quoted from 'In Memoriam', in 'De Profundis' (l. 15: 'that last deep where we and thou are still'), and in 'The Coming of Arthur' and 'The Passing of Arthur', which are interesting for their synthesis of the symbolic meanings of 'deep' as birth and death: 'From the great deep to the great deep he goes.' The occurrence and handling of these symbols show that their meanings were realised already at the time of 'St. Agnes' Eve', 'Sir Galahad' and 'Ulysses', nor indeed were they original, but they became more consciously exploited and fixed with the years.

Though Tennyson may have used these images as purely descriptive

¹⁹ Section ciii was written shortly after the Tennysons' removal from Somersby in 1837.

²⁰ Tennyson's sea is clearly not 'the symbol of primitive potential power... of living barbarism...' which Auden finds in the Romantic image. Cf. *The Enchafed Flood*, p. 20.

terms in 'Ulysses', or used them as symbols with a different meaning, it would appear that such phrases as 'dark broad seas', and 'the deep / Moans round with many voices', work in their descriptive or reflective contexts towards the suggestion of a mystical, transcendent sense. This symbolic extension is felt in particular through the association of these sea-images with the idea of unending quest: 'Yet all experience is an arch where-through / Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades / For ever and for ever when I move,' and: 'beyond the utmost bound', and again: 'beyond the sunset and the baths / Of all the western stars'.²¹

The quest-theme frequently makes use of stars, either as 'pilot stars' ('The Lotos-Eaters', and also in 'Tithonus': 'the silver star, thy guide'.) or as an image associated with the 'summons' or 'calls' from the sea. 'Crossing the Bar' is again a focal point for these various symbolic meanings, and here 'sunset and evening star' includes connotations of impending death and spiritual destiny which may have been realised already in the similar image in 'Ulysses'. The 'sinking star' of knowledge is, however, more closely linked with the symbols of aspiration which we find in 'Sir Galahad', where the glory of the Holy Grail 'star-like mingles with the stars', and further with the 'morning star' which beckons to the Sailor Boy.²² The passing of Sir Galahad in 'The Holy Grail' describes him as a 'silver star' on the 'great Sea'. In connection with 'Sir Galahad' and 'Crossing the Bar' it is significant that Ulysses too sails into the night and the starlit sea.

Another recurrent aspect of this sea-scape is the fascination of the horizon — the 'margin' of the 'untravell'd world'. 'Margin' occurs also in 'Merlin and the Gleam', 'marge' in 'In Memoriam' xii, while elsewhere 'brim' ('The Voyage') and 'bourne' ('Crossing the Bar') are used. The 'untravell'd world' beckons to the explorer in 'gleams' and 'glimpses', and these words, with connotations of mystical insight, intuition, religious revelation, are used extensively in Tennyson's poems.²³

In the light of this evidence, it is reasonable to suggest that the sea-quest in 'Ulysses' contains a distinct though unobtrusive aspect of spiritual and transcendent meaning. It is probable, moreover, that Tennyson in this poem (and in the contemporary 'St. Agnes' Eve') for the first time perceived the symbolic uses to which these sea- and quest-images might be put, at any rate: his subsequent handling of them is fairly consistent though in many cases far more obvious.

There is further evidence which relates in particular to the enigmatic phrase: 'the deep / Moans round with many voices.' While this is a fine descriptive image, it also implies the projection into the sea of human utterances of grief or sadness, possibly also of the voices of the dead.

²¹ There is a different use of the sea-image in the ironical contemplation of the voyage in 'The Lotos-Eaters' — 'barren foam', and 'The Voyage' — 'waste waters'.

²² The same symbol, in a different context, is used in 'The Voyage': 'New stars all night above the brim...'

²³ Cf. 'The Two Voices', 'In Memoriam', 'Tithonus', 'Tiresias', 'The Ancient Sage', 'Faith'.

Tennyson developed this symbolic association of sea, death, spiritual departure and sorrow notably in the Arthurian poems, but one may conjecture that he first became aware of it during the writing of the early sections of 'In Memoriam' (ix-xvii). In these there is a preoccupation with the voyage of the ship which carried his dead friend to England, and they bear witness to its emotional and imaginative impact:

For I in spirit saw thee move
Through circles of the bounding sky;
Week after week: the days go by:
Come quick, thou bringest all I love. (xvii)

And — as his grief-stricken mind dwells on the sea:

Calm on the seas, and silver sleep,
And waves that sway themselves in rest,
And dead calm in that noble breast
Which heaves but with the heaving deep. (xi)

In 'The Passing of Arthur', the dying King is carried out to sea in a dark ship, amid the wailing of the three Queens, and Sir Bedivere stands watching:

But when that moan had past for evermore,
The stillness of the dead world's winter dawn
Amazed him, and he groan'd, 'The King is gone.'
And therewithal came on him the weird rhyme,
'From the great deep to the great deep he goes,'

This 'weird rhyme' connects 'The Passing of Arthur' with 'The Coming of Arthur'. The images and phrasing in these poems, both composed in 1870, are clearly linked with 'Ulysses' as well as 'In Memoriam'. The association of sea and grief in the early sections of 'In Memoriam' points forward to the more deliberate symbolic use in 'The Passing of Arthur'. And the 'deep' in 'The Coming of Arthur' (which is also full of 'voices'), harks back to sections ciii and cxxv of 'In Memoriam' and to 'De Profundis', as well as anticipates 'Crossing the Bar', and clinches the double meaning of 'deep' as the world of spirit from which man is born and into which he dies. This meaning connotes, of course, the unity of existence, and the immortality of the soul.

It is this same 'deep' which invites Ulysses to heroic fulfilment, and though Tennyson does not force or elaborate the symbolic implications of the image, and though, as we have seen, the Happy Isles are not the immediate, nor the most important goal of the hero, they together suggest a world of unlimited knowledge, experience, and noble work. Thus the quest of the old hero ultimately reaches beyond life and action into a 'newer world' of spiritual existence, an extension which includes death. In this symbolic fusion of the meanings of spiritual search and death Tennyson reconciles and masters his metaphysical perplexities, his faith and doubt, his grief and emotional exhaustion, and his conflicting feelings about death. The event which closes all that man treasures in life, which

inflicts loss and grief, and yet tempts man with the relief of absolute peace, becomes at the same time an embarkation for more and fuller life.

Thus 'Ulysses' is at once a profounder imaginative vision and a finer organisation of impulses than the poems where Tennyson debates the same enigmas in a discursive technique. And it is owing to this inclusive, ambidextrous handling of the quest-theme that Tennyson achieves a powerful and cathartic synthesis of the chaotic feelings of 'The Two Voices', and integrates the two worlds which Ulysses explores, that of heroic action, and that of spiritual possibility.

Bergen.

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The Intellectual Quest of the Victorian Poets

Readers familiar with *The Oxford Book of English Verse* will know that one of Tennyson's poems included in the anthology is 'The Lotos-Eaters', or at least its torso, the 'Choric Song'. They may not have noticed that 'Ulysses', on the other hand, is omitted, although the latter poem really forms a companion piece to 'The Lotos-Eaters', being related to it in subject and opposite in mood.

Both the choice and the omission are characteristic of the period when the anthology was compiled — around the turn of the century — and of the taste of the compiler, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. We are given the lotos-eating rather than the adventuresome aspect of Victorian poetry, the indolence rather than the energy. And far too many people right up to the present day have been apt to forget that the energy was there.

The truth of the matter becomes obvious as soon as we exchange our anthologies for the collected editions of any of the major poets. The dreamy emotionalism is still in evidence, but one is struck far more forcibly by the almost overwhelming quantity of poetry of ideas, good and bad. Some of it, in fact, is so tough to the intellect as to be positively ludicrous. It is hard enough to make sense of such lines as the following from Meredith's 'The Empty Purse', even in their full context:

Precedents icily written on high
Challenge the Tentatives hot to rebel.
Our Mother, who speeds her bloomful quick
For the march, reads which the impediment well.

There is plenty of this sort of thing in Meredith, and passages almost as difficult could be culled from many of his contemporaries.

It is too late in the day now, of course, to pretend to originality in a general reassessment of the Victorians. Their rescue from the embraces of the sentimentalists and the condemnations of the cerebralists has long since taken place, and they have been recognised as not only capable of

but actually given to daring and ambitious thought. The contexts and directions of their thought have been analysed in detail in such monumental works as Professor Fairchild's *Religious Trends in English Poetry, Vol. IV* (1957) and Professor Houghton's *The Victorian Frame of Mind* (1957), and there can hardly be much to add to the researches of these American scholars.

There does, however, still seem to be room for further adjustments of emphasis and for the drawing of more precise distinctions between different periods and individuals. In the following pages, therefore, I simply propose to emphasise a few important characteristics of Victorian poetry and to review some of the intellectual attitudes of the leading poets, to see if any further discrimination can be added to established insights.

There was probably just as much philosophy and metaphysics in the English poetry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as in that of the nineteenth. But the thinking of the Victorian poets was different in kind from that of their predecessors, barring perhaps the Romanticists. When Milton set out to 'justify the ways of God to men', the assumption was that he actually possessed sufficient knowledge to do so. And Pope in the eighteenth century echoed Milton's assurance as well as his words in wishing to 'vindicate the ways of God to Man'. The Victorian poets made no such claims, or if they did it was in a totally different spirit. Theirs not to expound and teach but to question why and how and what.

Characteristically the poetry of the Victorian period deals with a search or quest — for knowledge or for something symbolising knowledge and certainty. The ubiquity of the theme could be proved by examples from a great variety of works and writers. Tennyson's *Ulysses* is the representative figure,

yearning in desire
To follow knowledge like a sinking star -
Beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

Or another of Tennyson's figures, Sir Galahad, riding on and on in search of the Holy Grail. There is Browning's Paracelsus, seeking

to comprehend the works of God
And God himself, and all God's intercourse
With the human mind; . . .

There is Matthew Arnold, recognising

an unspeakable desire
After the knowledge of our buried life,
A thirst to spend our fire and restless force
In tracking out our true, original course;
A longing to inquire
Into the mystery of this heart that beats
So wild, so deep in us, to know
Whence our thoughts come and where they go.
(*'The Buried Life.'*)

Arnold's friend Arthur Hugh Clough was yet another seeker :

Hints haunt me ever of a more beyond :
I am rebuked by a sense of the incomplete,
(*'Dipsychus.'*)

And George Meredith found memorable phrases for his need of knowledge :

Ah, what a dusty answer gets the soul
When hot for certainties in this our life ! —
(*'Modern Love.'*)

Or — a final example — to speak with Meredith's Martin in *'Martin's Puzzle'* :

But the worst of *me* is, that when I bow my head,
I perceive a thought wriggling away in the dust,
And I follow its tracks, quite forgetful, instead
Of humble acceptance : for, question I must !

The search, as these quotations indicate, was definitely for knowledge, not primarily for passion, or for beauty or even for glory. And the knowledge which was sought was that of ultimate things, the matters that philosophy and religion usually make it their business to deal with: What is the nature of the universe? Is it guided towards some final purpose by a conscious will, or is it a meaningless dance of atoms? Is there a distinction between body and soul, and if so, what is it? What and who am I? Have I a moral nature, or is morality merely acquired?

Why, one may ask, having such problems to grapple with, did not these poets speculate in discursive prose and in philosophical language rather than in the surely recalcitrant medium of verse? Why did they not turn philosophers and do the thing systematically?

Only one answer is possible. They were dedicated men. They had a prophetic mission.

The Victorians were the direct heirs of the romantics, and knew it. Tennyson at fourteen heard the news of Byron's death and felt, says his grandson, 'almost as though the world had come to an end'. Browning at twenty idolised Shelley and in his first published poem, *'Pauline'*, hailed him as the *'Sun-treader'*. 'The air seems bright with thy past presence yet', he wrote. Arnold, grieving for Byron, Shelley and Obermann in his *'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse'*, complained that

The sufferers died, they left their pain ;
The pangs which tortured them remain.

The pangs, and, we may add, some of the fine enthusiasm.

Shelley, it will be remembered, concluded his *Defence of Poetry* by hymning the mystic powers of the poet :

It is impossible to read the compositions of the most celebrated writers of the present day without being startled with the electric life which burns within their words. They measure the circumference and sound the depths of human nature with a comprehensive and all-penetrating spirit, and they are themselves perhaps the most sincerely astonished

at its manifestations; for it is less their spirit than the spirit of the age. Poets are the hierophants of an unapprehended inspiration; the mirrors of the gigantic shadows which futurity casts upon the present; the words which express what they understand not; the trumpets which sing to battle, and feel not what they inspire; the influence which is moved not, but moves. Poets are the unacknowledged legislators of the world.

Anyone taking such views seriously and feeling that he had the gift of poetic inspiration must inevitably come to rely on poetry, including his own, to express true insight and understanding even if his thought was ordinarily bewildered. Shelley's *Defence* was not published till 1840, but his ideas were well known and there can be no doubt that the Victorian poets consciously accepted the prophet's mantle which he laid on their shoulders. They still felt that the poets were the philosophical leaders of mankind and its intellectual pioneers: '... but now / I shall be priest and prophet as of old', says the speaker of 'Pauline'. The philosophers proper might work out elaborate systems and publish them in learned volumes, but only the poets could bring out the central significance of their ideas and relate them to the times, turning them into beliefs and ideals for men of the nineteenth century and for their children.

But the Victorians inherited the enthusiasm of the romantic revolt without the possibility of repeating the grandiose negations and prophetic assertions of such as Shelley. For the intellectual climate was now more argumentative. It was no use now producing 'words which express what they understand not' — when they did the words were in danger of expressing nothing at all, as Browning was to discover. Thoughts in this new age of science had to be precise and understandable, not 'trumpets which sing to battle and feel not what they inspire'. It was all very well for Shelley to speak of 'electric life', but now 'electric light' was on its way. The impact of the French Revolution, which had been felt so blissfully by the romantics, had died down, and instead there was the continuing but far more prosaic impulse of the Industrial Revolution. Jeremy Bentham's utilitarian pamphlets had succeeded Godwin's imaginative *Political Justice*. Poetic intuition was fighting against heavy odds.

The Victorian age was one of those which met a challenge to accepted beliefs only comparable to the intellectual upheaval which occurred in the late Renaissance. The challenge of Copernicus and Galileo revolutionised science and philosophy. But religion, after wavering rather dizzily for other reasons, finally accommodated itself to the new cosmology and remained relatively unshaken. So poets like Donne and Milton could go on describing the universe almost as if heliocentric astronomy had never been heard of, writing poetry based on unquestioning faith and taking care to make it poetry first and last.

Not so with the Victorians. Charles Darwin's challenge coincided with the direct challenge to religious beliefs represented by the Higher Criticism. In all fields at the same time science and scientific philosophy were clamorous for attention. Thus the first popular exposé of evolutionary theory, Robert Chambers's *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*,

as well as George Eliot's translation of Strauss's rationalistic *Leben Jesu* and John Stuart Mill's positivistic *System of Logic* were all of them published in the eighteen-forties.

Belief in anything intangible and undemonstrable was made increasingly difficult, it was felt, by the advance of science. Fact was taking the place of faith. Even dreams were made impossible by the encroachment of fact, as Tennyson had complained as early as 1829, when he wrote his Cambridge prize poem 'Timbuctoo'. He first sees Timbuctoo in a Utopian dream as a city of mysterious loveliness. But then reality takes hold of his spirit and Discovery reveals the city for what it is :

Black specks amid a waste of dreary sand,
Low-built, mud-wall'd, Barbarian settlements,
How chang'd from this fair City !

In some cases the poets clung strongly to the religious beliefs in which they had been brought up, and the resultant conflict caused an anguish of mind which was of a definitely intellectual kind. In 1830 Tennyson published a poem bearing the curious title 'Supposed Confessions of a Second-Rate Sensitive Mind'. Quite obviously the confessions of this poem are not merely 'supposed' but perfectly genuine. The poet is tortured by guilt because he can no longer believe as his mother taught him to do :

when with brows
Propt on thy knees, my hands upheld
In thine, I listen'd to thy vows,
For me outpour'd in holiest prayer —
For me unworthy !

Yet he cannot deny the discovery of his earliest youth that it is right to doubt and question

and analyse
Our double nature, and compare
All creeds till we have found the one,
If one there be ?

He has entangled himself in an insoluble conflict of affirmation and doubt and ends the poem with a cry of despair : 'O damned vacillating state !'

It is sometimes said that the death of Tennyson's friend Arthur Hallam, in 1833, was the event which mainly plunged the young poet into the metaphysical despair which is recorded in 'In Memoriam'. But his struggles had begun several years before Hallam died and were struggles of doctrinal faith against the onslaught of sceptical rationalism. Hallam's death naturally intensified the conflict and added great emotional force to it, but was hardly the cause. Nor was it responsible for its fundamentally intellectual character, which is also displayed in 'The Two Voices', the poetic dialogue written just after the bereavement.

A similar struggle of the old-world faith to survive may be found in Browning. Though his childhood beliefs proved more resilient than

Tennyson's, he felt throughout his life the restless 'craving after knowledge' of his speaker in 'Pauline'.

No one, however, felt the conflict more agonisingly than Matthew Arnold, grown up under the influence of his remarkable father, Thomas Arnold of Rugby, whom he admired but could not follow. Thomas Arnold was a liberal Broad-Church man, but he knew his own mind in matters of belief and he was a stickler for discipline. Matthew, growing up somewhat later than Tennyson and Browning, neither knew his own mind nor had any relish for authority. His intellectual plight is poignantly expressed in 'Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse', where, thinking of his lost faith, he speaks of himself as

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,

So the poets were left with the intellectual task, much more exacting perhaps than any that Shelley tackled, of writing poetry while trying to piece together a belief and a world view that should take adequate account of the assertions of scientists and positivists. They could no longer liberate their minds in revolutionary ardour, but were pressed to argue their beliefs and disbeliefs. There was a desperate need for certainty, to reconcile faith and knowledge in a higher enlightenment.

In particular, the poets could not remain indifferent to the theories of Evolution, and their various responses to these theories form one of the most interesting chapters of the intellectual and literary history of the age. The subject has been well explored recently by Dr. Georg Roppen in *Evolution and Poetic Belief* (Oslo, 1956), and I shall merely indicate certain distinctions which may still need to be clarified.

Tennyson was in search of the Age of Gold and at first sought a revelation of it in the past, and in myth. That stage is represented by 'Timbuctoo' and also, perhaps, by his glimpses of Camelot and Bagdat and other cities of splendour. His early visions were destroyed by the advance of knowledge, or what he called 'Discovery'. But after a short while he came to accept, in a general way, the *pre-Darwinian* theories of evolution, and from then on pinned his faith in the future, finding in scientific thought, such as it was, at least a partial substitute for, or perhaps rather a supplement to, the dream of a religious paradise of perfection. 'Locksley Hall' is a well-known example of his optimistic belief in evolution, as in the rapturous lines :

For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be ;

Or those other much-quoted lines :

Yet I doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs,
And the thoughts of men are widen'd with the process of the suns.

The 'increasing purpose' is what Tennyson clung to. His evolutionary faith was teleological and connected with the undogmatic Christianity or 'Higher Pantheism' in which he came to rest after his religious struggles. There are many indications in Tennyson's later poetry, however, that when he came to know Darwin's theory of natural selection with its emphasis on blind chance in the struggle for survival he lost much of his zest for Evolution. And as time went on he felt more and more acutely how slow and haphazard a process it was bound to be. There was a new crisis of faith. And this, it seems probable, accounts for much of the despondency of his later verse, like 'Lucretius' (1868), 'Despair' (1881), 'Vastness' (1889) and 'The Dawn' (1892). The Voice of the Earth in 'The Dreamer', though answered by a defiant optimism, still expresses an almost annihilating disappointment:

'I am losing the light of my Youth
And the Vision that led me of old,
And I clash with an iron Truth,
When I make for an Age of gold...'

The two poems to compare, of course, are 'Locksley Hall', dating from 1842, and 'Locksley Hall Sixty Years After', from 1886. Whatever optimism remains in the latter is much more hardly come by and much more guarded than that of the early poem. It is well represented by the couplet:

Forward then, but still remember how the course of Time will swerve,
Crook and turn upon itself in many a backward streaming curve.

The development from optimism to anxiety or even fear in relation to evolutionary ideas certainly seems an important strand in Tennyson's poetic woof.

If we turn to Browning, we shall find that he never accepted the idea that biological evolution would go on and on. The bodies of men and animals, he thought, had reached complete development with the appearance of man:

And man appears at last. So far the seal
Is put on life; one stage of being complete,
(*'Paracelsus.'*)

It only remains for man, and man alone, to continue developing his spiritual nature:

the body sprang
At once to the height, and stayed, but the soul, — no!
(*'A Death in the Desert.'*)

progress, man's distinctive mark alone,
Not God's, and not the beasts'

(*Ibid.*)

This notion of completed evolution on the physical plane is not just an inconsistency in Browning's thought due to traditional conceptions of an ideal, static 'chain of being'. It is basic to his whole attitude.

After his initial Shelleyan revolt, Browning returned to a fairly central Christian position, agreeing with the mystics that evil and pain have a purpose in the larger scheme of things and thinking of our existence on earth as merely preliminary to a future spiritual state. Browning's vision of perfection, therefore, was eschatological. He believed in a heaven beyond this life on earth, which justified the deprivations and pains we suffer while in the body. Thus in 'The Last Ride Together' the speaker of the monologue thinks he may have been deprived of complete happiness on earth in order to save him from forgetting that there is a heaven of happiness beyond; otherwise,

Earth being so good, would heaven seem best?
Now heaven and she are beyond this ride.

Browning characteristically sees the world as a place of trial and preparation. And after 'Paracelsus' he quite consistently saw the Creator as transcendent, not immanent: 'Externe / Not inmost, is the Cause, fool!' ('Francis Furini'). He even tried to assure himself that the questing intellect ought not to venture too far:

where and when and how?
Leave that to the First Cause! Enough that now,
Here where I stand, this moment's me and mine,
Shows me what is, permits me to divine
What shall be.

Although these are the words of the dramatic character Francis Furini, the idea which they express can be found in numerous places in Browning's poetry.

There is little change in the larger philosophical implications of that poetry after 'Paracelsus'. In important respects it is determinedly and even refreshingly counter-evolutionary. This may seem surprising considering the age and Browning's usual optimism. But the only really surprising aspect of his philosophy as well as the only notable development of his thought, it seems to me, is in the idea which he gradually came to entertain of a continued spiritual and moral evolution in the hereafter. His Rabbi Ben Ezra enjoys a period of rest and understanding in old age before death sends him to a new sphere of evolutionary struggle:

And I shall thereupon
Take rest, ere I be gone
Once more on my adventure brave and new:
Fearless and unperplexed
When I wage battle next,
What weapons to select, what armour to indue.

This is indeed a rather startling picture of heaven, but it shows that Browning in at least one respect — that of spiritual growth — was more evolutionary than any other poet.

George Meredith, too, was interested in the development of man's mind and spirit. He dreamt of a time 'when brain-rule splendidly towers'. But unlike Browning, and to some extent unlike Tennyson, he wholly accepted the idea of a physical struggle for survival and of natural selection and was entirely content with the promise of perfection in this life involving man as a part of nature in general. As for Swinburne, he accepted the idea of Evolution in a vague sort of way. But Swinburne really saw Man as the Creator, sharing the creative powers of nature rather than subject to a development over which he had no control. Man, if he only knew it, is fully developed. He only needs freedom. Not Evolution, then, so much as Revolution is Swinburne's gospel; and his thought is frequently political, especially in *Songs before Sunrise*. Thus 'Hertha' issues in a Utopian political vision, 'Even love, the beloved Republic, that feeds upon freedom and lives'.

Matthew Arnold for the most part held aloof from the evolutionary discussion, perhaps because of his belief that the poet should not engage himself too directly in practical and controversial issues. Aesthetes like Rossetti and Morris and Catholic poets like Christina Rossetti, Gerard Manley Hopkins and Coventry Patmore also kept Evolution out of their poetry as a rule. They had found their answers. But most of the leading poets continually discussed it, and, as we have seen, it elicited widely divergent responses from them.

Even if the poets came to believe in some form of evolution, however, they had hardly solved their philosophical problems. For a belief in change and growth alone can hardly be a final philosophical standpoint. The truth of this is illustrated by the confused and confusing creed of Swinburne: from the point of view of thought Swinburne's 'Hertha' is surely one of the most incongruous poems in the English language. And the inadequacy of the evolutionary answer is abundantly proved again at the turn of the century by the pessimistic broodings of Thomas Hardy. Evolution possibly answers the question of how? but not those of why? and where to? Even Browning, who seems to have been reasonably happy in his solutions, was rather vague as to the nature of the transcendental life which he imagined after death.

Perhaps if the Victorians had been more clear-sighted, or if they had been more fortunate in their intellectual environment and stimuli, they might have found an answer to satisfy both philosophy and poetry. Some exciting new time concept might have worked the miracle — such as the idea that time, instead of flowing on and on with its burden of change and development without any apparent goal was only a dimension of our habitual experience and might itself be contained within a larger dimension which was timeless. Carlyle had some such intuition in *Sartor Resartus* and wrote poetically enough about it:

Pierce through the Time-element, glance into the Eternal. Believe what thou findest written in the sanctuaries of Man's Soul, even as all Thinkers, in all ages, have devoutly

read it there : that Time and Space are not God, but creations of God ; that with God as it is a universal HERE, so is it an everlasting NOW.

An ancient idea, of course, as Carlyle himself points out, and one which, in its general mystical form, was quite familiar to the Victorians. But it had rather embarrassing associations with German idealism and could not be exploited a hundred years ago or even seventy years ago with any show of scientific support. The poets, at any rate, did not exploit or develop it to any significant extent. It was left to later generations of poets, those who caught the impact of a time-flouting depth psychology and who found support in a relativistically inclined science, to answer doubt and scepticism by a new vision of a timelessness beyond any process of evolution. The Victorians went on worrying.

It was a pity that the prophets were not better served by their inspiration. But perhaps they never really had sufficient faith in their oracular poetic medium, in the ability of poetry to turn their benighted thoughts into supernatural clarity. Arnold the critic might declare that 'More and more mankind will discover that we have to turn to poetry to interpret life for us, to console us, to sustain us.' To Arnold writing in prose, poetry was 'an ever surer and surer stay'. But what of Arnold the poet? And what of Tennyson and Browning?

Both Tennyson and Browning, especially the latter, somewhat distrusted poetry and the romantic-intellectual conception of poetry, never being entirely convinced of its adequacy to deal with the most important problems of life. Tennyson's 'Palace of Art' and 'The Lady of Shalott', in both of which art is more or less completely renounced for the sake of life, are good indications. In the former he describes the poet's soul enthroned in the Palace of Art :

Full oft the riddle of the painful earth
Flash'd through her as she sat alone,
Yet not the less held she her solemn mirth,
And intellectual throne.

And so she throve and prosper'd : so three years
She prosper'd : on the fourth she fell,
Like Herod, when the shout was in his ears,
Struck thro' with pangs of hell.

.....
So when four years were wholly finished,
She threw her royal robes away,
'Make me a cottage in the vale,' she said,
'Where I may mourn and pray.

Yet pull not down my palace towers, that are
So lightly, beautifully built :
Perchance I may return with others there
When I have purged my guilt.'

This attitude of renunciation is most pronounced in Tennyson's early poetry. In Browning's case, however, it pervades almost all that he wrote.

Naturally Browning recognised the value of poetry and art, witness all the artists of various kinds included in his portrait gallery. Fra Lippo Lippi is an eloquent defender of the high function of art :

we're made so that we love
First when we see them painted, things we have passed
Perhaps a hundred times nor cared to see ;
And so they are better, painted — better to us.
Which is the same thing. Art was given for that ;
God uses us to help each other so,
Lending our minds out.

But nevertheless, Browning always sees life as superior to poetry. He quotes himself in 'Development' as habitually saying that 'No dream's worth waking'. Poetry, he admits in 'The Last Ride Together', is 'something, nay 'tis much' — 'but then', he goes on to ask the poet,

Have you yourself what's best for men ?
Are you — poor, sick, old ere your time —
Nearer one whit your own sublime
Than we who never have turned a rhyme ?
Sing, riding's a joy ! For me, I ride.

The poet Cleon is admired even by King Protus. But his great achievements in poetry cannot make him happy, as he tries to explain to the King :

Because in my great epos I display
How divers men young, strong, fair, wise, can act —
Is this as though I acted ? If I paint,
Carve the young Phoebus, am I therefore young ?
Methinks I'm older that I bowed myself
The many years of pain that taught me art !

('Cleon.')

And in the prologue to 'Fifine at the Fair' Browning finds poetry, like the sea, a glorious element to swim in, but he is glad he is in sight of 'Land the solid and safe —'.

So, of the two great prophets of Victorian poetry, one, Tennyson, doubted his message, and the other, Browning, had doubts of his medium. And they went on doubting too long. The Victorian age itself was too long. Once its initial challenge had been caught up, it settled down to a long process of uneasy adaptation, which lasted through the 1860's and 70's and 80's and 90's without any new intellectual upheavals of the first order to goad or stimulate the poets into rising on stepping-stones of their dead selves to higher things.

Great poets should die young if they cannot renew themselves or be renewed. But Tennyson and Browning both lived on into a ripe old age and certainly survived their own best efforts. Critics are right in detecting a certain hollowness at least in their later poetry. Not the poets' affirmations and beliefs were hollow, however, — it was their doubts which

had become mechanical gestures and for that reason perhaps insincere. Poetry let them down if they had ever believed with Shelley that it would do their thinking and prophesying for them. They spoke their doubts into its oracular orifice and it was still their doubts that came out, though sometimes in beautiful clouds of aromatic smoke, at the public end. But one cannot just go on doubting and remain a poet. And so the great age ended, not with a bang and not quite with a whimper, but with something indeterminately in between.

Having recognised this hollow sound towards the end of the period, we must still insist on the basic sincerity of the Victorian giants of poetry. They genuinely wrestled with intellectual problems and turned their struggles into art. They wrote verse because they were poets. Even Arnold was too much of a poet not to throw his speculations into verse. But they did not just happen to be poets and intellectual seekers, or poets who had lost their intellectual bearings. Poetry offered itself to them as a natural vehicle of thought because their intellectual dilemma was also an *emotional* one. I do not now mean emotional in the sense that the death of friends, or other events that touched them closely caused metaphysical distress. I mean that beliefs and ideas themselves necessarily have an emotional aspect. The attachment to an idea, like the attachment to a person, is itself an emotion, which will be coloured by the kind of idea to which one is attached and which will sometimes be passionate. Further, it is emotionally reassuring simply to be able to believe in certain things at all; and the loss of once comforting beliefs may be very hard to endure. As Harold says in Tennyson's 'Promise of May':

Sometimes I wonder
When man has surely learnt at last that all
His old-world faith, the blossom of his youth,
Has faded, falling fruitless — whether then
All of us, all at once, may not be seized
With some fierce passion, not so much for Death
As against Life !

The poets, then, were concerned not only with speculating upon what they could or could not believe in, but with expressing, as T. S. Eliot would say, how it felt to be uncertain. The feeling of intellectual vacillation, as a matter of fact, is one that poetry can probably express far better than prose because it can present two alternative points of view as simultaneously attractive to the same mind: presenting them in the form of an argument perhaps, as in Tennyson's 'The Two Voices' and Clough's 'Dipsychus', but holding them in an emotional and rhythmical balance which may be more satisfying to the poetic imagination than the arrival at a definite conclusion.

There is an inner and natural connection between poetry and thinking. Sometimes, as in the seventeenth century, thought and feeling may be poetically fused by means of pregnant symbols and sublimated wit. But another perfectly valid method is to dramatise the thought, as the

Victorians so often did, and so bring out its emotional intensity. Quite often, of course, ideas were simply worked out in the unwilling medium of verse. Mr. Eliot has said that 'Tennyson and Browning ruminated, and there is a fair amount of rumination in 'In Memoriam' and, say, Browning's 'Prince Hohenstiel-Schwangau'. But at the best of times, as in other parts of 'In Memoriam' or in 'The Scholar Gipsy', the poets attained a unification of thought and feeling which is profoundly moving. They may not have added greatly to the world's store of knowledge, but they have added to our spiritual wealth. Which seems a sufficient justification for Clough's famous line:

Say not the struggle nought availeth.

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The Linguistic Status of Irregular Verbal Forms in English:

Some Critical Remarks

In his article 'English Verb Inflection'¹ Bernard Bloch presents an analysis of the verbal inflectional system in Modern English which must be said to differ fundamentally from all previous analyses of that system. His method is not only fundamentally different from that applied by European linguists of the old school, but also clearly distinguishable from that of Hockett² and other American linguists who use the structuralist approach. In Bloch's own words: 'In all previous works, the inflection of English verbs is described in terms of the processes by which various inflected forms are derived from underlying bases.' According to Bloch, this method cannot be applied if we want to describe 'particular forms viewed as words in their own right'.³ He therefore proposes to analyse 'every form as a combination of morphemes in a particular order' and to avoid 'all reference to the process by which the form is derived'.⁴ For instance, the pret. form *took* cannot be said to be derived from *take* by vowel change, because 'if a morpheme is ultimately a combination of phonemes, then it is clear that vowel change, a process, is not a morpheme'.⁵

Bloch's method involves the transference to the submorphemic plane of several entities that have hitherto been given morphemic status. Consequently they should be treated, not in the morphological section, but in the Morphophonemics section.

¹ *Language* 23, 399-418 (1947). [See Postscript on p. 118.]

² Charles Hockett, 'English Verb Inflection', *Studies in Linguistics*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1942.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 401.

In a review of Nida's *Morphology* Hockett⁶ proposes a distinction between 'two echelons of description: morphophonemics, which accounts for the sub-morphemic changes in phonemic shape of morpheme units; and tactics, which states the arrangement of morpheme units in words (or utterances) without concerning itself with sub-morphemic variations' (p. 281). This means that morphology ceases to be a separate and independent part of the description. It actually becomes part of and dependent on what has hitherto been called syntax.

Hockett's approach, like that applied by Bloch, involves a disregard of the identity of forms, and consequently tends to result in an enlargement of the Morphophonemics section at the expense of Morphology proper.

It seems to me that there is some danger of morphophonemics becoming a kind of sub-linguistic lumber-room to which any troublesome (i.e. irregular) morph in the language may be relegated — with the help of complementary distribution and zero — so as to enable the linguist to sit down in his study, undisturbed by the troublemakers, and establish the System on the basis of well-behaved (i.e. regular) morphs and considerations of tactics.

Before proceeding with our critical remarks on this method, particularly as applied by Bloch in his analysis of English verb inflection, it may be worth our while to recall how the Prague School defined the term morphophonemics.

In his article 'Gedanken über Morphonologie'⁷ Trubetzkoy states what, in his opinion, this section ought to comprise. He distinguishes between three points: '(1) Die Lehre von der phonologischen Struktur der Morpheme; (2) Die Lehre von den kombinatorischen Lautveränderungen, welche die Morpheme in den Morphemverbindungen erleiden; (3) Die Lehre von den Lautwechselreihen, *die eine morphologische Funktion erfüllen*' (italics mine).

Bernard Bloch defines morphophonemics as follows: Morphophonemics is the study of the alternation between corresponding phonemes in alternant shapes of the same morpheme.⁸

What is noteworthy from our point of view is the fact that both Trubetzkoy and Bloch regard an alternation like / ei / ~ / u / in *take* — *took* as a morphophonemic alternation, an alternation which should be taken care of in the Morphophonemics section, but according to Trubetzkoy it still has a 'morphologische Funktion', i.e. a morphemic status, whereas in Bloch's analysis *morphophonemic* alternation turns out to mean the same thing as *morpheme alternant* or, more exactly, part of an alternant, that part of it which makes it phonemically different from the morph(s) with which it alternates.

The term morphophoneme was coined by Henryk Ułaszyn. He used it for the first time in his article 'Kilka uwag terminologicznych' in *Prace*

⁶ *Language* 23, 273-85 (1947).

⁷ *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 4, 160-63 (1931).

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 414.

Filologiczne 4, 405-15 (1927). In his article 'Laut, Phonema, Morphonema'⁹ he states more definitely what he means by this term. As examples he takes the Polish words *żaba* 'frog' and *żabka* 'small frog'. Here we have what we would now call two morpheme alternants / *żab* / and / *żap* / where the morphophoneme is *b* ~ *p*, which Ułaszyn (p. 58) defines as 'ein Phonema in *semasiologisch-morphologischer Funktion*' (italics mine).

We see that according to Ułaszyn not even a phonemically definable alternation should be denied a semiotic-morphological function. By applying the criterion of complementary distribution linguists have subsequently transferred to the sub-morphemic plane, not only alternations of this type which are phonemically definable, but also an alternation like / *i* : / ~ / *e* / in *keep* — *kept*, which is morphemically definable. Making an extensive use of zero, Bernard Bloch has gone still further, denying even an alternation like / *ei* / ~ / *u* / in *take* — *took* morphemic status, in spite of the fact that / *u* / in *took* is the only overt grammatical feature of this form, the only feature that makes it mean 'past time'. Instead a zero morph is assumed and given morphemic status, and thus the form *took* becomes acceptable from the point of view of tactics.¹⁰

These tendencies in linguistic methodology reflect a steadily increasing disregard of the substance, i.e. the identity of the forms. In my opinion the result of Bloch's analysis of English verb inflection suggests that this development has proceeded beyond a point where it ought to have been checked.

According to Bernard Bloch the English verb has four inflected forms, viz. the 3rd pers. sing. (suffix 1), the pret. (suffix 2), the pret. part. (suffix 3), and the gerund (suffix 4). On the basis of various combinations of suffixes he establishes different Inflectional Classes A, B, C, etc., for instance:

Suffix 1	Suffix 2	Suffix 3	Suffix 4
A <i>z</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>in</i> : <i>live</i> .
D <i>z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>in</i> : <i>sing</i> .

On the basis of allomorphs of the base which occur before the various suffixes he establishes several Base Groups 1, 2, 3, etc., for instance:

1. Single alternant : *live*.
5. Second alternant before suffix 2; third alternant before suffix 3: *sing*.

Finally, different Conjugation Types are established on the basis of Inflectional Class and Base Group, for instance A 1: *live*; D 5: *sing*.

Bloch says that 'in citing a verbal base (in the lexicon or elsewhere) we must give all its morpheme alternants.... If we do this, it is obvious that the complete inflection of the verb can then be defined simply by noting the inflectional class and the base group to which it belongs'.¹¹

⁹ *Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague* 4, 53-61 (1931).

¹⁰ For a more general criticism of the use of zero in morphemic analysis see Nida, 'The Identification of Morphemes', *Language* 23, 414-41 (1948).

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 404.

In the lexicon, then, the verb *sing* would appear as /sɪŋ/, /sæŋ/, /sʌŋ/, and its complete inflection would be defined as D 5 where D, among other things, indicates that in the pret. and the pret. part. the verb has no overt grammatical features. What have hitherto been considered as such features, viz. the vocalic alternations, have been transferred to the lexicon, and the *type* of alternation, viz. V 1 ~ V 2 ~ V 3, has been taken care of in the Morphophonemics section.

Once Bloch's Categories and Assumptions (p. 401) have been accepted, it must be admitted that his analysis has an obvious advantage over previous analyses of English verb inflection in that every inflected form has been made to conform to one system. All irregular forms — including those of *to be* — have been regularized in so far as they are assumed to consist of a base *plus* a suffix. The number of inflectional elements has been drastically reduced. Of the bewildering multitude of elements which according to the linguists of the old school express 'past time', there remain only four, viz. *id*, *d*, *t*, and *zero*. Forms that have hitherto been called irregular have been transferred to the lexicon, where they appear as sub-morphemic variants of what Bloch considers to be the base. In other words, first the inflectional apparatus is made regular by transferring irregularities to the lexicon, where they appear as alternants of the base. Subsequently these sub-morphemic alternants regain what may be termed a kind of secondary grammatical status in so far as different conjugation types are established on the basis of a combination of these alternants and the regularized inflectional apparatus, e.g. /sæŋ/ ~ /sɪŋ/ + /ʃ/.

Bloch's craving for order and simplicity in the inflectional apparatus has actually resulted in an analysis where structural features tend to be concealed rather than revealed. This is the case when the *put*-type is placed together with the *sing*-type in the same inflectional class. The pret. and the pret. part. forms of both types are assumed to be grammaticalized by zero morphs. By this procedure Bloch not only disregards the actually existing phonemic difference between *sing* and *sang*, but he also obscures a fact which in my opinion is very informative from a structural point of view, namely that only verbs whose stems end in *d* or *t* show phonemically identical forms in the pret. and the pres. (or the base).

We are here faced with one of the most difficult problems of descriptive linguistics, that of homonymy. The assumption of zero morphs does not solve this problem. The assumption of such a morph in the pret. form *put* is hardly more illuminating than the statement found in school grammars that *put* is uninflected. These are really only two different ways of stating that we expect a suffix after *put* because we find a suffix added to verbs belonging to the regular and productive type *walked*.

In a case like this it is tempting to plead for a return to Sapir for the use of such phrases as *linguistic feeling* and *associated in the mind*. In my opinion the following pre-Bloomfieldian kind of statement throws more light on the structure of the *put*-type than does the assumption of a zero morph: 'Phonemically identical forms in the pres. and the pret. are

admissible because in past-time contexts the final phoneme in *put*, etc. is associated in one's mind with the inflectional *t* in the regular, productive type *walked*'.

However, modern structural linguistics cannot, of course, accept such a statement. We are not allowed to ask the question *why*, and the phrase *associated in the mind* reveals a hopelessly out-of-date mentalistic conception of the language. It is, however, quite possible to treat the pret. type *put* as an inflectional type in its own right by the methods of structural linguistics as well. By utilizing the concept 'overlapping morphs'¹² we may regard the *t* of the pret. form *put* as an included morph identical with the pret. suffix in the regular type *walked*.

Bloch cannot analyse the pret. *put* in this way because in his *Assumptions* (p. 401 f.) he has stated that every inflected form consists of a base *plus* an inflectional suffix. In his analysis, then, a phoneme cannot belong simultaneously to two morphemes. In Bloch's analysis the System is established on the basis of the substance in the agglutinative type /wɔ:k-t/, and owing to an extensive utilization of zero no form falls outside this system.

In my opinion, the very existence of unproductive types like *sing* and *put* besides the productive type *walk* is a noteworthy fact which should not be obscured by the assumption of covert structural features. We should consider these types as inflectional types in their own right instead of trying to make them conform to what happens to be the productive type, especially if this cannot be done without having recourse to what, after all, savours somewhat of manipulation.

The concept of including and included morphs is more useful than that of zero in a description of irregular types. The former concept is quite as 'structuralist' as the latter, and it has an advantage over the concept of zero in so far as it does not involve the same disregard for the substance, which results in an over-simplification of the inflectional apparatus. In other words, it has the advantage of enabling the linguist to meet the unsophisticated speaker half-way without abandoning his scientific approach.

As a striking example of the tendency to disregard identity of forms in order to simplify description, and of the arbitrariness to which this may lead, we may mention Bloch's treatment of the verb *go* (p. 410). He proposes to list the pret. form *went* together with the base *go* in the lexicon, and then he goes on to say, 'In *went* the /t/ could also be regarded as an alternant of suffix 2; but this interpretation would require the creation of a new inflectional class for this verb alone, with suffix alternants /z, t, n, ŋ/. By regarding /went/ as consisting of a base alternant /went/ and the zero alternant of suffix 2, we escape this necessity.' The justification for regarding /went/ as an alternant of /gow/ is that 'we have not assumed that morpheme alternants must resemble each other phonemically'.

We see that for the purpose of slightly simplifying the description of the

¹² See first of all Hockett, 'Problems of Morphemic Analysis', *Language* 23, 321-43 (1947).

inflectional apparatus, the linguist is allowed to assume that the *-t* in *went* — in contrast to the *-t* in *kept*, for example — is not part of that apparatus. It may be regarded as part of a base alternant of /g o w/. This base alternant is subsequently grammaticalized, made into a pret. form by a zero morph following the *-t*. Bloch's method, then, actually leaves it to the linguist to consider or ignore the substance in a given case with a view to attaining simplicity and neatness of description. We can hardly accept this as a scientific method.

In his description of the form *went* Bloch utilizes both the conception of zero and the criterion of complementary distribution. It is first of all Harris's insistence on a rigorous exploitation of this criterion in morphemic analysis that makes his article 'Morpheme alternants in linguistic analysis'¹³ a noteworthy contribution to the discussion of linguistic methodology.

In principle linguists have accepted the criterion of complementary distribution as a useful device in morphemic as well as in phonemic analysis, but there is no agreement among linguists as to how far it should be utilized. Harris, for example, is more cautious than Bloch since he does not use it together with zero to describe a form like *went*. He analyses this form as /wen/ ~ /gow/ + /t/.¹⁴

Paradoxically enough the main reason for the disregard of the identity of the forms in Bloch's analysis is actually his insistence on a description where particular forms are 'viewed as words in their own right' and where the linguist avoids 'all reference to the process by which the form is derived' (cp. p. 102 above). This approach involves a tendency to ignore grammatical relations, and consequently differences in the substance by which these relations are expressed appear naturally enough to be a matter of minor importance. For instance, if a form like *sang* is viewed as a word in its own right without attaching any importance to its function as a tense form in opposition to *sing*, it is tempting to disregard the phonemic difference /i/—/æ/, and — with a view to simplifying the description of the inflectional apparatus — to transfer *sang* to the lexicon as a sub-morphemic variant of the base *sing* and then turn it into a pret. form by assuming a zero variant of the regular, productive pret. suffix.

In my opinion no description of English verb inflection is adequate unless attention is paid to the formal opposition expressing 'past' as contrasted with 'present'. If, in accordance with this view, a form like *sang* is first of all looked upon as a tense form in opposition to another tense form, *sing*, of the same word, we are naturally apt to treat with greater respect the actual phonemic difference between these forms, i.e. to assume that this difference has morphemic status. Furthermore, if we accept the view that attention should be paid to the opposition 'past' versus

¹³ *Language* 18, 169-80 (1942). Harris propounds 'a technique for determining the morphemes of a language, as rigorous as the method now used for finding its phonemes' (p. 169).

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

'present', we cannot ignore the possibility of assuming a morpheme meaning 'general present' in English. Admittedly this approach would involve us in difficulties and it would result in a less simple picture of the inflectional apparatus than that presented by Bloch, but it would probably give us more valuable information. Bloch avoids these difficulties by deliberately omitting all reference to relations between forms and by regarding the present (except the 3rd sing.) as *identical* with the stem, and the whole or part of an irregular pret. form as a *variant* of the stem (e.g. /sæŋ/ ~ /sɪŋ/; /sen/ ~ /send/) which is taken care of in the lexicon and the Morphophonemics section.

Even if we accept in principle the view that a morphemic analysis should be concerned with a purely formal description of particular forms rather than relations between forms, we ought to make an attempt to describe forms in such a way that relations between them are easily detectable. The description should not be so 'pure' that such relations are obscured.

There is one more reason for treating identity of forms with greater respect than Bloch does and for viewing the irregular verbs as inflectional types in their own right. By adopting the latter approach we bridge the gap between structural and historical linguistics. For instance, by describing the *put*-type as an inflectional type in its own right, instead of relegating it to a sub-linguistic lumber-room together with the *sing*-type (cp. p. 103 above), we obtain the advantage — from a diachronic point of view — that peculiar features are treated as noteworthy grammatical features, capable of explanation by historical linguistics. Such a procedure may not only give us further information about a particular irregular type, but also — on the synchronic level — throw some more light on structural features in general. This does not involve an inadmissible and pernicious mixing of structural and historical linguistics but a fruitful collaboration between these two approaches to linguistic science, provided the linguist is fully aware which aspect he is concerned with in a given case. I agree with Kurath¹⁵ that 'if two phonemic solutions appear to be equally probable or equally doubtful, the solution that facilitates the tie-up between the synchronic and the diachronic treatment of the language should be adopted' (p. 121). The assumption, for instance, of two overt morphemes in pret. forms like *put* and *sang* facilitates a tie-up between the two kinds of treatment. If such an assumption is out of the question because it is incompatible with the present definition of the morpheme,¹⁶ a redefinition of the morpheme would seem to be called for.

Oslo.

TRYGVE HELTVEIT.

¹⁵ Hans Kurath, 'The Binary Interpretation of English Vowels', *Language* 33, 111-22 (1957). Kurath's statement concerns phonemic solutions. I think it would be equally true in the case of morphemic solutions.

¹⁶ Cp. Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 401.

Notes and News

Notes on Names

The amount of new place-name material that has been made available in the last thirty years may be measured by the difference in bulk between *The Chief Elements used in English Place-Names*, one of the two slim volumes with which the English Place-Name Society opened its Survey, and A. H. Smith, *The English Place-Name Elements* (EPNS, vols. 25 f.). The study of Middle English personal names has lagged somewhat behind although the interest they hold for the philologist and student of early English society has so often been insisted upon as to be almost a commonplace. So far the survey has covered local and occupational surnames, but an inventory has still to be made of the nicknames.

In the early volumes brought out by the EPNS only a sparing use is made of minor names (field-names, local surnames), which are calculated to throw light on the major ones besides having a more general value. It is a desideratum that such names should be collected and published in addition to the original broad surveys, in order that the whole English area may be uniformly treated.

Even if more Middle English literary texts should come to light, it is doubtful whether they will very greatly advance the study of English lexicography and etymology since the early literature does not give much scope for variation in diction and style. Many words of native English stock are only recorded in the Modern period although they must have been in use earlier, and sometimes there is a gap of several hundred years between an Old English word and its Modern English descendant. To bridge this gap early name forms have proved useful.

A few notes on names that have come my way will serve to illustrate the points raised above.

Stobetle

(*Joh. ate*) *Stobetle* 1307 *Ass* 1 was the name of a locality in Tandridge hundred (hd), the south-eastern part of Surrey, and is a combination of OE *stān* 'stone' and (*ge*)*bytlū* 'building', the first element showing the common ME loss of *n* before a labial consonant. OE (*ge*)*bytlū* has been suspected to enter into some place-names.¹ With regard to one of them, Betteshanger in Kent, one may well hesitate since the term is cognate with OE *bōðl*, a word that 'seems to be predominantly Northumbrian and Mercian in provenance',² though there is evidence for its occurring in the southern area too. The form quoted above is a perfectly clear instance of (*ge*)*bytlū* and strengthens the case for a similar interpretation of Betteshanger. Both names have South-Eastern (Kentish) *e* from *y*.

¹ Cf. E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* (DEPN) s.n. Betteshanger, A. H. Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 74.

² *Ib.*, p. 44.

Belnacre

It has been suggested that Bell (End, Hall, etc.) Worcs., the first element of Belbroughton Worcs. and Bilton War., and OE *Beolne*, which is the old name for the *brōc* mentioned in *Belbroughton* (*Belnebrocton* 1298), may be identical with OE *beolone* 'henbane'.³ This etymology should be reconsidered in the light of the following forms: *Joh. Belnacre* (the first vowel of the surname is unmistakably *e*, not *o*) 1370, *Bulnac(e)* 1369-71 (7x) *VAcc, Sim. de Bolnacr'* 1327 SR 42. The person who figures in the younger source is associated with Feckenham Worcs., and *Sim. de Bolnacr'* lived in the adjoining parish (Stock-and-Bradley). Feckenham Forest was perambulated in 1300 and in the Metes there is a reference to *Beolne*.⁴ Thus there are good grounds for identifying *Beln-*, *Boln-*, *Buln-* etymologically with the name of the brook. The local surname might refer to a field by the Bell, but in view of the frequency with which OE *æcer* is combined in place-names with terms denoting a plant (cf. Bessacar 'bent-grass field', Fernacre 'fern field', Linacre 'flax field', Weddiker 'weedy field'), a better translation would be 'field where henbane grew'.

Spolde

Spalding Lincs., Spaldington Yorks., and some other place-names recall the *Spaldas*, who dwelt in the fenlands of Hunts., Lincs., and Northants. The origin of the tribal name is uncertain but may be an unrecorded place-name *Spald*, for which the sense 'ditch, ravine' has been proposed. Such a name would have parallels in Continental place-names derived from the root of Old High German *spaltan* 'to cleave'.⁵

In so far as an OE **spald* 'ditch, trench' existed it would be indistinguishable from OE *spald* (*spātl*, ME *spolde*) 'spittle, spit',⁶ a term that may have been used to describe running or oozing water.

Up to now no instances have, to my knowledge, been found of either **sp(e)ald* or *spald* (*spātl*) being used as a simplex place-name. It would seem, however, that such a form is supplied by the following entry in an unpublished Assize Roll of Hants.: *Assisa venit recognitura si Emericus Kaunile, Amya uxor eius, Johannes de la Welde et Jordanus de la Spolde iniuste &c. disseisinerunt Robertum de Henton' de libero tenemento in Henton ...* (1272 Ass 22).

There are several places called Hinton in Hants., the chief ones being Hinton Admiral (Christchurch hd), Hinton Ampner (Fawley hd), and Hinton Daubney (Finchdean hd). The context gives no clue as to the

³ Cf. DEPN s.nn. Belbroughton, Bilton Wa, The Place-Names of Worcestershire, EPNS, vol. 4, p. 274 f., The Place-Names of Warwickshire, EPNS, vol. 13, p. 125 f. s.n. Bilton (*Beltone* 1086, *Boelton* 1333, *Bult(h)on* 1225-1383, etc.).

⁴ Cf. *ib.*, p. 275, The Victoria History of the County of Worcester, vol. 2, p. 207.

⁵ Cf. Ekwall, *English Place-Names in -ing*, Lund, 1923, p. 87 f., *Namn och Bygd*, vol. 41 (1953), p. 147 f., The Place-Names of Nottinghamshire, EPNS, vol. 17, p. 207 s.n. Spalford, Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 134 f.

⁶ Smith, *l. c.*

identity of *Henton*. But *Henton* = Hinton Daubney is mentioned elsewhere in the roll, and 'Rob. de Henton' seems to be identical with one Robert de Henton who figures in an early-14th-century document as having given away land in Hinton Daubney.⁷

The document quoted above discriminates clearly between *e* and *o*. As for the etymology of *Spolde*, the form *Welde* (OE *weald*) is of interest. It confirms the fact that OE *a* was broken before *l* plus consonant in Hants. (the ME reflexes of OE *b(e)ald*, *B(e)alda* are *Belde*, *Bielde*, *Bilde*, *Bylde* in this county). If we set out from OE **sp(e)ald*, the form to be expected in the context would be *Spelde*. Thus, although it does not amount to proof, the *o*-form definitely suggests OE *spald*, the byform of *spātl*.

OE *ðl* followed different lines of development. In final position it became *-tl* (*botl*) or *-ld* (*bold*), when followed by a vowel it remained *-ðl-* (**bōðle*) or else it developed into *-dl-* (*nædle*).⁸ While metathetic forms have been found chiefly in the West, *tl*, *dl* are held to be the normal West Saxon ones; but a place-name *Bothele(-)* has been noted in southern counties.⁹ If the above interpretation of *Spolde* is accepted and if, further, the modern Sussex dial. form *neeld*¹⁰ is taken into account, it would seem that all four developments of the OE consonant cluster are represented in the old West Saxon territory. Future attempts to distinguish between **sp(e)ald* and *spald* (*spātl*) in place-names will not be rendered any easier by this discovery.

Only *o*-forms have been noted for Poles Pitch in Sussex, the earliest one being *Spolspiche* (1316).¹¹ The absence of *e(a)-* or *a*-spellings favours OE *spald* (*spātl*). Poles Pitch is c. 25 miles from Hinton Daubney.

The etymology of the place-names associated with the *Spaldas* remains obscure. If this tribe took its name from an English place called *Spald*, the origin of the latter may have been OE *spald* (*spātl*), which is well evidenced whereas the hypothetic word **spald* has no immediate cognates in English. The *Spaldas* are mentioned in the Tribal Hidage (7th c.) and the first metathesized forms (sc. place-names in *-bold*) appear in 7th-century charters.

Nubbe

Three places in Glos. are called Nibley. On the strength of (to) *Hnibban lege* (940), *Nubbeleia* (c. 1200), and *Nybban beorh* (940) Ekwall assumes an OE word **hnybbe* or **hnybba* 'point, tip', cognate with Norw. Swed *nubb* 'a small nail' and therefore likely to be the source of ModE *nib* 'pen-point'.¹² OED. Skeat and other handbooks of etymology derive

⁷ Cf. The Victoria History of the County of Hampshire, vol. 3, pp. 96, 99.

⁸ Cf. Ekwall, *Anglia Beiblatt*, vol. 28 (1917), pp. 87 ff.

⁹ M. T. Löfvenberg, *Studies on Middle English Local Surnames*, Lund, 1942, p. 19 with ref. Cf. however Smith, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 44 (3).

¹⁰ Cf. J. Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary* s.v. *needle*.

¹¹ Cf. The Place-Names of Sussex, EPNS, vol. 6, p. 190.

¹² Cf. *id.*, *Studies on English Place-Names*, Stockholm, 1936, p. 140 f., DEPN s.n. Nibley.

nib, which is not recorded until 1585, from OE *nebb* 'beak', and this etymology has found its way into E. Partridge's *Origins. A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* (1958).

When used as a topographic term, the OE word must have denoted a peak, round hill, promontory or the like. North Nibley is on the slope of a hill, to which *Nybban beorh* would seem to be a reference, and the other two localities mentioned are also close to a hill. In his *Place-Names of Gloucestershire* (1913), W. St. Clair Baddeley takes the first element of Nibley to be an OE personal name *Nybba* but is doubtless wrong so far as the exact form of such a name is concerned. The two alternatives are put on a par by A. H. Smith.

As a matter of fact an OE **Hnybba*, apparently a nickname, must be postulated for the following forms, which appear in two Subsidy Rolls of Dorset: *Ad. Nubbe* 1327 SR 15 (*Ad. Nhibb* 1333 SR 16, *Joh. Nhibb* ib., *Will. Nhibb* ib.; all in Beaminster hd); *Hug. Nubbe* 1327 SR 2 (Winfrith hd); *Joh. Nhubb* 1333 SR 19 (Redhone hd); *Will. Nubbe* 1333 SR 15 (Yetminster hd). This name should be compared with Norw *nubb* 'stumpy person' and Swed dial. *nubba* 'podgy old woman'. The four 14th-century spellings with *Nh-*, indicating an aspirated *n*-sound, prove beyond doubt the authenticity of the isolated form *Hnibban* (*lege*). It appears to be hardly less certain that ModE *nib* is descended from OE **hnybbe* (*-a*), a word for which there is now evidence in two counties.

It is noteworthy that the Glos. place-names mentioned above occur in a fairly limited area, a circumstance that may point to a certain 'Hnybba' being associated with the region. Perhaps he was interred, or supposed to have been interred, in *Nybban beorh* = 'Hnybba's tumulus'. Formally there is nothing against such an assumption. But I do not see sufficient reason to abandon the earlier theory, which is supported by the topography. Ekwall calls attention to Norw *nūv* 'rounded hillock'. *Nybban beorh* may have a still closer parallel in the Swedish field-name *Nubbekullen* (Swed *kulle* means 'hill, hillock'), for which, however, early forms are missing.¹³

Sources: Ass = Assize Rolls (unpublished, PRO); Hants.: 1272 (779 A); Surrey: 1307 (904). — SR = Lay Subsidy Roll of Worcs.; 1327 (Worcestershire Historical Society, 1893-1902). — SR = Lay Subsidy Rolls of Dorset (unpublished, PRO); 1327 (103/4), 1333 (103/5). — VAcc = Various Accounts: Particulars of Works at Feckenham, Worcs. (unpublished, PRO); 1369-71 (463/15), 1370-72 (543/37).

Bergen, Norway.

BERTIL SUNDBY.

¹³ The place is a rounded hillock in the province of Östergötland. — In the south-west of Sweden *nubb* is known in the dialectal sense 'a promontory, usually a rounded and elevated one'. Cf. further Swed dial. *nubba* 'a point of land, a cape'. I owe this information to Dr. Harry Ståhl, Keeper of Records at Svenska Ortnamnsarkivet, Uppsala.

A Note on the Language of Caxton's Malory and that of the Winchester MS

In 1956 Professor Paul Christophersen, having noticed certain dialectal differences between the language of Caxton's Malory (henceforth abbreviated C) and that of the recently discovered Winchester MS (henceforth abbreviated W) of the same work, suggested as a topic for my *Cand. Philol.* dissertation a comparison of the verbal forms in the two versions. For practical reasons it was necessary to limit the scope of the investigation. I therefore examined only two tales, or books, viz. 'The Noble Tale of Sir Launcelot du Lake' (Caxton's Book VI) and 'The Tale of Sir Gareth of Orkeney that was called Bewmaynes' (Caxton's Book VII). The texts which were used were, for the Winchester MS, *The Works of Sir Thomas Malory*, edited by Professor Eugene Vinaver (Oxford 1948), pp. 253-363; and, for Caxton's edition, *Le Morte Darthur by Syr Thomas Malory*, edited by H. Oskar Sommer (London 1889), pp. 183-272.

On two points there appeared to be a remarkable parallelism between the texts. The present plural is normally endingless in both texts. But in six cases W has a southern ending in *-th*, viz. *commyth* 293-19, *fallyth* 264-25, *hath* 338-12, 357-27, *hongyth* 255-5, and *redyth* 363-18. C has no example of the southern *-th*, but instead it has five forms with the 'full' Midland ending *-(e)n*, spelt *-en* four times and *-ne* once, viz. *comen* 213-17, *fallen* 193-1, *hangen* 184-36, *sayen* 232-8, and *sayne* 187-30. Now the interesting thing is that, in three of the four cases mentioned where C has *-en*, W has *-yth*. A similar parallelism is found in the unusual participles W *dryvande* 305-6 and C *dryuend* 223-7. In all other cases the present participle ending is *-ing* in both texts.

This parallelism can hardly be accidental. It is not easy, however, to retrace the development which has led up to the state of affairs found in our texts. Let us first consider the present plural forms.

The parallelism seems to suggest that the common source of W and C had 'full' endings of one kind or another (*-en* or *-th*?) in these cases, but not normally. According to Professor Vinaver this common source was probably not Malory's own MS.¹ It is possible, then, that the common source represented a 'corrected' version of Malory's text, in which the scribe, for some reason or other, had not carried out his 'corrections' consistently. On the basis of 'textual evidence' Professor Vinaver concludes that 'the Winchester scribes copy their text mechanically and seldom, if ever, attempt to correct it. Caxton, on the other hand, is an editor rather than a scribe.'² And from this it seems reasonable to assume that the common source had the ending *-th* in the above cases, and that *-en* in C is a result of Caxton's attempt to correct his MS.

¹ See Vinaver's edition, p. LXXXIX.

² Vinaver's edition, p. XCV.

It is not strange that Caxton should have attempted to find a substitute for *-th*, because *-th* in the plural did not belong naturally to his (Midland) dialect. What is more difficult to explain is that he should have chosen the form in *-en*. One explanation is that Caxton may have felt the form in *-en* to be more correct than the endingless form, and then — once having decided to correct — he chose an 'over'correct form, to be on the safe side, as it were.

One objection may be raised against this theory. If Caxton really felt the form in *-en* to be more correct than the endingless form, it is difficult to account for its very rare occurrence in his edition of Malory. Another explanation is that Caxton, on finding these forms in *-th*, thought them to be archaic or at least a little out of date, and that he tried to find forms in his own dialect with a similar archaic flavour. But one rather hesitates to regard the *-en* forms in C as archaisms, because according to Helmut Wiencke one finds in Caxton's later works 'ganz deutlich einen Umschwung ... zugunsten der ursprünglicheren oder volleren mittelländischen Endung *-en*'.³ If Caxton felt the form in *-en* to be archaic or out of date it is strange that this form should have experienced such a marked renaissance in his later works. Both these explanations are possible, but neither of them appears to be quite satisfactory.

In the case of the present participle forms, however, it seems more probable that the substitution of one form (*dryuend*?) for another (*dryvande*?) is due to the printer's (or the scribe's) wish to archaize.

These speculations, I think, are about as far as one can go on the basis of such a limited material. A random search has revealed a similar parallelism between *-en* and *-th* in at least one other passage, viz. Caxton's Book XVIII, chapter 25, corresponding to W pp. 1119-1120, and since this seems to be a matter of some importance, it may be worth while to devote more time to it. Another interesting point is that there is a certain difference between the language of C and Caxton's language in Helmut Wiencke's material. Wiencke has investigated books which Caxton translated into English. The language of these books may therefore be said to be Caxton's 'own' language. In the case of the *Morte Darthur* Caxton was the printer only, not a translator. It seems that Caxton, to a certain extent, has felt himself bound by the language of the MS which was entrusted to him for printing.

It is my intention to go through the whole of W and C with special regard to these and similar problems, hoping that such an investigation may shed some light on the question of Caxton's role in the development of Standard English.

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³ Helmut Wiencke, *Die Sprache Caxtons* (Leipzig 1930), p. 100.

A Note on the Words DASH and JU-JU in West African English

In a paper on the vocabulary of West African English¹ a few years ago, I pointed out that *dash* 'gift' and *ju-ju* 'idol, fetish' can be traced back to a description of the coast of Guinea printed by Samuel Purchas in vol. II of his *Pilgrimes* (London, 1625); but I was unable to trace the account to its ultimate source, which I was inclined to think had been lost. The English account purports to have been 'Translated out of *Dutch*, conferred also with the *Latine* Edition', and in a note we are told that the Latin version had been 'Translated out of Dutch by G. Artus Dantisc'. It is not certain whether *Dutch* in these statements means German or Dutch in our sense, but from the German and Latin editions it is clear that the account appeared originally in Dutch (=Netherlandish) and was translated by Gothard Arthus (sometimes named Dantiscanus from his native city of Danzig) first into High German and published by the brothers de Bry in their *Orientalische Indien*, Part VI (Frankfurt, 1603), and afterwards into Latin and published in de Bry, *India Orientalis*, Part VI (Frankfurt, 1604).²

Since my earlier paper appeared I have discovered that not only is the Dutch original still extant, but it has been reissued in a modern edition by S. P. L'Honoré Naber in *Werken uitgegeven door de Linschoten-Vereniging*, No. 5 (The Hague, 1912). The title is *Beschryvinghe ende Historische Verhael van het Gout Koninckrijk van Gunea*, and the original edition was printed at Amsterdam in 1602 by Cornelis Claesz.³ Of the author very little is known: he hides himself under the initials P. D. M. and says that he had at various times visited the coast of Guinea. We are able to expand the initials into Pieter de Marees, and there seems every reason to believe his statement about his own travels. Beyond that hardly anything is known.

It is in this work, then, that we have the first known occurrences of the words *dash* and *ju-ju*, and it is important to bear this in mind in considering the possible origins of these words. De Marees states expressly that they are words he has heard the Africans use; he quotes them as foreign words.⁴ But de Marees frequently makes the mistake, made also by other travellers in West Africa, of assuming that the names for various objects quoted to him by the Africans were those of the local African language and not,

¹ 'Some Special West African English Words'. *English Studies*, XXXIV (1953), 282-91.

² Another German translation, by L. Hulsius, published in 1603, has not been available to me. An anonymous French translation, *Description et recit historial du riche royaume d'or de Gunea*, appeared at Amsterdam in 1605.

³ The references in the following pages are to L'Honoré Naber's reprint.

⁴ As L'Honoré Naber points out (p. 48 footnote), a dutchified form *dasje* occurs in an official document of 1642, and the same spelling is used by W. Bosman, *Nauwkeurige Beschryving van de Guinese Goud- Tand- en Slave-Kust* (Utrecht, 1704), vol. II, p. 274. Dutch can probably claim the honour of being the first European language to naturalize this word.

as so often happened, the equivalent Portuguese words in a more or less corrupt form. For the Portuguese were the first European nation to build permanent establishments on the coast of Guinea, and the Portuguese language came apparently to be looked upon by the Africans as the language of the white man of whatever country. Negro-Portuguese, a kind of Pidgin Portuguese with some slight admixture from other Romance languages, continued in use as a *lingua franca* in West Africa for centuries. As an example of the fallacy to which de Marees was prone I may quote 'sy hebben mede eenen Man die sy houden als Predicant, op hunne tael ghenoeemt Fetissero' (p. 68) or, in the translation printed by Samuel Purchas, 'They haue also a Priest, who in their speech they call a *Fetissero*' (p. 941).

When, therefore, we find de Marees saying 'so moetmen hunlins schenckasie geven, d'welck sy noemen Dache' (p. 47) [Purchas p. 937: 'then we must giue them some-what to boot, which they call *Dache*'], there is good reason to think that he has made the usual mistake of regarding a Negro-Portuguese word, quoted by the Africans for his benefit, as a genuine African word. As pointed out in my earlier paper, the original meaning of *dache* seems to have been 'toll' or 'tribute', and several of the Romance languages offer close parallels in form and meaning, for example earlier French *dache*,⁵ Spanish *dacio*, and Italian *dazio*, all meaning 'tribute'.⁶

The word *ju-ju* presents greater difficulties, chiefly because it is not immediately recognizable in the form in which de Marees quotes it. He uses the word twice. First, in describing a drinking habit of the negroes: they do not empty their cup at the first draught, he says, but leave a little in it, which they pour on the ground saying 'Jou' as if they were giving it to their fetish to drink. His spelling, however, is peculiar: 'segghende I.O.V. als ghevende hunne Fetissos dat te drincken' (p. 43). Gothard Arthus's German and Latin versions have '*Iou*' (pp. 26 and 24 respectively), while Purchas has 'saying, *I. OV*, as giuing their *Fetissos* that to drinke' (p. 936). The second instance of our word in de Marees is in a description of a religious ceremony: after delivering an oration the fetish priest drinks from a pot of some liquid, while the congregation clap their hands together and cry 'Jou, Jou'. This time de Marees uses a somewhat different spelling, 'roepende I. Ou. I. Ou' (p. 69); Gothard Arthus's German and Latin versions have 'I, ou, I, ou' and 'Iou, Iou' respectively (pp. 43 and 39), while Purchas has 'cry *I. ou, I. ou*' (p. 942). The case for identifying de Marees's word with modern *ju-ju* is in the first instance the similarity

⁵ See Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, vol. IX.

⁶ Since the above was written, a still earlier occurrence of our word has come to my notice. G. B. Ramusio, in his *Navigazioni et viaggi*, vol. III (Venice, 1556), pp. 423-32, prints a description of the coast of Guinea written about 1540 by an anonymous Frenchman from Dieppe. Of the Portuguese on the coast the author says that if they want any merchandise they must buy it from the local inhabitants, and they must pay dues (*datii*, modern *dazii*) to the king and princes of the country: 'bisogna che le comprino da quelli del paese, & che ne paghino datij alli Re, & principi del paese' (p. 429). Here, at last, we seem to have traced the word back to its natural habitat, a Romance language.

or identity of meaning, for obviously I.O.V. (or I. OV; I. Ou; I. ou; I. ou; or Iou) must be associated or identified with the meaning 'fetish'. Secondly, and this is the strongest argument, we find the same drinking habit mentioned by later travellers, who use the word *ju-ju* in describing it. Thus Oldfield⁷ says, 'When they take rum, they pour a little on the deck or in the river for the Ju-ju', and Baikie⁸ describes a palaver with some Africans, which began by 'drinking a glass of wine ... a few drops of which they, before tasting it, poured on the deck as dju-dju, or sacred'.⁹

The present English pronunciation of *ju-ju* is ['dʒu:dʒu:]. The relative antiquity of this pronunciation seems vouched for by spellings such as *Jew-Jew* (Crow, 1791)¹⁰ and *Dju Dju* (R. & J. Lander, 1830).¹¹ One may wonder what pronunciation de Mærees was aiming at representing when he wrote *Iou* (assuming that to be the right interpretation of his spelling). He obviously treated this word as well as *Dache* as foreign, and since it is clear from his African vocabulary (pp. 254-9) that he consistently rendered the vowel [u] in African words by *ou*, *Iou* appears to stand for [ʒu] or [dʒu] or more probably, as pronounced by Africans, [ɟu] with a dorso-palatal plosive instead of the affricate.

The next occurrence of our word that I have noted is in James Barbot's account of his visit in 1699 to Dony,¹² where he saw the king's 'idol-house, which they call *Jou-Jou*' (p. 462). From the late eighteenth century onwards instances become fairly common in the literature of travel.

All occurrences of the word other than the first one in de Mærees show reduplication, but since this is a common feature in many West African languages, we need not assume that it was an original part of the word: it could easily have been added later. Despite the widespread use of *ju-ju* in West Africa, the word seems to this day to be regarded by many Africans as the white people's term for a venerated object. Like *dash*, the word is probably European, and most likely Portuguese, in origin. A possible source would be the Portuguese word *Deus* 'God' with loss of the final consonant and change of [dɛu] to [dju] and [dʒu]. This etymology would form an interesting parallel to the development of *joss*

⁷ M. Laird & R. A. K. Oldfield, *Narrative of an Expedition into the Interior of Africa*, etc. (London, 1837), vol. I, p. 323.

⁸ W. K. Baikie, *Narrative of an Exploring Voyage up the Rivers Kwora and Binue* (London, 1856), p. 42.

⁹ In a description of the coast of Guinea by B. Paludan, published as Part III of Linschoten's *Itinerario* (1596; reissued by the Linschoten Society, The Hague, 1934), we find what is perhaps only an accidental likeness to our word. We are told that the natives on the banks of the river Gabon in present-day French Equatorial Africa greeted a party of white visitors with cries of 'Io, Io, ende andere woorden' (p. 9). An anonymous French translation (3rd edition, Amsterdam, 1638) spells the phrase 'Jo Jo' (p. 190).

¹⁰ *Memoirs of the late Captain Hugh Crow of Liverpool* (London, 1830), p. 37.

¹¹ *Journal of an Expedition to Explore ... the Niger* (London, 1832), vol. III, p. 266.

¹² Near New Calabar and not, as erroneously stated in my earlier paper, in the Cameroons. The account is printed in A. & J. Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. V. London, 1732.

'idol' from Portuguese *Deos* (a by-form of *Deus*) in Chinese Pidgin English.¹³

The line of inquiry here pursued would seem a more satisfactory approach than the acceptance of the surgeon John Atkins's view of *dash* as a 'Negrish' word and the repetition of the conjecture (originated by Mary Kingsley?) that *ju-ju* is derived from French *jou-jou* 'toy'. Both the latter explanations are to be found in the Oxford English Dictionary and are repeated, regrettably, in the revised third edition of the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary published in 1955.

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Postscript to note 1, page 102

At the time when this article was written, I had not yet seen Dr. W. Haas's paper 'Zero in Linguistic Analysis' (in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, pp. 33-53. Special Volume of the Philological Society, 1957), which criticises Bloch's theory in a more general context than mine. Had I seen Dr. Haas's paper earlier, I would naturally have taken his remarks into consideration on some points, but I note with satisfaction that in principle he and I are in agreement. — T. H.

International Conference. The fourth Triennial Conference of IAUPE (International Association of University Professors of English) will be held at Lausanne (Switzerland) from August 24th to August 29th 1959. It will be open to members of IAUPE and scholars recommended by members.

Communications should be addressed to the Hon. Secretary, Prof. Max Wildi, Ob. Heslibachstr. 69, Küsnacht, Zürich.

English Studies at Oxford. Dr Norman Davis, Professor of English Language in the University of Glasgow, has been appointed Merton Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Oxford.

¹³ For the latter suggestion I am indebted to Monsieur A. L. Culioli of Paris. — Professors J. W. Blake, of North Staffordshire, and R. J. McClean, of Birkbeck College, London, have kindly helped with the tracing and checking of various references.

English Studies in Norway. Dr Georg Roppen has been appointed to a Readership (dosentur) in English Literature in the University of Bergen.

Kemp Malone 70. The well-known American philologist Kemp Malone, Emeritus Professor of English at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and a frequent contributor to this journal, reached the age of 70 on March 14th. A volume of his Collected Papers entitled *Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech* was published to mark the occasion.

Reviews

Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700. By WILBUR SAMUEL HOWELL. Princeton University Press, 1956. vii and 411 pp. Price \$ 6.00.

Students of the Renaissance will be familiar with the prominent position of logic and rhetoric in the intellectual milieu of this period. They will also know that several fairly recent works on the literature of the period have focussed on the connection between literary practice and various aspects of logic and rhetoric. Among such works are Ronald Crane's *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (Columbia, 1937), Rosamund Tuve's *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* (Chicago, 1947), and George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble* (London, 1951).

The enthusiasm caused by the re-discovery of the importance of these ancient disciplines has reached something of a peak in the United States. Thus Professor Maynard Mack has characterised the re-emergence of rhetoric as an important event in twentieth-century scholarship. Dr. Mack has also emphasised the fact that there is a clear connection between rhetoric and what we nowadays refer to as 'literary explication'. What is the so-called 'new' criticism, he asks, except a pioneering phase in a general revival of rhetorical interests and disciplines?

Wilbur Samuel Howell's study of *Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700* is an important contribution to this revival. Dr. Howell is Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory in Princeton University, and one notices that he expresses a particular indebtedness to the Henry E. Huntington Library in California.

Dr. Howell's book begins with a clear exposition of classical and medieval logic and rhetoric. To the men of the Renaissance, logic was a theory

of communication in the world of learning — a theory, not of thought, but of statement — while rhetoric was the theory which governed statements intended for popular consumption. The main interest of students of literature will probably focus on the account of the revolt against scholastic logic and traditional rhetoric associated with the name of Peter Ramus. The chapter on English Ramists is particularly illuminating; thus Dr. Howell concludes that Milton's *Art of Logic* 'shows a scholar's basic support of Ramus's canons, and a scholar's awareness of the dependence of those canons upon the final authority of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian.' [p. 219.]

It is equally interesting to follow Dr. Howell's lucid account of the counter-reformation which occurred among those logicians and rhetoricians who desired to restore the ancient disciplines without ignoring the reforms proposed by Ramus. Dr. Howell, copying the terminology of the period, refers to the former as Systematics, and to the latter as Neo-Ciceronians. A third stage in the historical development was reached towards the end of the seventeenth century when a logic emerged which was critical both of Ramus and of the Systematics — the so-called *Port-Royal Logic*. At the same time Dr. Howell finds evidence that a new rhetoric was slowly developed to meet the need for a new system of communication. This need arose as the result of new developments in science, religion, and politics. A new rhetorical theory was needed to govern the system of communication between scientist and scientist (or between scientist and general public), between preacher and layman in a Protestant community, and between members in a new type of Parliament where the purpose of oratory no longer was to conciliate the aristocracy, but to convince the commoner. It is illuminating thus to find the well-known change in style associated with the late seventeenth century, closely related to specific developments in logic and rhetoric.

In his opening statement Dr. Howell underlines that his book is intended as a chapter in the history of ideas. 'Its particular purpose is to describe the ideas that Englishmen of the Renaissance held towards their method of producing discourses for the need of their civilization.' His concern is with the 'theories that govern arguments, expositions, lectures, speeches, letters, and sermons', and his quest has taken him through the chief English treatises on logic and rhetoric between 1500 and 1700. His aim has been to classify these treatises, to describe their general character, to inquire into their origins, to indicate the presuppositions upon which they rest, and to interpret them as part of a social, political, intellectual, and religious context.

The main emphasis is nevertheless on the descriptive part. The author is primarily concerned with discussing the contents of the works that he has selected for consideration. Hence one wishes that more space could have been devoted to demonstrating the usefulness of considering the theory of communication not in a vacuum. 'but in complex relation to the culture surrounding it'. [p. 9.]

Logic and Rhetoric in England 1500-1700 is scarcely a book for the uninitiated, or for the young student. However, the fact that it is written in a clear style without the 'inkhorn' terms of the professional logician and rhetorician, should do much to recommend it to a wider audience. Those who are interested in tracing the relationship between literary style on the one hand, and logic and rhetoric on the other, will find it an extremely useful book of reference. There is much pertinent information lodged among its 400 pages.

Oslo.

MAREN-SOFIE RØSTVIG.

James Joyce and the Cultic Use of Fiction. By KRISTIAN SMIDT. (Oslo Studies in English.) Oslo, Akademisk Forlag; Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1955. 106 pp. 12/6.

This study of Joyce is indebted to the American school of criticism which interprets literary works in terms of archetypal patterns. Readers may have felt at times that this critical approach was fraught with danger and may have welcomed such timely reminders as Douglas Bush's skit in *The New Statesman and Nation*: 'Mrs. Bennet and the Dark Gods'. Yet they will readily grant that the 'anthropological-psychological method' can be of use to tackle works like *Finnegans Wake*, since Jung and Frazer influenced Joyce at least as much as did Vico. Previous critics have not ignored the important part played by ritual in Joyce's work, but it is Dr. Smidt's contention that 'Joyce turned himself and his strivings into myth' (p. 29), his art 'into a cult to replace Christianity and himself into its deity, its priest and its devotees in one person' (p. 27). Accordingly, his first task is to reconstruct a 'Portrait of the artist', using for the purpose both the biographical data and the works, but never forgetting that it is Joyce's *alter ego*, Stephen, 'rather than his creator and prototype, who immediately concerns us' (p. 7). Little is new in these three chapters, but it was necessary to rehearse Joyce/Stephen's reactions to his home and Church before trying to interpret the Joycean cult. Dr. Smidt believes that this 'cult of Art in its purely individual aspect' represents 'a stubborn need and conviction on the author's part of a supernatural and divine range of existence, as well as a vast magic formula for his own secret rebirth' (p. 33). This central thesis is elaborated in Chapter IV, 'Strange Gods', where Dr. Smidt discusses the 'new deities', the artist-Ego and the Spirit of Beauty, which came to replace the figures of Christ and Mary (whom he surprisingly calls a deity of Roman Catholicism). He shows, convincingly I think, that in some scenes Joyce's use of elements long associated with religious rituals gives them a symbolic significance. Thus, Stephen seeing a girl in midstream in Dublin Bay is baptized in his Jordan

and emerges a priest of the modern Aphrodite. Few readers will doubt that this modern Aphrodite reappears in Molly Bloom and Anna Livia Plurabelle; but if the term 'Spirit of Beauty' is to be applied to these later avatars, the term should be defined so as to avoid misunderstanding. There is little doubt either that Joyce saw the artist as a god, and Dr. Smidt is right to remind us that in this, as in his religion of beauty, Joyce owed much to his time: 'if an ex-Catholic Walter Pater had tried to write *The Way of All Flesh*, I imagine the result would be something like *Stephen Hero* first, then *A Portrait of the Artist*.' But Dr. Smidt further contends that Joyce identified the artist-Ego with Christ (p. 45) and that in *Ulysses* both Stephen and Bloom are at times identified with Christ: 'Stephen may be the impious mock-image of him. Bloom may be the scapegoat-God, Stephen remaining the irresponsible creator-god' (p. 49). In this perspective, 'Bloom's role as a scapegoat is a very important one': he is 'the nearest thing Joyce could produce in such a work to a tragic hero; or, in cultic terms, to a communal atonement-symbol' (p. 49). Dr. Smidt finds it no inconsistency, however, that Stephen and Bloom should alternate in the role of Christ; to him, this indicates a free use of symbolism, and implies that a god can assume different shapes. Some readers may demur, or at least ask what exactly is meant by 'identification' in the context. Travesty of the Gospels does play an important part in *Ulysses*, but is the point of the parody always the same? Dr. Smidt rejects Mr Foster Damon's view that, in *Ulysses*, Stephen is an Antichrist, because he takes it for granted that the Stephen of *Ulysses* is the same as the Stephen of the *Portrait*. The young Stephen may indeed 'have dreamt of saving his nation by forging a new conscience for it', and 'sacrificed his all in order to carry out a work of salvation' (p. 48); but it is hard to see what work of salvation he is carrying out in *Ulysses*, or what 'ideas of sacrifice and redemption ... link him more positively ... with Christ' (p. 48). That Stephen, and Joyce, remained haunted by the religion against which he had rebelled, no one will deny; it is therefore inevitable that motifs from the Catholic liturgy should appear so frequently in his works. Whether these motifs suffice to link Stephen with Christ remains, to one reader at least, a little doubtful.

Chapter V, 'New Lamps for Old', is a brief examination of the aesthetic theories which constitute the new cult. The main inferences from Stephen's aesthetics that support the cultic interpretation of Joyce's works are: that all things are potentially beautiful, that the artist is a kind of demiurge forever forming new wholes, that he wished to hold his readers in a devout spell. To this must be added the tendency of the artist to free himself from the categories of time and space. More important, even, is Joyce's use of language, which Dr. Smidt discusses in Chapter VI, 'Irer's Langurge'. Here he shows that Joyce elaborated a language of worship, which arouses a sense of mystery but which also reveals that the Word is fundamentally one: 'The author's representation of the oneness of the Word amounts to a speaking with tongues, an ecstatic babbling which

sometimes the priest alone can interpret. And as in the case of certain Christian sects, the phenomenon is recognised as sacred by the faithful and ridiculed as superstitious by the uninitiated and the unimpressed' (p. 71). Dr. Smidt does not deny that, as in primitive cults, there is in this language an element of willed obscurity, but his analysis of some of the stylistic devices shows him to be among the initiated. Few readers indeed can be insensitive to the incantatory power of many parts of *Finnegans Wake*, or remain blind to the many possibilities of meaning which Joyce's linguistic method reveals. As Dr. Smidt says: '(the words) make possible parallel streams of meaning within the same linguistic symbols. They start the reader on a hunt for associations which is really not restricted to what the words themselves connote' (p. 76). This has given great delight to those who enjoy hunting for ambiguities or parallel meanings; but it still worries those few who, in spite of current fashions, believe that among the many parallel meanings, some must be more 'possible' than others. Joyce's all-inclusiveness may, after all, defeat its own ends, and it is a little surprising that Dr. Smidt should not have faced this problem.

In the last chapter, 'Exile', he examines the rival- or usurper-motif in Joyce's works. He relates it, on the one hand, to the persistent mocking of the Catholic Church and its God, on the other, to the 'dim antagonism in Stephen when his mother spoke about him to her confessor', and he suggests that the various usurpers 'are symbols of the divine usurper' (p. 90). After discussing the relation father — son — mother — usurper, he concludes that the usurper story 'is found to disguise an impulse that runs counter to the surface apostasy' (p. 94). In *Ulysses* the impulse to return is not fulfilled, but '*Finnegans Wake* begins and ends and circles round mainly on the note of the Great Father, who, after the Fall and Wake ("Array! Surrection.") dominates the last page' (p. 95).

After this very persuasive argument, it is hard for the reader to disagree with Dr. Smidt when he concludes that Joyce's works have a mythic background and structure which can be related to the basic myth of the year-god. This, however, is by no means the only interest of the book. Dr. Smidt's discussion of *Ulysses*, particularly in chapters IV and VII, throws considerable light on a work which, in spite of learned exegeses, remains difficult. His suggestions are always illuminating; even where it seems difficult to agree with him, it would be rash to ignore his point of view.

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

Books Received

1958

A History of the English Language. By G. L. BROOK. (The Language Library, Edited by Eric Partridge.) London: Andre Deutsch. 224 pp. Price 15s. net.

The Metre of Beowulf. By A. J. BLISS. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. ix + 166 pp. Price 25/— net.

The Paris Psalter. Preface by various contributors collected by B. COLGRAVE. (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. Vol. VIII.) Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. Price Dan. kr. 635, Morocco Dan. kr. 730.

The Old English Apollonius of Tyre. Edited by P. GOOLDEN. (Oxford English Monographs, Vol. 6.) Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. xxxvi + 74 pp. Price 25/— net.

Medieval English. An Old English and Middle English Anthology. By R. KAISER. Third edition (revised and great enlarged). Berlin W., Markobrunner Str. 21. xxix + 592 pp. Price DM 18.50.

De Wouhunge of Ure Lauerd. Edited from Br. M. MS. Cotton Titus D. XVIII, together with *On Urcisun of Ure Louerde*, etc., by W. MEREDITH THOMPSON. (Early English Text Society, No. 241.) Published for the E.E.T.S. by the Oxford University Press. lxxiii + 80 pp. Price 32/— net.

The French Text of the Ancrene Reivle. Edited by W. H. TRETHEWEY. [E.E.T.S. No. 240.] Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press. London. xxxiii + 271 pp. Price 45/— net.

Middle English Dictionary. HANS KURATH, Editor; SHERMAN M. KUHN, Associate Editor. Part B5. Pp. 1021-1245. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. Price \$ 3.00.

Die frühen Darstellungen des Arthurstoffes. Von W. F. SCHIRMER. (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften, Heft 73.) Köln und Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag. 85 pp. DM 5.—.

The Dwarfs of Arthurian Romance and Celtic Diction. By V. J. HARWARD, Jr. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 149 pp. Price cloth fl. 15.—.

Chaucer: A Critical Appreciation. By P. F. BAUM. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. xi + 229 pp. Price \$ 6.00.

Piers Plowman and the Scheme of Salvation. An Interpretation of Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. By R. W. FRANK, Jr. (Yale Studies in English, Vol. 136.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. [Received 1958.] xiv + 123 pp. Price \$ 4.00.

The Paris Manuscript of Walter Hilton's Eight Chapters on Perfection. By FUMIO KURYAGAWA. Tokyo: Keio University. 21-56 pp.

The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle. Edited by A. C. CAWLEY. (Old and Middle English Texts. General Editor: G. L. Brook.) Manchester University Press. xxxix + 187 pp. Price 18/—.

The Allegorical Temper. Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*. By H. BERGER, Jr. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957. [Received 1958.] xi + 248 pp. Price \$ 5.00.

Music in Elizabethan England. By D. E. MASON. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 38 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

The English Church in the Sixteenth Century. By C. R. THOMPSON. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 56 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

The Life of William Shakespeare. By G. E. DAWSON. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 34 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

Shakespeare's Theatre and the Dramatic Tradition. By L. B. WRIGHT. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 36 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

English Dress in the Age of Shakespeare. By V. A. LAMAR. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Folger Shakespeare Library. 42 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

The Bible in English 1525-1611. By C. R. THOMPSON. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington: The Shakespeare Library. 37 pp. Price \$ 0.75.

Die Geisterszenen in der Tragödie vor Shakespeare. Zur Seneca-Nachfolge im englischen und lateinischen Drama des Elisabethanismus. Von G. DAHINTEN. (Palaestra, Band 225.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 193 pp. Cloth DM 16.80.

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The Nature of Comedy and Shakespeare. By E. M. W. TILLYARD. (The English Association, Presidential Address, July 1958.) Published for the English Association by the Oxford University Press. 15 pp. Price 5/— net.

The Structure of Julius Caesar. By A. BONJOUR. Liverpool University Press. viii + 81 pp. Price 12s. 6d. net.

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The Changeling. THOMAS MIDDLETON & WILLIAM ROWLEY. Edited by N. W. BAWCUTT. (The Revels Plays. General Editor: Clifford Leech.) London: Methuen & Co. Ltd. lxviii + 140 pp. Price 18s. net.

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Die Lyrik der Korrespondenzen. Cowleys Bildkunst und die Tradition der englischen Renaissance-dichtung. Von U. SUERBAUM. (Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 40. Heft.) Bochum-Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Pöppinghaus OHG. 287 pp. Price 25,— DM.

The Life Records of John Milton. Volume V. 1670-1674 and Additions. Edited by J. MILTON FRENCH. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. viii + 518 pp. Price \$ 7.50.

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Spirit, Their Actions and Reactions. By H. J. C. GRIERSON. New York: Harper & Brothers. Harper Torchbooks. xvi + 345 pp. Price \$1.85.

First published in London in 1929.

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Strange Seas of Thought. Studies in William Wordsworth's Philosophy of Man and Nature. By N. P. STALLKNECHT. Second Edition. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. xi + 290 pp. Price \$5.00.

Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth. Edited with an Introduction by H. DARBISHIRE. (The World's Classics, 568.) Oxford University Press. xx + 264 pp. Price 7/— net.

The Letters of Mary Wordsworth 1800—1855. Selected and edited by MARY E. BURTON. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. xxix + 363 pp. Price 42/— net.

The Letters of John Keats. 1814—1821. Edited by H. E. ROLLINS. Cambridge: at the University Press. Volume One: xxii + 442 pp. Volume Two: xiii + 440 pp. £7 net the set.

John Keats. A Reassessment. Edited by K. MUIR. (Liverpool English Texts and Studies, No. 5.) Liverpool University Press. x + 182 pp. Price 30s. net.

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Clarel: An Investigation of Spiritual Crisis. By M. D. MAHONEY. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press. 23 pp. Price 50 c.

Henry Adams: The Middle Years. By E. SAMUELS. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. xiv + 514 pp. Price \$7.50.

The Image of Europe in Henry James. By C. WEGELIN. Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press. ix + 200 pp. Price \$4.50.

From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad. Essays Collected in Memory of JAMES T. HILLHOUSE. Edited by R. C. RATHBURN and M. STEINMANN, Jr. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ix + 327 pp. Price \$5.75.

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The Shaping Vision of Gerard Manley Hopkins. By A. HEUSER. Oxford University Press. viii + 128 pp. Price 15/- net.

T. S. Eliot's Four Quartets. A Commentary by C. A. BODELSEN. Copenhagen University Publications Fund, Rosenkilde & Bagger. 128 pp.

Charles Williams. The Image of the City and other Essays. Selected by ANNE RIDLER with a Critical Introduction. Oxford University Press. lxxii + 199 pp. Price 25/- net.

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In Fires of No Return. Poems by J. K. BAXTER. Oxford University Press. 68 pp. Price 12/6 net.

Garden Walks with Candidates. By W. VAN DOORN. Third, revised, edition. Groningen: P. Noordhoff N.V. 101 pp. Price f 3.25.

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Science and the Idea of God. By C. A. COULSON. (The Eleventh Arthur Stanley Memorial Lecture, 21 April 1958.) Cambridge: at the University Press. v + 51 pp. Price 4s. 6d. net.

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A Grammar of Metaphor. By C. BROOKE-ROSE. London: Secker & Warburg. xi + 343 pp. Price 42s. net.

A Synopsis of English Syntax. By E. A. NIDA. Hectograph edition (1951), based on the author's University of Michigan dissertation (1943). 91 pp. [Received 1958. Copies may be ordered, at \$ 1 a copy, from Norman A. McQuown, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.]

Studies in English Grammar and Linguistics. A Miscellany in Honour of TAKANOBU OTSUKA. Edited by KAZUO ARAKI and others. Tokyo: Kenkyusha Ltd. x + 419 pp.

A Handbook of English Grammar. By R. W. ZANDVOORT. Second Impression. London: Longmans, Green and Co. xii + 351 pp. Price 21/— net.

A Concise English Grammar. By J. J. VAN-HELDEN. Third Edition. Amsterdam: J. M. Meulenhoff. viii + 234 pp.

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The Scottish National Dictionary. Volume V. Part II. Hexham — Ill-Faured. Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association Ltd. 129-256.

Mélanges d'Étymologie Cynégétique. Par G. TILANDER. Lund: Carl Bloms Boktryckeri A.-B., 329 pp. Price 40 Sw. Cr.

Branded Words in English Dictionaries before Johnson. By N. E. OSSELTON. (Groningen Studies in English, VII.) Groningen: J. B. Wolters, viii + 192 pp.. Price fl. 9.50.

Airship, Aeroplane, Aircraft. Studies in the History of Terms for Aircraft in English. By S. STUBELIUS. (Gothenburg Studies in English. VII.) Distributed by Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm. x + 342 pp. Price Sw. Kr. 25.

Interrogative Structures of American English (The Direct Question). By D. L. BOLINGER. (Publication of the American Dialect Society, Number 28, November 1957.) Published for the Society by University of Alabama Press, University, Alabama. [Received 1958.] viii + 184 pp.

Aldhelmus Glosatus III¹

Among the leaders of the Church in Anglo-Saxon England, Aldhelm (born ca. 640, monk 661, abbot of Malmesbury 675, bishop of Sherborne 705, died 709) occupies a rather peculiar position. He has been depicted both as a vigorous and resourceful preacher of the faith, who would recite popular poetry in order to attract larger audiences for his religious instructions, and as a proficient scholar, the greatest perhaps of his age: he combined the learning of the Irish, which he had acquired from his teacher Maildubh (the founder of Malmesbury), with that of the school of Canterbury, where he had studied under Theodore and Hadrian. He not only made a deep impression on his contemporaries, but established his fame for centuries to come. Yet modern historians seem rather reluctant to give him a large share in the growth of Anglo-Saxon culture. This reluctance must be due at least partly to his style, which makes access to his works very difficult indeed. It has been described as 'deliberately fantastic';² 'his ingenuity was expressed in the elaboration of a style which deprives his learning of all vitality'.³ But, for all the strictures which modern scholars have passed on this style, with its Hesperic peculiarities and its profusion of 'inkhorn terms', he was one of the most widely read authors of the early Middle Ages, and his works were still being copied in the 14th and 15th centuries. There is, to be sure, one aspect of his literary activity which we are no longer able to appreciate: all his OE poems on religious subjects are lost. This, and the fact that Bede refers only incidentally to Aldhelm's achievement as a vernacular poet, results in Aldhelm being rarely mentioned in connexion with the rise of vernacular Christian poetry in England, whilst all attention is focused on his contemporary Cædmon. Bede may have known Aldhelm's OE hymns only by hearsay, but no one less than King Alfred thought highly of them. Moreover, Aldhelm is the only Anglo-Saxon scholar about whom an OE poem survives, and this poem goes some way to show that some features of his style, which find little appreciation nowadays, were imitated in OE verse as late as the 10th century.⁴

The loss of Aldhelm's OE writings is, however, compensated in some measure by the popularity of his Latin works in later centuries. His

¹ This is the third of a series of papers on the OE Aldhelm glosses; previous papers have appeared in *Handelingen IX der Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis* (1955), 37ff., and *Anglia LXXIV* (1957), 153ff.

² G. O. Sayles, *The Medieval Foundations of England* (2nd ed., London 1950), 74.

³ F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (2nd ed., repr. Oxford 1955), 183.

⁴ E. V. K. Dobbie, *The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems* (The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records VI) (New York 1942), xc ff., 97f., 194.

treatises on virginity and his riddles must have been widely studied during the 8th century, both in England and on the Continent. A number of continental manuscripts of this period survive, some of them with OHG glosses which betray OE influence;⁵ these glosses point to the existence of an early body of Aldhelm exegesis in England, most of which must have disappeared during the troubles of the 9th century. A new period of Aldhelm studies set in with the Benedictine reform of the 10th century. This revival is especially important for students of OE on account of the numerous Aldhelm manuscripts with vernacular glosses that have come down to us. When searching the English libraries for OE glosses, Napier found only two Aldhelm manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon period without any such glosses.⁶ He supposed that this was largely due to the difficulties of Aldhelm's style and vocabulary, which called for more than the normal amount of explanation. But at the same time we have good proof here that these works were much read towards the end of the period under consideration. This is hardly surprising: St. Dunstan himself recommended the reading of Aldhelm's treatises as a means of strengthening monastic life.⁷ It is the preservation of some 14,000 OE Aldhelm glosses that makes up to some extent for the loss of Aldhelm's OE poetry — though most of us would gladly exchange this wealth of glosses for a hundred or even fifty lines of his OE verse. Yet these glosses are not without interest. For one thing, some relation exists between Aldhelm's Latin vocabulary and that of the oldest OE glossaries;⁸ Aldhelm batches and an extensive Aldhelm gloss also played a part in the compilation of Cotton MS Cleopatra A.iii;⁹ and by their very number the glossed Aldhelm manuscripts may enable us to approach some problems of the cultural life of England in the century before the Conquest from a new angle. But much remains to be done about the glosses themselves before we can tackle these problems.

Among the many contributions to OE studies which may be gleaned from Ker's *Catalogue*, there are his remarks on an Aldhelm manuscript of the Royal Library in Brussels (Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 1650).¹⁰ With about 5,600 glosses by several hands, this is the most heavily glossed manuscript of *De laudibus virginittis* to have come down to us. To the 163 Latin

⁵ H. Mettke, *Die althochdeutschen Aldhelmglossen* (Jena 1957).

⁶ A. S. Napier, *Old English Glosses Chiefly Unpublished* (Oxford 1900), v.

⁷ R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera* (Mon. Germ. Hist., Auct. Ant. XV) (Berlin 1919), 216.

⁸ W. M. Lindsay, *The Corpus, Epinal, Erfurt and Leyden Glossaries* (London 1921), 97ff. Some of the glosses erased in the Brussels manuscript should also be taken into account, e.g. 34V12 *rudentium*, *hlæglendra* (Corpus B 171 *Bombosa*: *hlaegulendi*) and 34V13 *saginauerit*, *meste* or *mæste* (Corpus S 68 *Saginabant*: *maestun*).

⁹ W. Stryker, *The Latin — Old English Vocabulary of Cotton Ms Cleopatra A.iii* (Stanford diss.; Ann Arbor, University Microfilms). Cf. also N. R. Ker's *Catalogue* (no. 143, p. 180ff.).

¹⁰ N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford 1957), no. 8, p. 6f.

words of one page (fol. 3R) there are over 120 Latin and 100 OE glosses, not counting a few that were erased but are still partly or wholly legible. Since 1830, when the glosses were first printed by Mone,¹¹ this codex has often been examined. Less than a quarter of a century after Mone's edition, Bouterwek attempted to produce a more satisfactory edition of the OE material.¹² Though in some respects it was an improvement over Mone's, it was still far from perfect, as may be seen from Hausknecht's collation.¹³ Early in this century Schlutter projected a new edition,¹⁴ but it was not until 1941 that van Langenhove filled this lacuna with his facsimile edition.¹⁵ The introduction to the latter, however, left a number of important questions unanswered, which have now received adequate treatment from Ker. One was the question of the origin of the codex. Ker was able to trace it back (together with two manuscripts now in Antwerp) to the abbey of Abingdon, a very likely place indeed for Aldhelm studies: St. Æthelwold, Dunstan's greatest pupil, was commissioned by King Eadred to restore it.¹⁶

Another important point on which Ker threw fresh light was the vexed question of the structure of the Brussels gloss. He distinguished and described four different hands (there may be more) which have contributed the interlinear and marginal glosses. Within the short compass of a catalogue article he could of course hardly go into further details connected with this finding, nor could he give a full account of the extraordinary complexity of this gloss. The importance of further research in this direction appears from Ker's remark on the contribution of scribe (3): 'Towards the end of the manuscript two strata of glosses, both apparently in this hand, are distinguishable by the thickness and colour of the ink. Most of the glosses, both Latin and OE, in no. 255 [= Brit. Mus., Royal 6 B.vii], are here in hand (3) and in the lighter of the two inks, when these are distinguishable.' In another paper I have collected other evidence of this scribe's activity.¹⁷ From fol. 17R onwards he wrote a number of words from the text in the margin, together with an OE equivalent. In many cases, however, he did not give the Latin word (and the OE equivalent) in the form required by the text, but in a 'lexicalized' form: nouns in the nom. sg., verbs in the 1st person sg. pres. indic. This scribe

¹¹ F. J. Mone, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (Aachen-Leipzig 1830), 323 ff.

¹² *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* IX (1853), 401 ff.

¹³ *Anglia* VI (1883), 96 ff.

¹⁴ *Anglia* XXX (1907), 130 f.; XXXIII (1910), 232 f.

¹⁵ *Aldhelm's De Laudibus Virginitatis with Latin and Old English Glosses. Manuscript 1650 of the Royal Library in Brussels*. With an Introductory Chapter by G. van Langenhove (Rijksuniversiteit te Gent. Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit van de Wijsbegeerte en Letteren. Extra Serie: Facsimiles. II) (Bruges 1941). As a rule the facsimile is at least as legible as the manuscript, if not more; but the differences between the various sorts of ink used by the glossators could not be fully retained.

¹⁶ F. M. Stenton, *o.c.*, 442.

¹⁷ *Zu den Brüsseler Aldhelmglossen*. *Anglia* LXXIV (1957), 153 ff.

was obviously preparing material for 'glosae collectae', perhaps for an alphabetical glossary where inflected forms would only have been a source of confusion (an Aldhelm glossary of this type has survived in MS Auct. F.2.14 of the Bodleian Library¹⁸). Quite a number of Latin words were thus translated twice by the same OE word, once in the text and again in the margin. Here I want to call attention to the many duplications of a different nature. They arose for a variety of reasons, and sometimes apparently for no reason at all except a scribe's oversight: in some cases it looks as if the scribe copied glosses from a manuscript before him without so much as checking whether a gloss had not already been written by a previous glossator. At times identical glosses are found practically side by side:

- 5R22 (447) *concha*, *mus'c'lan* † *scille*, *musclan*¹⁹
 5V13 (494) *luculentus*, *splendidus*, *clarus*, *hluttur*, *hlvttor*
 6R9 (555) *cum constet*, *þonne gewis is*, *manifestum est*, *gewis is*
 18R17 (2000) *nequiquam*, *on ol*, *inaniter*, *on ol*, *frustra*
 35R18 (3743) *longiuscule*, *lange*, *longe*, *lange* † *feor*

But on the whole such unmotivated duplications seem to be relatively rare. In most cases one may easily discover the reason why a gloss was written twice. There were, first, a number of glosses of which a previous scribe had only written a part (which happened fairly often, e.g. fol. 4V *d'weli* = *dweliende*, *scil* = *scilling*, *stes* = *breostes*, *ges* = *neorxnawanges*, etc.); these a later glossator sometimes felt obliged to write again in full. In other cases he did so because the first gloss was not quite legible:

- 4V22 (403) *concentibus*, *melodiis*, *san* , *cantibus*, *sangum*
 5V12 (491) *lunaris*, *lices*, [l.m.] *monoðlices*
 10V13 (1081) *mysticis*, *.i. secretis*, *sanctis*, *gast* , *mid gastlicum*
 11V2 (1167) *effrenate*, *sine freno*, *domate*, *un* , *ungewyldre*
 14V2 (1524) *uaticinantium*, *prophetantium*, *bodie* , [l.m.] *bodiendra witedoma*
 35V11 (3777) *fixas*, *firmas*, [l.m.] *gefæstnode*, *gefæstnode* [first *gefæstnode* rather faint]

At times it was the same scribe who duplicated a gloss, e.g. if he found the space between the lines was not sufficient for writing the word in full. Occasionally the whole word would not be written again, only the missing letters being added (e.g. 2R7 (28) *liburnam*, *nauim*, *scehþ*, with the last two letters in a different hand²⁰). Sometimes a gloss had been written so far from its lemma (usually in the left or right margin) that it could easily be overlooked by a subsequent glossator, who then added the same or a similar gloss in another place:

¹⁸ Napier, o.c., 186 ff.

¹⁹ The number between brackets is that of the corresponding gloss in Napier's edition of Digby MS 146 (o.c., 1 ff.). A number of glosses in the Brussels manuscript are not found in the latter; those preceding Napier's no. 1 are here numbered 01—076, the others are indicated by a letter after the number of the preceding gloss in Napier (2a, 3a, 3b, etc.).

²⁰ Napier rightly conjectured that the Brussels MS also has the gloss *ceol* (not *ced*, as read by Mone and Bouterwek); it does not gloss *liburnam*, however, but *lintrem*.

- 1V8 (057) *palestricis disciplinis, adlecticis*, [l.m.] *pleglicum*, † *wræxliendum*, [r.m.] *pleglicum larum*
 1V13 (072) *scammatis, luctaminis, oretstowe*, [l.m.] † *winstowe*, † *plegstowe*, [r.m.] *oretstowe*
 3R5 (145) *adstipulationibus, .i. explanationibus, assertionibus, seþincgum*, † *swute* [read *swutelungum*], [l.m.] *seþincgum*
 4V8 (364-5) *zelotipus ... informator, .i. memor*, † *suspiciosus, ellenwod, onhyriend*, † *carful*, † *emhidi ... plasmator, gestabeliend*, [l.m.] *onhiriend*, † *emhidig*, † *carful gestabeliend*
 4V9 (368-9) *spontanea deuotione, propria uoluntate, humilitate, mid selfwilre estfulnessse*, [l.m.] *mid selfwilre estfulnyssse*

In these last two instances it was scribe (4) who inserted the interlinear glosses; in both cases there was little space between the lines, and scribe (3) had preferred to write them in the left margin. At times, as in no. 057 just quoted, it is obvious that the identical glosses originally belonged to different contexts. The difficult words were often not translated one by one, but in larger syntactical units or word groups. A study of these group glosses would no doubt reveal some aspects of the grammatical technique of the period, but this problem lies beyond the scope of this paper. Here I can only point to the fact that the whole group was usually repeated if one of the constituents differed from the corresponding element in the group already included. This of course led to no small amount of duplication:

- 3V12 (243-4) *huiuscemodi contemplationis, speculationis, † considerationis, þusgeraddre bescawunge*, [l.m.] *þusgeraddre emwlatunge*
 6R6 (546-7) *suculentus ... cauliculos* [corr. to -vs], *stela, ramusculus, sæpig stela*
 11V8 (1180-1) *spatiose intercapedinis, rumes, ampli, widgilles, interuallis, fæces*, [l.m.] *widgilles fæces*
 14V9 (1549) *sine uiri'li' uolo, of werlicum folman, † handbre* [read *handbrede*], [l.m.] *butan werlicum gemana'n*²¹
 16V16 (1816-8) *de arenosis ... sablonibus, warum*, [l.m.] *of sandigum stansciluum, sandigum, † stænenum*²¹

Such instances as nos. 057 or 1180-1 raise a number of problems. Shall the editor print the lemma *palestricis disciplinis* as one item in accordance with the gloss in the right margin (*pleglicum larum*), or take *palestricis* separately as required by the gloss in the left margin (*pleglicum † wræxliendum*) and then *pal. disc.* with the other gloss? The latter solution, clumsy though it may be, seems to be fully justified. Similarly he should print 1) *spatiose: rumes, widgilles*; 2) *intercapedinis: fæces*; and 3) *spatiose intercapedinis: widgilles fæces*. Such questions may seem futile at first sight, but they become important as soon as the relationship with other manuscripts is examined (cp. Napier, o.c., p. 32, note to 1180-1: '*widgylles fæces* in the 2nd Lat. hand on erasure').

Of course such duplications were easily spotted by a scribe who set out to copy all the glosses from one manuscript into another. Thus the

²¹ Two more glosses at least have been erased above *de arenosis*.

glossator of Digby MS 146 who copied some 5,400 glosses from the Brussels MS eliminated nearly all duplications in the course of his work. Only in a few instances he wrote both a partial and a complete gloss (1524 *bodiendra, bodie*), or repeated part of a group (1549 of *werlicum folman, butan werlicum gemanan*). Moreover, a number of duplications had already been eliminated by erasion in his exemplar:

3V19 (273) *regimen, dominium, wissung* [erased], [l.m.] *recedom, † wissung*

4R13 (327a) *creditur, he is* [erased], *he is*

5R8 (415) *legitimum, ælice* [erased], *æulic*

16V17 (1821-2) in *rubicundas ... congeries, on reade hyplas, † gegæderunge, † hepan, congregationes, hyplas* [erased]²²

On the other hand some duplications arose from corrections or additions:

9R3 (901) *epic'h'edio'n', carmen super cadauer, licsang, [r.m.] licleoð* [with *sang* written above *-leoð* as a variant], [l.m.] *licleoð*

25V20 (2800) *emulorum, contrariorum, inimicorum, wiþerwinnena, [l.m.] wiþersawinnena* [with *-sa-* underdotted; the scribe first intended to write *wiþersacena*]

Finally we may note that a number of duplications present us with dialectic or scribal variants:

3V6 (227) *concreione, coagolatione, creatione, [l.m.] cynnincge, [r.m.] cennunge, 7 ren* [read *cynren* or *cenren*]

3V15 (256) *consuta, getreagede, [r.m.] getreagode*

15R6 (1607) *operam, .i. studium, † curam, gymene, [l.m.] gemene*

In the light of Ker's remark on the Kenticisms and the miswritings (including cases of metathesis such as 1420 *staleþ-* for *stapel-*, 2679 *stalap* for *stapal*, etc.) of scribe (4), these variants may throw some light on the deterioration of the West-Saxon standard towards the end of the OE period, just as the glosses copied in Digby MS 146 show a serious but hopeless effort to restore the old standard.²³

Ghent.

R. DEROLEZ.

²² Two almost identical glosses (*gelomlice, gelomlicere*) have been erased 20V13 (2229); in this case Digby MS 146 has no corresponding gloss, but cf. Royal MS 6 B vii, fol. 22R: *crebri, gelomlice* (Napier, o.c., 140).

²³ Cf. my papers *Norm and Practice in Late Old English*, in: Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Linguists (Oslo 1958), 415 ff., and *Periodisering en Continuïteit, of "When Did Middle English Begin?"* (K. Malone), in: Album E. Blancquaert (Gent 1958), 19 ff.

Problems of the History of English Grammar¹

I

The *Grammatica Anglicana* of Paul Greaves, 1594

In 1594 John Legatt published at Cambridge a *Grammatica Anglicana praecipue quatenus a Latina differt*,² ad unicum P. Rami methodum concinnata qua perspicue docetur quicquid ad huius linguae cognitionem requiritur; two copies of this Grammar are known to have been preserved, one in the British Museum (Press mark: G.7479) giving the author's name in abbreviation, *Authore P. G.*, another in the University Library, Cambridge, (Press mark: Syn. 8.54.603), giving the author's name in full, *Authore Paulo Greaves* (see facsimile). Both copies originally consisted of 4 quires of 8 leaves; the British Museum copy is complete, the Cambridge copy lacks the last four leaves.³

A. G. Kennedy,⁴ I. Poldauf⁵ and the editor of the *Grammatica Anglicana*, Prof. O. Funke,⁶ did not know that there existed a Cambridge copy, but the latter inferred that P. G. stood for *Paulo Graves* from a reference to a *Grammatica Anglicana*... *Authore Paulo Graves* in Joseph Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, re-edited by William Herbert in 1790.⁷

Prof. O. Funke wrote that no biographical details are known about Paul Greaves; the Cambridge archives, however, give some detailed information about his stay at Cambridge.⁸ He was matriculated from

¹ Interest in the history of English Grammar was renewed in the twenties and thirties by the works of Prof. A. G. Kennedy and Prof. O. Funke. Since then, the study of that history has been made much easier by the possibility of microfilming the early grammars. This paper is the result of the comparative work undertaken at Louvain on the collection of microfilms of early grammars that is being gradually built up.

² This part of the title is borrowed from the title of the Greek Grammar of P. Ramus, *Grammatica Graeca quatenus a Latina differt*.

³ The Cambridge copy is mentioned in *Early English Printed Books in the University Library Cambridge* (1475-1640), vol. II, Cambridge, 1902, p. 1239, and in A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short Title Catalogue of Books . . . 1475-1640*, London, 1926, N^o. 12208.

⁴ A. G. Kennedy, *A Bibliography of the Writings on the English Language*, Harvard, 1927, N^o 5703.

⁵ I. Poldauf, *On the History of some Problems of English Grammar before 1800*, Prague, 1948, pp. 21 & 69.

⁶ *Grammatica Anglicana von P. G. (1594)*, Herausgegeben von Dr. Otto Funke, Wien, 1938, pp. xxxiii-xxxvi.

⁷ J. Ames and W. Herbert, *Typographical Antiquities: or an Historical Account of Printing in Great Britain . . . 1471-1600*, vol. III, London, 1790, p. 1422.

⁸ J. Peile, *Bibliographical Register of Christ's College, 1505-1905, and of the Earlier Foundation, God's House, 1448-1505*. Vol. I, Cambridge, 1910, p. 192; J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees: A Catalogue of those who have been matriculated or been admitted to any Degree in the University of Cambridge from 1444 to 1659*. Cambridge, 1913, p. 297; J. Venn & J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, Part I, Vol. II. Cambridge, 1922, p. 250; C. H. Cooper & T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. II. Cambridge, 1861, p. 174, vol. III, Cambridge, 1913, p. 90.

Christ's College as a sizar, was admitted a Bachelor of Arts in 1594 and a Master of Arts in 1595, and was elected a Fellow of Christ's College before Christmas 1595. He was expelled from his College and received his last payment as a Fellow at Christmas 1598. He is mentioned several times in the diary of Samuel Ward, a contemporary of his at Christ's and later a Master of Sidney Sussex College.⁹

Prof. O. Funke inferred from the words *Genitor arma ministrat* in the *Ogdoasticon*, the laudatory poem, that the author was a *Kriegsmann*; ¹⁰ he was not, for he must have taken holy orders, since he preached at Bourn in 1596-1597; the words *Genitor arma ministrat* mean that the author provides the booklet with weapons to defend itself against adverse criticism.

No definite references to Paul Greaves have been traced in the archives of his time after his departure from Cambridge. A *Mr. Greaves* was appointed lecturer at St. Andrew's at Norwich in 1614, but there is no evidence that he was the author of the *Grammatica Anglicana*.

Paul Greaves published his Grammar in 1594 before he was admitted a Master of Arts. It was his first work *primo genitum . . . genitoris opus* for which the *Ogdoasticon* invites mercy and benevolence, *patris parcite primitiis*.

Louvain.

G. SCHEURWEGHS.

II

Brightland's or Steele's Grammar

In the years 1711 and 1712 there were published three grammars, *A Grammar of the English Tongue*, published for John Brightland (1711), James Greenwood's *Essay towards a Practical English Grammar* (1711), and Michel Maittaire's *The English Grammar* (1712).

The first of these Grammars presents some problems that have been examined in various papers, but have not been thoroughly solved, because the authors never had all the editions at their disposal;¹¹ after having obtained the necessary microfilms, we have tried to bring together the available evidence and to attempt a final solution.

⁹ *Two Elizabethan Puritan Diaries by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward*. Edited with an Introduction by M. M. Knappen, Chicago, 1933. There are references to Paul Graves on pp. 110, 112, 125, 126. The original diary is in the Library of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge.

¹⁰ O. Funke, *o.c.*, p. xxxv.

¹¹ G. A. Aitken, *Steele and some English Grammars of his Time*. *Walford's Antiquarian*, vol. VIII, 1885, pp. 166-170. — M. Lehnert, *Die Abhängigkeit Frühneuenglischer Grammatiken*. *Englische Studien*, vol. 72, 1937-1938, pp. 192-205. — R. H. Griffith, *Bickerstaff's Grammar. Notes and Queries*, vol. 194, 1949, pp. 362-365. — See also A. Gabrielson, *Professor Kennedy's Bibliography of Writings on the English Language*. *Studia Neophilologica*, 1928, p. 141, and I. Poldauf, *o.c.*, pp. 25 & 103-106.

GRAMMATICAE
ANGLICANAE.

praecipue quatenus à Latina differt, ad
ENICAM P. E. A. M.
methodum continuata.

*quae perspicue docetur quicquid ad hanc
linguae cognitionem requiritur.*

AUTHORE P. Greaves.



CANTABRIGIAE,
Ex Officina IOHANNIS LEGATT.

Extant Londini ad inst. S. Solis in Ca
mbris. D. Pauli. 1669.

Title-page of the Cambridge copy of P. Greaves's *Grammatica Anglicana*.

Editions and Locations with the description of the introductory matter :

1711: *British Museum, London.*

A Grammar of the English Tongue, With Notes, Giving the Grounds and Reasons of Grammar in General. To which is added a New Prosodia; or the Art of English Numbers, All Adapted to the Use of the Gentlemen and Ladies as well as of the Schools of Great Britain.

London, Printed for John Brightland, and sold by ... and other Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland, 1711.

Bickerstaff's Approbation, facing the title; the Dedication to the Queen, signed *The Authors*; a preface describing the origin of the book.

1712: *British Museum, London, two copies, 12985, ccc.5 and 1212.h.2.*

A Grammar of the English Tongue, With Notes, Giving the Grounds and Reasons of Grammar in General. To which are now added, the Arts of Poetry, Rhetoric, and Logic, &c. Making a compleat system of an English Education. For the Use of the Schools in Great Britain and Ireland. The Second Edition with Improvements.

London, Printed by R. Brugis, for John Brightland. Sold by and other booksellers. MDCCXII.

A new dedication to the Queen, signed *John Brightland* in 1212.h.12; unsigned in 12985. ccc.5, Bickerstaff's Approbation; a new Preface discussing Greenwood's *Essay* and Maittaire's *Grammar*; a poem inscribed *Upon this Noble Design of an English Education, &c. By Mr. Tate, Poet Laureate to her Majesty*.¹²

1714: *University Library, Hamburg.*

A Grammar of the English Tongue, With the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, and Poetry, &c. also Useful Notes Giving the Grounds of Grammar in General. The Whole making a compleat system of an English Education For the Use of the Schools in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Third Edition.

London, Printed for John Brightland, and sold by ... and other booksellers, MDCCXIV.

Another new dedication to the Queen, signed *John Brightland*.

The poem of the 1712 edition, with the inscription *To Mr. Brightland upon his Excellent Design of an English Education*, and signed N. Tate; Bickerstaff's Approbation; A foreword, signed J.B., informing the reader that an abridged edition of the Grammar will shortly appear; ¹³ the preface of 1712.

1721: *National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

A Grammar of the English Tongue, With the Arts of Logick, Rhetorick, and Poetry, Illustrated with Useful Notes Giving the Ground of Grammar in General, the Whole making a compleat system of an English Education. For the Use of the Schools in Great Britain and Ireland.

The Fourth Edition, Corrected.

London, Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick Lane, D. Brown, J. Wyatt, W. Taylor, J. Osborn, W. Mears, M. Boddington, C. Rivingston, F. Clay, T. Corbet, J. Brotherton. MDCCXXI.

Bickerstaff's Approbation, facing the Title; the Dedication to Queen Anne of 1711, although the Queen had been dead since 1714, signed *The Authors*; the Preface of 1712; the Poem with the Inscription of 1712.

1728: *Private Collection of Prof. Gabrielson, Sweden, and University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Ill. (U.S.A.).*

Same Title as that of the 1721 edition.

¹² In B.M. 1212.h.2. the quire containing Bickerstaff's approbation, the preface and the poem is missing.

¹³ No such abridged grammar has ever been found.

The Fifth Edition. Corrected.

Printed for F. Clay, at the Bible, and D. Browne, at the Black Swan, both without Temple Bar. MDCCXXVII.

Introductory matter: the same as in 1721. Bickerstaff's approbation is missing in Prof. Gabrielson's copy.

No date: *British Museum, London.*

Same title as that of the 1721 edition.

The Sixth Edition, Corrected.

Printed for F. Clay, at the Bible, and D. Browne, at the Black Swan, both without Temple Bar.

Introductory Matter: the same as in 1721.

1746: *Cornell University Library, Ithaca, N.Y. (U.S.A.)*

Same title as that of the 1721 edition, as far as ... an English Education. Then: Published by John Brightland for the Use of the Schools of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Seventh Edition, to which is now added a Curious New Plate of thirteen Alphabets used in Writing and Printing.

London, Printed for Henry Lintot, 1746.

Introductory matter: the same as in 1721.

1749: *British Museum, London.*

Same title as that of the 1746 edition.

The Eighth Edition, to which is now added a Curious Plate of thirteen Alphabets used in Writing and Printing.

London, Printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher, at the Oxford Theatre, in Pater-Noster Row, 1749.

Introductory Matter: the same as in 1721.

The edition of 1711 differs considerably from that of 1712; the former contains the grammar proper and a short prosody, the latter is enlarged with an art of poetry, an art of rhetoric, and an art of logic, according to the principles set out in a pamphlet, published in 1711, to announce and advertise the new edition, *Reasons for an English Education By Teaching the Youth of Both Sexes the Arts of Grammar, Rhetoric, Poetry and Logic in their Own Mother Tongue*, London, Printed and Sold by J. Baker, in Pater-Noster Row and the Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland;¹⁴ the grammar proper of 1712 has further been enriched with rules in verse spread over the whole book.

The 1712 edition and the subsequent ones are almost identical, apart from the introductory matter; no substantial differences were found between the second of 1712 and the eighth of 1749.

It should also be noted that John Brightland's name is not associated with the 4th, the 5th, and the 6th editions; it is found on the title-pages

¹⁴ This pamphlet incorporates a great number of paragraphs of a letter published in *The Tatler*, No 234, October 7th, 1710, viz. §§ 6, 7, 8, 10, wholly or partly; this letter is an answer to one by Swift, published in No 230, of September 28th, 1710. See *The Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq.*, vol. IV, London, 1721, pp. 228-235, 252-257. It is sometimes ascribed to James Greenwood and the lines mentioning a *Grammar with Notes*, now in the Press are supposed to refer to his *Essay*. The resemblances between the letter and *The Reasons for an English Education* suggest that the letter may have been written by some one of Brightland's circle to advertise his Grammar.

and in the introductory quires of the first three editions; it is again found on the title-pages of the seventh and eighth.

Name.

The *Grammar of the English Tongue* is traditionally known as *Brightland's Grammar*. The pamphlet *Reasons for an English Education*, 1711, uses that name on pages 2 and 6, and the tract *Bellum Grammaticale, or the Grammatical Battel Royal, in Reflexions on the Three English Grammars published in about a year last past*, London 1712, mentions it on page 61. Thirty-three years later, when the name of Brightland had disappeared from the new editions since 1721, the grammar continued to be known by the same name. Denis de Coetlagon writes *The best Modern Grammars are for the English, that of Wallis, Brightland and Greenwood*.¹⁵

This same Grammar was also known as *Bickerstaff's Grammar* or *Steele's Grammar* during part of the XVIIIth century. *The Monthly Chronicle*, 1728, lists among the books published on August 8th, *A Grammar of the English Tongue, Recommended by Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. The Fifth Edition. Printed for F. Clay and D. Brown without Temple Bar*, obviously the fifth edition of Brightland's Grammar, and the Index refers to it as *Bickerstaff's Grammar*.¹⁶ The name *Steele's Grammar* is stamped on the back of the contemporary leather bindings of Prof. Gabrielson's copies of the first and the fifth edition.¹⁷

These appellations of the Grammar, due to the approbations of Isaac Bickerstaff found in every edition, were apt to spread in a period when Brightland's name was no longer found in the new editions; they also led to the belief that Isaac Bickerstaff or Richard Steele was the author of the Grammar. In the third edition of William Loughton's *A Practical Grammar of the English Tongue*, 1739, a laudatory poem praises Isaac Bickerstaff because *All this was changed by a future Hand* (in note: Isaac Bickerstaff) *Whom loud Applause usher'd through the Land: Yet not from Custom disentangled quite, He wrote in verse — for so did Lily write*,¹⁸ in which lines the words *he wrote in verse* refer to the current edition of Brightland's Grammar, containing the rules in verse.

In later times *Brightland's Grammar* and *Steele's Grammar* were held to be different works.¹⁹ The fifth edition of the *Grammar of the English Tongue* was ascribed to R. Steele by Robert Watt in his *Bibliotheca Britannica* in 1824, and on his authority a Grammar has been included

¹⁵ Denis de Coetlagon, *An Universal History of Arts and Sciences*, vol. II, London, 1745, pp. 83-84.

¹⁶ *The Monthly Chronicle for the Year MDCCXXXVIII*, London, Printed for Aaron Ward, Vol. I, pp. 198 and 291. This advertisement was known to G. A. Aitken, o.c., p. 168.

¹⁷ A. Gabrielson, o.c., p. 141.

¹⁸ New-York Public Library. The first edition of 1734 (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth) and the second of 1734 (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) do not contain the poem.

¹⁹ Poldauf, o.c., p. 103.

among Steele's works by many after him.²⁰ In 1902 F. A. Barbour gave extracts from what he called R. Steele's *Grammar of the English Tongue for the Use of the Schools of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1712, simply quoting the definition of grammar and the rules of the plural from pages 1 and 65-66 of the second edition of Brightland's Grammar,²¹ and on his authority A. G. Kennedy listed a Grammar by Steele in his *Bibliography*.²²

Authorship.

John Brightland is not the author of the Grammar, neither is Richard Steele. John Brightland employed Charles Gildon, the pamphleteer, who wrote it with the assistance of several learned men.

Some evidence seems to prove that the Grammar was written by a few people in collaboration. The Dedication to the Queen of 1711 is signed *The Authors*, and John Brightland himself writes in the 1714 Dedication: I have for twenty years, with great Pains and Expense, been making a Piece perfect in this Kind, by consulting and soliciting all the learned and polite Gentlemen I have had the Honour to be acquainted with, and the Result of all my Endeavours is the following Volume ... But as the public Good for their Country was the only Motive that engaged them, so they are entirely averse to the allaying that generous Satisfaction, by seeking after Applause in the Publication of their Names (A2r-v).

Moreover, the Preface to the 1711 edition is written in the first person plural, but this is not conclusive evidence; *Bellum Grammaticale* observed as early as 1711, *I know not whether the former Grammar were written by one or more* (p. 9).

This Preface was written by one man, using the editorial Plural, except when he slipped back into the first person singular, *Hence I believe it is pretty plain that...* (A5V), and *In short we hope we have come up to my friends design* (A6Z).

This man considers the Grammar as *his* work, but admits that he was assisted by several learned friends; he writes in the 1711 Preface:

This Observation touch'd our sagacious Friend Mr. Brightland ... and made him spare neither Money nor Pains to procure such a Grammar for English ... But after much Pains and a great many Promises from his Learned Friends, he found himself just where he set out .. And it being our Good Fortune to be acquainted with him, after so many disappointments, he was pleased to press us to the undertaking ... Wherefore being furnished with all the Helps, that either ancient or modern Writers could supply us withal, and the Assistance of all our Learned Acquaintance, we have suffered our Endeavours to see the Public. (A.4v-5r)

This writer can be identified as Charles Gildon. He must have been prevented by his employer from having his name mentioned, but he took pains to inform the public that he was the author of the Grammar. In his *The Complete Art of Poetry*, published in 1718, he writes *But to give*

²⁰ R. Watt, *Bibliotheca Britannica or a General Index to British and Foreign Literature. Authors, vol. II*, p. 811/L. Edinburgh, 1824. See i.a. S. Halkett and J. Laing, *Dictionary of Anonymous and Pseudonymous Literature*, New edition, vol. II, Edinburgh, 1926, p. 399.

²¹ F. A. Barbour, *The Teaching of English Grammar, Method and History*, Boston, 1901, pp. 7-8.

²² A. G. Kennedy, o.c., N° 5760. See also Poldauf, o.c., pp. 25 and 106.

Rules yet more plain and peculiar I shall quote those in my English Grammar, recommended by Isaac Bickerstaff, and he brings together in a text of 23 lines the rules in verse found on pages 137-138 of the 1714 edition of the Grammar.²³ In the *Evening Post*, N° 1411, of 16-18 August 1718, the following advertisement appeared, *Just published in two Pocket vols. by Charles Gildon, Gent. (Author of Bickerstaff's Grammar) The Compleat Art of Poetry in six Parts*.²⁴

In the 1711 edition Gildon had surreptitiously inserted his name when he gave as examples of words beginning with hard G, *gild, gilder, Gildon, a sir-name*; ²⁵ on January 2, 1711, he wrote in a letter to Lord Harley, *I did myself the honour some time ago to leave you one of my Grammars of the English Tongue*.²⁶

Gildon's name was first associated with the Grammar by Paul Dottin in 1923, but without any evidence given. The authorship was accepted by H. Flasdieck and the editor of the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*.²⁷

Louvain.

G. SCHEURWEGHS.

III

John Ash's Grammatical Institutes

John Ash, Baptist Minister at Pershore (Worcestershire), from 1751 to his death in 1779,²⁸ and a famous lexicographer, wrote a *celebrated English Grammar*.²⁹

Of this Grammar several editions have been located, of which the following were published in England during the author's lifetime:³⁰

²³ Ch. Gildon, *The Complete Art of English Poetry in Six Parts*, Vol. I, London, 1718, p. 153.

²⁴ Quoted by Griffith, o.c., p. 365. A copy of the *Evening Post* is in vol. 13B of the Burney Collection in the British Museum.

²⁵ Griffith, o.c., p. 365.

²⁶ Quoted from Add. MS. 4163, pp. 255-257 in the British Museum, by H. Flasdieck, *Der Gedanke einer Sprachakademie*, Jena, 1928, p. 82.

²⁷ P. Dottin, *Robinson Crusoe Explain'd and Criticis'd or a New Edition of Charles Gildon's Famous Pamphlet. Now published with an Introduction and Explanatory Notes together with an Essay on Gildon's Life*. London and Paris, 1923, pp. 51-52. — H. Flasdieck, *Zur Verfasserschaft der Grammatik von John Brightland, Anglia, Beiblatt*, vol. XXXIX, 1928, pp. 324-327. — F. W. Bateson, *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, vol. II, Cambridge, 1940, p. 576.

²⁸ *The Tears of Christian Friendship, A Sermon preached at the Internment of the Reverend John Ash, L.L.D., at Pershore ... April 15, 1779*, by Caleb Evans, Bristol (1779). See also J. Iviney, *A History of the English Baptists*, vol. IV, London, 1830, pp. 561-562.

²⁹ *Obituary Notices in The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1779, p. 215, and *Annual Register, or a View of the History, Politics and Literature for the Year 1779*. Vol. XXII, London, 1780, p. 209.

³⁰ We have not tried to trace and locate the American and Irish editions of Ash's Grammar. The first American edition of 1774 is in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A. A Dublin edition of 1777, described as the Fifth Edition, is in the National Library of Ireland, Dublin.

1766: *Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (U.S.A.).*

The Easiest Introduction to Dr. Lowth's Grammar, designed for the Use of Children under Ten Years of Age to lead them into a clear Knowledge of the First Principles of the English Language. By the Rev. John Ash of Pershore in Worcestershire. With an Appendix containing . . . London, Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, MDCCLXVI.

1768: *British Museum, London.*

The Easiest Introduction . . . to lead .. into a Knowledge .. containing .. A New Edition, Improved.
London, Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, MDCCLXVIII. *Entered at Stationers' Hall.*

1771: *Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass. (U.S.A.).*

Grammatical Institutes, or, an Easy Introduction to Dr. Lowth's English Grammar, designed for the Use of Schools to lead Young Gentlemen and Ladies into a Knowledge of the First Principles of the English Language, by John Ash, L.L.D., with an Appendix containing . . .

The Fifth Edition, Revised and Corrected.

London, Printed for E. and C. Dilly, in the Poultry, MDCCLXXI, (Entered at Stationers' Hall.)

1772: *Harvard University Cambridge, Mass. (U.S.A.).*

Grammatical Institutes . . . The Sixth Edition, . . . MDCCLXXII.

1775: *British Museum, London.*

Grammatical Institutes . . . the Seventh Edition . . . MDCCLXXV.

1779. *British Museum, London.*

Grammatical Institutes . . . New Edition, Revised and Corrected by the Author . . . MDCCLXXIX.

There are two difficulties: the work is known under two different titles, and of the first seven editions only five have been located.

A close examination of the advertisements of the 1766, 1768 and 1771 editions offers the elements of a solution.

The advertisements of the 1766 and 1768 editions, almost identical, are signed by John Ryland, headmaster of a school at Northampton. He informs us that the Grammar had originally been written by his friend, John Ash, and that he had undertaken the reprinting without the author's knowledge and consent. John Ash had first made this Grammar for the use of his five year old daughter, and had afterwards had a few copies printed for his friends concerned with the education of children. In 1766 Ryland himself had been using the Grammar for six years in his school. He had arrived there in 1759.³¹

The advertisement of 1771, reprinted in the subsequent editions, was written by John Ash himself. He affirms that he wrote a grammar some years ago and had it printed to oblige a few friends engaged in teaching, without taking any steps to recommend it to the public. He adds that two editions had been published by John Ryland, which were so well

³¹ W. Newman, *Rylandiana, Reminiscences Relating to the Rev. John Ryland, A.M. of Northamptonshire, London, 1835*, p. 11.

received that he had decided to procure a reprint. He explains that he partly retained the title given by Ryland, an *Easy Introduction to Dr Lowth's Grammar, tho' the author is apprehensive it was first printed before the Earliest Edition of that valuable Book*.

From this evidence we may draw the conclusion that the Grammar must have been published in three different forms:

1. It was first published by John Ash himself, before 1762, the year of the first edition of Lowth's Grammar, and even before 1760, since in 1766 Ryland had been using it for 6 years. It was written when Ash's daughter was five years old, but since the archives of Pershore Baptist Church of the relevant period have disappeared, it is not possible to make out when that daughter was born.³²

2. It was then published by John Ryland in 1766 and 1768. On 12 November 1767 *The Easiest Introduction to Dr. Lowth's Grammar* was entered on the registers of the Stationers' Company, in time for the registration to be mentioned on the title-page of the 1768 edition.³³

3. It was finally published again by John Ash himself, a first time between 1768 and 1771, then again in 1771, 1772, 1775, and 1779; it was further reprinted after the author's death from 1780 to far into the XIXth century.³⁴

Readers of A. G. Kennedy might think that the second edition was published in 1763, the third in 1766 and the fourth in 1768. This author mentions a 1763 edition on the authority of R. L. Lyman,³⁵ but his informant was mistaken in giving 1763 as the date of a work the title of which is the one of the editions published by John Ash himself, after John Ryland had had his two editions. There was none in 1763; the 1766 and 1768 are the second and the third; the first (before 1760) and the fourth (between 1768-1771) have not been located.³⁶

Louvain.

E. VORLAT.

³² Information given by the Rev. G. H. Taylor, B.A., Minister of Pershore Baptist Church.

³³ Information given by Mr. S. Hodgson, Archivist of the Stationers' Company.

³⁴ The most recent edition in the British Museum is one of 1804. M. Thomas, *A Philological Grammar of the English Tongue*, London, 1824, p. 11, wrote that two new editions had been published since 1808.

³⁵ R. L. Lyman, *English Grammar in American Schools before 1850*, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin 1921, No 12, p. 156. A. G. Kennedy, o.c. No 5817.

³⁶ F. Wuellenweber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Englischen Grammatik*, Berlin, 1892, mentions *A New Edition*, London, 1743. There could not even have been a first edition at a time when John Ash was only 19 and had not yet been ordained to the ministry. He was 55 when he died in 1779. See *Tears of Christian Friendship*.

Meaning and Structure in *Troilus and Cressida*

For several centuries, *Troilus and Cressida* has been considered an obscure and puzzling play, depressing, hard to perform, nearly unintelligible, and even, by some, unworthy of Shakespeare. Before trying to discuss it once more, it is well to recall the words of one of the most penetrating and copious among English critics, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Although Coleridge was notorious for taking infinite delight in abstruseness and although he could supply endless commentaries about the least fragment of text, he was constrained to admit that 'there is none of Shakespeare's plays harder to characterize', and that he 'scarcely knew what to say about it'.¹

No wonder, then, that many students should have found *Troilus and Cressida* unintelligible and even meaningless. No wonder, that it should seldom have been performed; at least until the present time. For the twentieth century seems to find itself attuned to the peculiar mood of this play, which might have been written by one of our own muckrakers. Never before has it been so often presented on the stage, and it may well be that no other century could have grasped the significance which is the principle of its dramatic unity. This view, which inspired O. J. Campbell and de Selincourt after World War I, might well prove even truer and more fruitful now that World War II and prospects of World War III have widened the range of man's experience and imagination immeasurably.

★

Contemporary interest in imagery has brought to light a peculiar stylistic feature of *Troilus and Cressida*: the large number of metaphors and comparisons borrowed from commercial language. Already in the first scene, what we shall call for the sake of brevity the mercantile image, appears prominently at the end of the monologue in which Troilus proclaims his passion for Cressida:²

Her bed is India; there she lies, a pearl:
Between our Ilium and where she resides,
Let it be call'd the wild and wandering flood,
Ourself the merchant, and this sailing Pandar
Our doubtful hope, our convoy and our bark.

(I, i, 102-107)

It is not only in connection with the love theme that Shakespeare has recourse to mercantile imagery. In the great debate of the Trojans over the continuation of the war, we find it applied over and over to Helen:

Hect. Brother, she is not worth what she doth cost
The keeping.

¹ Coleridge, S. T., *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare and Other English Poets*. London, 1904, p. 306.

² Quotations are from the New Shakespeare text, edited by Alice Walker, Cambridge, 1957.

Tro. What's aught, but as 'tis valued?
Hect. But value dwells not in particular will;
 It holds his estimate and dignity
 As well wherein 'tis precious of itself
 As in the prizer.

(II, ii, 51-56)

And Troilus makes skilful use of Marlowe's well-known phrase when he says:

Is she worth keeping? — why, she is a pearl,
 Whose price hath launched above a thousand ships,
 And turned crowned kings to merchants.
 If you'll avouch 'twas wisdom Paris went —
 As you must needs, for you all cried 'Go, go';
 If you'll confess he brought home noble prize —
 As you must needs, for you all clapped your hands,
 And cried 'Inestimable!'; why do you now
 The issue of your proper wisdoms rate,
 And do a deed that Fortune never did,
 Beggar the estimation which you prized
 Richer than sea and land?

(II, ii, 81-92)

At first sight, it may seem rather arbitrary to avail oneself of the use which Shakespeare makes of such terms as *worth* and *value* in order to embark on an analysis of the *moral* values which the play is assumed to dramatize. But after all, the word 'value' itself, in its philosophical sense, is a dead metaphor. In Shakespeare, it is still alive. And although the writer, no doubt, uses it without any abstract or allegorical intention in mind, it stands to reason that these commercial terms particularly suited his purpose because they suggest something precious, something to which men aspire, for which they are ready to fight, to make sacrifices, to kill one another.

Starting from this hypothesis, it may be useful to give first a somewhat static definition of the values introduced in the protasis, in connexion with both love and war.

Troilus, it will be noticed, applies the mercantile metaphor to two women. He has two 'pearls': one is Helen, the other Cressida, and each of them embodies one of the two themes of the play. But these two themes are tied together by more than a metaphor: they merge in the personality of Troilus, who is a Trojan warrior and the lover of Cressida. The whole dramatic structure of the play is hinged upon this much-disputed character, who has been variously described as 'an ideal figure' (Schücking) and a 'lout' (Heine), a 'simpleton' (Brandes) and 'an expert in sensuality' (O. J. Campbell). Now, it is characteristic of Shakespeare's genius and of his secret intention, that the imaginative unity achieved with such economy of means, should be placed at the same time under the sign of intellectual confusion: though Troilus unites in himself the theme of war and the theme of love, one cannot help observing from the first that there

is in him an inner cleavage, a contradiction, between the lover and the warrior.

In the first scene, Troilus appears as a romantic lover in the courtly tradition. Not only does he list the charms of Cressida in a rhapsodic tone which leaves us in no doubt as to the intensity of his infatuation, but he also makes it clear that nothing counts for him except Cressida. His 'pearl' is the supreme value, the unique value, at least (as we are soon invited to realize), for the time being. When he thinks of her, the din of battle is only 'ungracious clamours' and 'rude sounds' (I, 1,91); the soldiers, whether Greek or Trojan, are 'fools on both sides' (I, i, 92); as for Helen, the cause of all this tumult, she

must needs be fair,
When with your blood you daily paint her thus.

(I, i, 92-93)

And he immediately adds :

I cannot fight upon this argument;
It is too starved a subject for my sword.

(I, i, 94-95)

But the *warrior* Troilus utters startlingly different opinions during the sitting of the family council which is to decide whether Helen will be returned to the Greeks or not: the 'pearl', now, is the ex-wife of Menelaus.

It is not by chance that Shakespeare places the same image on the lips of Troilus to refer both to Cressida and Helen. This helps us spell out the unstable character of the young man, who, according to circumstances, considers Helen as a pearl or as a doll rouged with blood. And, in the second place, the use of the same metaphor for both Helen and Cressida is perfectly appropriate, and in a most engagingly ironic way, for between the two women, after all, there is not much to choose.

But this is only one of the inner contradictions with which Troilus' character is beset. There is also a glaring and ominous contrast between the picture of Cressida he carries in his heart and Cressida as she really is. Her first appearance is distinctly anticlimatic: Shakespeare makes it obvious that she little deserves the sublime passion which Troilus lavishes upon her. A connoisseur of lust, well acquainted with the niceties of the game of love, she is the worthy niece of the go-between Pandar, with whom she exchanges jokes in somewhat questionable taste.

The second scene ends with a brief monologue by Cressida which neatly balances Troilus' soliloquy in the preceding scene; and it is significant that the mercantile image should occur on the lips of the young woman when she says :

That she beloved knows nought that knows not this:
Men prize the thing ungained more than it is.

(I, ii, 289-290)

There is in this a new irony, which also hides a profound truth, namely that Troilus prizes Cressida more than she is worth. The combined effect

of these first two scenes is to place the love theme in a rather sarcastic perspective. The value which Troilus pursues is love; in his eyes, Cressida is the embodiment of love. But Troilus is ignorant of the fact that Cressida is an imaginary value, a false pearl, and that his great love is only an illusion. And the play is a diptych, one panel of which shows how the young man is gradually made aware of these depressing truths. The subject of the other panel is war.

Cressida is nothing but a frail bodily vessel, unworthy of the apparently lofty passion which Troilus has conceived for her. Likewise, the second 'pearl', Helen, is simply the unworthy visible symbol of something nobler, which is honour.

In the great debate between Troilus and Hector (II, ii), it is the word 'honour' which comes to the mouth of the former whenever he speaks (II, ii, 26, 47, 68, 124); and he deftly sums up the conception that he has of Helen when he declares:

She is a theme of honour and renown,
A spur to valiant and magnanimous deeds,

(II, ii, 199-200)

This debate takes place on the highest moral level, dealing as it does with the values which should command the behaviour of man. Troilus wants the Trojans to keep Helen because she is the emblem of glory and honour. On the contrary, Hector would like to turn her over, in the name of both common sense and moral sense. In Hector's speeches, the key-words are 'reason' (24, 116), 'nature' (173), 'moral' (167, 184), 'law' (176, 180, 184), 'right' (171) and 'wrong' (187), as 'honour' and 'glory' are the key-words in those of Troilus. Two ethical systems stand here face to face. The question, is of course, whether Shakespeare has given us any cue as to their comparative merits.

G. Wilson Knight has suggested that this scene marks the triumph of intuition and faith, represented by Troilus, over the prosaic rationalism of Hector.³ But he fails to mention that here too Troilus is presented in a rather unfavourable light. In addition to the contradictions already pointed out, it is clear that some of his arguments are remarkably inadequate, not to say inept. Knight makes much of Troilus' assertion that the sense of honour and duty which, in his opinion, should lead Troy to keep Helen, is similar to that which obliges a husband to keep his legitimate wife. The audience, one presumes, recalls immediately that Helen is the legitimate wife of Menelaus, as Hector quickly reminds his brother with a great deal of pertinence.

From the contradictions of Troilus and his awkward choice of arguments, we may conclude that Shakespeare meant to place this character in an ironic light, both in the sphere of war and in the sphere of love. If there is one character among the Trojans with whom Shakespeare must have felicit

³ Knight, G. W., *The Wheel of Fire*. Oxford, 1930.

in agreement, that character is Hector. It is remarkable that in this play, in which every one speaks badly of every one else, no one utters any words of abuse against him. Furthermore, Hector formulates a conception of the Trojan war similar to that which Shakespeare had expressed in *The Rape of Lucrece*: a traditional conception, to be sure, but nonetheless one which Shakespeare accepts and supports by means of arguments which are undoubtedly valid within the framework of the play.

One wonders, then, why Hector ends by rallying to the opinion of Troilus. Only Paris upholds Troilus, while Hector is backed up by another of his brothers, Helenus, his father Priam, and the prophecies of Cassandra. The answer is to be found in the very soul of Hector, in an internal contradiction which Shakespeare certainly took no pains to hide. Hector is a blatant case of *video meliora*. His consciousness is clear-sighted, balanced, mature. But he has retained, at a deeper level of his personality, the emotional chivalrousness of his race. Although he realizes the stupidity of this war, he is vulnerable to the irrational call of honour, and it is to this misplaced sense of honour (of which he consciously recognizes the emptiness) that he will, one might almost say deliberately, sacrifice his life, despite the pleas of Andromache and Cassandra (V, iii). Hector's will is not so strong as his intellect: it is not powerful enough to make him brush prestige aside in the name of high morality and plain common sense.

➤ To sum up, the values which Hector advocates (though he betrays them) are objective: they are based upon the intrinsic merit of the object which embodies them; they are rational and they are essentially moral. Those which Troilus upholds and which Hector rallies to have nothing to do with ethical or logical sense: they are irrational, emotional, subjective.

➤ In Hector's and Troilus' attitudes, there is however a common feature: both brothers are idealists. Whether their ideal be called reason or honour, it is equally elevated, noble and selfless. It is something which is higher than themselves. Their ideal is not their egoism in disguise. If Hector is in favour of peace, it is not because he is afraid of battle. And if Troilus wants the Trojans to go on fighting, it is not for his personal glory, but for the honour of his family and of his city. Especially noticeable, moreover, in Shakespeare's picture of Troy, is the urbanity, the harmony, the solidarity of the Priamides, even in the midst of the tightest discussion. The Greek camp is depicted with quite different colours.

➤ One of the most unexpected things in the first two scenes which take place in the Greek camp is that the mercantile image is completely absent from them. This is all the more surprising as such a manner of speaking could pass as natural in Greek mouths. And it is doubtless because one would expect to hear the Greeks speak in commercial terms that Tillyard has offered the following conjecture:

May not the very persistent references to merchandise amount to something? Does Shakespeare associate the lowered tone of the play with the spread of the new

commercialism, seeing in the Greeks the new commercial classes, not so very efficient but more so than the waning aristocracy?⁴

It seems to me that the import of this image ought to be interpreted in an entirely different manner: not on the sociological level, but in ethical terms. It points out the presence of values in which men believe and for which they fight. If it is absent from the discourse of the Greeks, that is because the Greeks have no ideal value in view. The Achean heroes as Shakespeare sees them are monsters of egoism, vanity and jealousy, and their anarchy contrasts with the unity of the Trojan family group. In conformity with the medieval tradition, Shakespeare has no respect for the Greeks and he expresses his contempt through a Greek mouthpiece, Ulysses himself, whose speech on degree is a counterpart to the debate between Hector and Troilus.

The three key concepts of this debate are law, reason and honour. In the same way, Ulysses' speech centers on order, intellect and brute strength. Ulysses first points out that the reason why Troy has not yet been destroyed is that

The specialty of rule hath been neglected.

(I, iii, 78)

And he then gives himself over to a long exposé, since become classic, on the necessity of political order and hierarchy, comparing the internal organization of states to the cosmic order of the solar system. His view of law is not moral, as it is for Hector, but purely political and pragmatic.

A similar contrast appears in the second part of the speech. Here, indeed, Ulysses is opposed to Achilles as Hector later on will be opposed to Troilus: in the name of reason. But Achilles does not stand for honour or any form of ideal: he embodies personal vanity and brute force. Something, however, ties Achilles and Troilus together: both of them scorn reason. 'If we talk of reason', Troilus advises his brothers,

Let's shut our gates, and sleep. Manhood and honour
Should have hare hearts, would they but fat their thoughts
With this crammed reason; reason and respect
Make livers pale and lustihood deject.

(II, ii, 46-50)

Likewise, if one is to believe Ulysses, Achilles and Patroclus make sport of Agamemnon and of his followers:

They tax our policy and call it cowardice,
Count wisdom as no member of the war,
Foretell prescience, and esteem no act
But that of hand: the still and mental parts
That do contrive how many hands shall strike
When fitness calls them on, and know by measure
Of their observant toil the enemies' weight, —
Why, this hath not a finger's dignity:

⁴ Tillyard, E. M. W., *Shakespeare's Problem Plays*. London, 1950, p. 85.

They call this bed-work, mappery, closet-war;
 So that the ram that batters down the wall,
 For the great swing and rudeness of his poise,
 They place before his hand that made the engine
 Or those that with the fineness of their souls
 By reason guide his execution.

(I, iii, 197-210)

Obviously, the reason Ulysses refers to is not the ethical reason which Hector advocates: it is the practical reason, mental subtlety, political and strategic cleverness.

- It appears, then, that this play is built on an intricate network of values which can be clearly distinguished from each other, the higher values being generally represented by the Trojans, and the lower value by the Greeks: there is an overall contrast between the idealism and the organic harmony of the Trojans on the one hand, and the general pragmatism and anarchical individualism of the Greeks on the other. And by means of purely dramatic devices, Shakespeare has shed on those values and their fate in the world of man a light which is sarcastic to the point of nihilism.
- Hector, who stands for moral and rational idealism, might be considered as a heroic figure if there were not that flaw in his character, that weakness of the will which prevents him from acting in accordance with his belief, and thus announces the final catastrophe.
- Troilus represents emotional idealism, both in the sphere of love and in the sphere of war. He is the central character, on whom the two main themes are hinged. But his inconsistency signals him as a high-minded young fool. Besides, there remains to be seen whether his infatuation with Cressida is really what Coleridge thought it was: 'the profound affection (...) alone worthy the name of love'.
- Among the Greeks, Ulysses represents the pragmatism of intellectual cleverness in the service of state policy. But although such critics as Spencer and Craig have been impressed by his statesmanship and his wisdom,⁵ a careful reading of his degree speech in its context shows that it too basks in the deadly glare of Shakespeare's irony: we cannot help noticing that the 'Sun' of the Greek camp is Agamemnon, a most insignificant figure endowed with a querulous stoicism which finds its proper expression in obscure generalities; Agamemnon's speeches are ludicrously echoed in Nestor's garrulous redundant and senile oratory; and Ulysses himself takes an unmistakably perverse pleasure in imitating Patroclus imitating Agamemnon and Nestor: the parody is quite to the point and certainly invalidates any application of Ulysses' theories on degree to the Grecian army.
- At the bottom of the scale, Achilles and in a grosser way, Ajax, represent the materialism of physical strength and ruthlessness in the service of individual vanity and lust for fame, while the lust of the flesh

⁵ Spencer, T., *Shakespeare. A Critical Study*. New York, 1940; Craig, H., *An Interpretation of Shakespeare*. New York, 1948.

is exemplified in Cressida, the Trojan woman who goes to live among the Greeks, and in Helen, the Greek woman, whose presence among the Trojans started the conflagration.

This hierarchy of values invites to some reflection. In choosing to devote a play to the Trojan war as seen from the traditional medieval angle, Shakespeare took on the task, so to speak, of putting on the stage the victory of Greek materialism over Trojan idealism. And since Helen had not been returned, he was bound as well to show the emotional idealism of Troilus triumphing over the moral idealism of Hector. We may conjecture that it was probably this particular feature in his material that attracted Shakespeare. As we now go on to study the development of the play itself, we cannot help feeling that the central idea which is the basis of its structure and the principle of its unity is the disintegration of the values thus built up in the course of the first part.

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The second part of the play, which comprises Act III and the beginning of Act IV, is mainly focused on the theme of love, which is treated in such a way as to confirm the essential weakness of Cressida and to reveal gradually the emptiness of Troilus' passion.

Troilus' amorous exaltation reaches its apex just before the lovers' meeting :

I stalk about her door,
Like a strange soul upon the Stygian banks,
Staying for waftage.

(III, ii, 8-10)

and as conceit follows upon hyperbole, one grows more and more acutely aware that the young Trojan's passion is a far cry from 'the profound affection' which Coleridge took it to be. Nor does it appear as 'a thing essentially pure and noble' as Knight would have it. Campbell is obviously nearer the truth when he dubs him 'an expert in sensuality', 'an Italianate English roué'.⁶ It may well be that Campbell is pushing things a little too far, since Troilus is presented throughout as a rather inexperienced young man. At any rate, what Troilus expects from the 'pretty encounter' is merely an orgy of over-refined sensuality.

But already in the middle of his rapture, a definite note of anguish slips in, an anxiety of which he is probably not fully conscious. Not that Troilus has as yet any doubts about Cressida in particular, he merely has some misgivings about woman in general (III, ii, 156-68). About the sincerity and loyalty of Troilus there is not the slightest doubt. But his simplicity borders upon stupidity. It is this which led him to contradict himself when he was glorifying war a few moments after cursing it. It is this too which gives him his illusions both over the true essence of his

⁶ Campbell, O. J., *Comical Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida*. San Marino, 1938.

own feelings and over the true nature of Cressida. For Shakespeare has provided a dramatic analysis of the young woman which is perfectly clear. No matter how nobly Cressida gives the cue to Troilus in the great scene of Act III, the audience has been informed that there is little left of the ingénue about her; the spicy joviality of her uncle Pandar establishes with precision the plane on which she is located: it is noticeably lower than that on which Troilus places her. Cressida's love for Troilus is genuine, to be sure, but it is chiefly, or perhaps merely, sensual, and given over to the inclination of the moment. This is what Troilus is at first blind to, and the light comes to him in two stages.

In a recent analysis of *Othello*, Robert Speaight suggested that the deepest source of the Moor's jealousy might be found in the revelations of the wedding night.⁷ The fact is that after this experience, Othello shows himself astonishingly receptive to Iago's innuendoes. The probability that there is some truth in this interpretation increases as we notice the curious similarity between the behaviour of Othello and that of Troilus. It seems as if the consummation which was the result of Pandar's tireless good will had taught Troilus something disturbing about Cressida. At the moment when Diomedes comes to take the young woman to the Greek camp, Troilus wavers in a significant way between shrill assurance and querulous difference. 'Be thou but true of heart . . .', he says to Cressida (IV, iv, 58); then he masochistically lists the athletic and amorous attractions of young Greek heroes: this he perhaps does because he now knows in Cressida a sensuality which he fears will not remain indifferent to them.

Such is the first chapter in the *éducation sentimentale* of Troilus. The second develops in the Greek camp, where Cressida has considerable success. At the beginning of the play, Troilus had said to Pandar:

I tell thee I am mad
In Cressid's love. Thou answer'st she is fair;
Pour'st in the open ulcer of my heart
Her eyes, her hair, her cheek, her gait, her voice . . .

(I, i, 53-56)

The harsh judgment of Ulysses now echoes these words:

There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip,
Nay, her foot speaks; her wanton spirits look out
At every joint and motive of her body.

(IV, v, 55-57)

Troilus is the only one who does not sense that Cressida really is what Ulysses calls her, a 'daughter of the game'. To make him aware of this is the object of V, ii, when the young man, accompanied by Ulysses, witnesses the libidinous flirtation between Cressida and Diomedes. This throws his mind completely out of focus. Refusing to face the facts, Troilus takes refuge in fanciful syllogisms, to the accompaniment of Ulysses' sober comments and Thersites' raillery:

⁷ Speaight, R., *Nature in Shakespearian Tragedy*. London, 1955, pp. 74-76.

- Tro.* Let it not be believed for womanhood!
 Think we had mothers. Do not give advantage
 To stubborn critics, apt without a theme
 For depravation, to square the general sex
 By Cressid's rule: rather think this not Cressid.
- Ulyss.* What hath she done, prince, that can soil our mothers?
- Tro.* Nothing at all, unless that this were she.
- Ther.* Will a' swagger himself out on 's own eyes?
- Tro.* This she? No; this is Diomed's Cressida.
 If beauty have a soul, this is not she;
 If souls guide vows, if vows be sanctimonies,
 If sanctimony be the gods' delight,
 If there be rule in unity itself,
 This is not she.

(V, ii, 129-142)

Now, of course, it was she. And what the audience is incited to infer from Troilus' words is that for him beauty has lost its soul, and that the world of being is now without law or unity: for Troilus 'chaos is come again'!

However that may be, the shock which overcomes Troilus is the impact of experience on innocence, the shattering of appearances under the revelation of truth, the disintegration of the ideal when brought in contact with hard fact. The pure and vast love, the faithful and total passion of which he had dreamed are only a figment of his imagination. Nothing corresponds to this in real life, where there is only faithlessness and lechery. All the elements which are connected with the love theme converge in order to express from various angles this disenchanted vision. The common unworthiness of Helen and Cressida recalls Hamlet's cruel apostrophe on woman's frailty. Troilus, Diomedes and Thersites have no resemblance whatever to one another; but the poetic anger of Troilus, the worldly cynicism of Diomedes and the filthy sarcasm of Thersites all express the same conviction that there is no greatness, no faith, no selflessness, no purity in love.

But so far as the play itself is concerned, the main interest lies of course in Troilus' response to this painful experience. That the young man is, as F. S. Boas has said, 'startled out of his callow optimism'⁸ is certainly true and was inevitable. But does this mean that he has changed for the better? Dowden thinks so, who asserts that after this 'comedy of disillusion' Troilus is 'strung up for sustained and determined action'. But a closer examination of what happens in Troilus' personality invalidates any such conclusion. His speech about Woman is an irresponsible piece of hasty and unwarranted generalization, and this is made manifest through Ulysses' commonsensical remarks. Not without good reason does Thersites call Troilus a 'doting foolish young knave' and a 'young Trojan ass' (V, iv, 3-5): Troilus' understanding of woman and of life has certainly not become more mature.

On the contrary. For if it is true that he is now strung up for action,

⁸ Boas, F. S., *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*. New York, 1900.

it is also true that he is actuated by the basest motive. Little is left of the idealistic warrior who wanted his city to keep on fighting in the name of honour and glory. The source of Troilus' renewed pugnaciousness is entirely egotistic. It is inspired by the spirit of revenge. It springs out of his hatred of the man who has made him a cuckold. Troilus is a new Menelaus.

This is the nadir in a process of disintegration that has developed through four stages. First, the illusoriness of Troilus' image of Cressida is exposed to the audience; then, the true, lustful, nature of Troilus' own feelings is made manifest; after this, Troilus' illusions are shattered to pieces as he is made aware of what Cressida really is; finally, love is replaced by hate as the driving power in Troilus, who will henceforth appear only in his capacity as a warrior.

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Thus we return to the war theme, which has first place in the last part of the play, i.e. the end of Act IV and Act V.

→ This theme develops according to a similar descending logic and through successive stages which correspond closely to the phases of the love theme. The love theme is organized around Troilus and Cressida, and is directed towards the revelation of the bestiality of passion. The war theme is likewise organized around Achilles and Hector and is directed towards the revelation of the bestiality of war. The motif of the duel between Achilles and Hector is announced in the first act by the latter's challenge to the Greeks. [To the consummation of love between Troilus and Cressida corresponds the scene in which Hector, a model of chivalry, refuses to fight against Ajax, who is his relative (IV, v).] Finally, in the last act, the revelation of Cressida's depravity finds its parallel in the ignoble slaying of Hector by Achilles' Myrmidons. It is therefore necessary to go into the successive steps along which the war theme, like the love theme, reaches its own nadir.

We have seen that Hector embodies the highest values of the play. He is at once courageous and opposed to war; he has a very high notion of honour. Nevertheless, he rallies to the irrational idealism of Troilus: this is the initial false step, the error of judgment and conduct which permits the war to proceed to its fatal ending.

A parallel process of disintegration takes place among the Greeks. The highest values of the Greek camp — which are not the highest in the play — are brought together in the character of Ulysses. His speech on political order is a marvel of eloquence, an anthology piece; it is a *locus classicus* of the Elizabethan view of monarchy; it is quoted in most works on the period. How is this admirable wisdom translated into acts? Ulysses soon appears as a shady politician, crafty, expert in dissimulation and petty plotting. His main concern is to bring back to the battle-field this 'plaguy proud' Achilles whom he despises. The final irony occurs, of course, when Achilles does resume the war-path, for he does so not

as a result of Ulysses' cunning manœuvring, but to avenge the death of his questionable friend Patroclus.

And at that moment, Ulysses himself runs up in relief, triumphantly shouting that 'Great Achilles' has finally taken arms (V, v. 30)! Thersites tells us, with his devastating lucidity and in his unsparing language, what all this signifies :

The policy of those crafty-swearing rascals, that stale old mouse-eaten dry cheese, Nestor, and that same dog-fox, Ulysses, is proved not worth a blackberry. They set me up in policy that mongrel cur, Ajax, against that dog of as bad a kind, Achilles; and now is the cur Ajax prouder than the cur Achilles, and will not arm to-day; whereupon the Grecians begin to proclaim barbarism, and policy grows into an ill opinion.

(V, iv, 9—6)

The victory of Achilles is then, in the first place, a victory over Ulysses. It is the triumph of barbarism over politics, of brute force over intellect, of muscle over brain. Moreover, it marks the destruction of the knightly spirit represented by Hector.

It is old Nestor who first calls our attention to this feature in Hector's character. After the duel between Ajax and the Trojan hero, Nestor embarks on a bombastic eulogy of the latter's sense of fair play :

I have, thou gallant Trojan, seen thee oft,
Labouring for destiny, make cruel way
Through ranks of Greekish youth; and I have seen thee,
As hot as Perseus, spur thy Phrygian steed,
And seen thee scorning forfeits and subduements
When thou hast hung thy advanced sword i'th'air,
Not letting it decline on the declined.

(IV, v, 183-189)

It is another masterly stroke of dramatic irony on Shakespeare's part, that Hector perishes just for being faithful to the chivalrous code which makes it a moral obligation to spare the enemy when he is unarmed or wounded. Hector magnanimously spares Achilles who is not yet ready for combat (V, vi). Achilles answers with revealing coarseness that he scorns such courtliness. And when he meets Hector unarmed and at rest, he has him shamelessly murdered by his Myrmidons (V, viii).

Thus the motif of the duel between Hector and Achilles ends in the assassination of the man in whom the highest values of the play are fused. But this defeat of values, this destruction of a noble ideal by brute force, has still another aspect, which is more insidious, for Troilus too is sucked down into the infernal whirlpool of corruption.

→ The contrast between Troilus and Hector is marked, it will be remembered, from the very beginning of the play. In the exposition, Hector advocates moral sense and reason, while Troilus upholds an essentially emotional view of honour. Now, this contrast recurs at the end of the play, in a considerably modified form. It is now Hector who has become the champion of honour. As for Troilus, his evolution originates when, filled with rage and grief, he frantically swears to take revenge over

Diomedes. The shock of experience upon his previous innocence has completely changed his outlook, as we can see from the conversation between him and Hector while both brothers are arming for combat :

- Tro.* Brother, you have a vice of mercy in you,
Which better fits a lion than a man.
Hect. What vice is that? Good Troilus, chide me for it.
Tro. When many times the captive Grecian falls,
Even in the fan and wind of your fair sword,
You bid them rise and live.
Hect. O, 'tis fair play.
Tro. Fool's play, by heaven, Hector.
Hect. How now! How now!
Tro. For th' love of all the gods,
Let's leave the hermit pity with our mother;
And when we have our armours buckled on,
The venom'd vengeance ride upon our swords,
Spur them to ruthless work, rein them from ruth!
Hect. Fie, savage, fie!
Tro. Hector, then 'tis wars.

(V, iii, 37-49)

Now, obviously, Troilus is right and Hector is mistaken. War, if it is to be waged successfully, is indeed that pitiless savagery, that gory struggle to the death. And the passage just quoted marks yet another stage in the evolution of Troilus' mind. He first of all learned the emptiness of love and the frailty of woman. He has now grasped the emptiness of honour and the bestiality of war. And Troilus' final speech, after Hector's death, is characterized by a last contradiction. On the one hand, the young man realizes that Troy is doomed, and he implores the gods mercifully to hasten her destruction. On the other hand, recognizing implicitly that the amoral brutality of the Greeks is the sole secret of their victory, he calls on the Trojans to give themselves up entirely to a spirit of revenge which no longer has anything chivalrous about it.

★

We can now see what is the outcome of the interplay of the values introduced in the course of the protasis. On the plane of the inner, personal life, the true carnal nature of Troilus' passion has been exposed just as the brittleness of Cressida's infatuation has been revealed. The core of love is lust; all else is pretence, delusion, self-deception. On the plane of collective life, Hector's moral and rational idealism gives way to Troilus' emotional outlook and is destroyed by Achilles' unscrupulous pragmatism, while Troilus himself is inwardly destroyed by disappointment and by the Greek example. The ultimate triumph comes to Achilles' brutal and treacherous vanity, the most despicable attitude set forth in the play. In no other play are private morality and public ethics so closely brought together. The story of Troilus within the story of the Trojan war obviously provided Shakespeare with a golden opportunity for merging those two themes in a tightly unified piece of dramatic art. Nor is this play to be

taken merely as a dramatic artifact. Whitaker is right when he says that *Troilus and Cressida* is 'the keystone in the arch of Shakespeare's intellectual development', although I find it difficult to agree with his characterization of it as 'rough-hewn and misshapen'.⁹ This latter view is part and parcel of the lack of understanding and appreciation which was the only response to this play for three centuries after it was written. It was not until the twentieth century that the particular mood which it illustrates so forcefully became sufficiently familiar to create an audience capable of adequate reaction. It is a mood of utter despair, arising not from any romantic pose of sentimental melancholy, but from a deeply-considered philosophical conviction that life is a tale that signifies nothing. In *Troilus and Cressida* Shakespeare gave superbly horrifying expression to a distaste with life, a bitterness and a disgust, a fundamental diffidence towards all human hopes and endeavours, whether private or public, with which the decade of the Beat Generation can fully sympathize, although our Angry Young Men will probably find it hard to emulate the liveliness and the variety and the rounded fullness of style and structure which lift this play above the level of existentialist ranting to make it a major work of artistic achievement and penetrating awareness.

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ALBERT GÉRARD.

Coleridge, Ernst Platner and the Imagination

A systematic study of Coleridge's theory of art has never been attempted, the main reason apparently being that Coleridge himself had never bothered to give his widely scattered remarks on the subject the final coherence of a fully thought-out treatise — a treatise which might have been one of those many projected works of his which never reached completion. An ineradicable habit of digression and repetition and an equally incurable propensity either to argue by quotation from the authors he chanced to be reading or to embark on the more doubtful procedure of downright plagiarizing render any attempt at systematization of his aesthetic thought a most hazardous enterprise. The only part of his aesthetics that has been at all satisfactorily dealt with is his theory of fancy and imagination,¹ though even here it is hardly possible for the emerging picture to be a

⁹ Whitaker, V. K., *Shakespeare's Use of Learning*. San Marino, 1953, p. 195.

¹ See James V. Baker, *The Sacred River. Coleridge's Theory of the Imagination* (Louisiana State University Press, 1957) and Wilma L. Kennedy, *The English Heritage of Coleridge of Bristol 1798. The Basis in Eighteenth-Century English Thought for His Distinction between Imagination and Fancy* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1947).

comprehensive one. It is the purpose of the few pages that follow to discuss some of the earliest phases of the growth of Coleridge's theory of fancy and imagination and to contribute an item, no matter how seemingly insignificant, to the interminable list of books which passed through the poet's hands.

Foregoing any attempt at tracing here the origins of the most widely known and discussed definition of the theory, which finds its final form in the *Biographia Literaria* (1817), it might be well to recall the earliest appearance of it in the well known letter of 10 September 1802, to William Sotheby, where the religious and mythological poetry of the Greeks is dismissed in the words: 'At best, it is but Fancy, or the aggregating Faculty of the mind — not *Imagination*, or the *modifying* and *co-adunating* Faculty.'² In order to interpret the 1817 statement of the theory most critics have felt the need of repairing to Schelling's transcendental idealism for a complete understanding of the philosophical implications behind the primary and secondary imagination, but it is obvious from the letter to Sotheby that the poet's insight into the distinction pre-dates his reading of Schelling.³ Further evidence of this can be found in several other passages in Coleridge's letters where the imaginative faculty is referred to, but never in terms of a contrast between Fancy and Imagination.⁴ In itself there is nothing special in Coleridge's appropriating the term imagination for the higher faculty, though his shifting the emphasis clashes with the practice of aestheticians of the day who used the word *phantasia* to denote the unique gift of the artist for invention and shaping. The earliest appearance in Coleridge's writing of the distinction between imagination and fancy comes, as far as I have been able to ascertain, in a passage where the contrast is at least dimly adumbrated. In a letter to William Godwin (25 March 1801) the poet writes :

The Poet is dead in me — my imagination (or rather the Somewhat that had been imaginative) lies, like a Cold Snuff on the circular Rim of a Brass Candle-stick, without even a stink of Tallow to remind you that it was once cloathed & mitred with Frame. That is past by! — I was once a Volume of Gold Leaf, rising & riding on every breath of Fancy — but I have beaten myself back into weight & density, & now I sink in quicksilver, yea, remain squat and square on the earth amid the hurricane, that makes Oaks and Straws join in one Dance, fifty yards high in the Element.⁵

² Coleridge, *Collected Letters*, ed. E. L. Griggs (Oxford, 1956), II, 865-866.

³ Schelling was not studied until 1815-16, when the composition of the *Biographia Literaria* was in progress. Professor R. Wellek, whose efforts have rightly been devoted to questioning Coleridge's originality in the field of aesthetics and philosophy, quotes in his *History of Modern Criticism 1750-1950* (Yale Un. Press, 1955), II, 391, a passage from Schelling's *System des transcendentalen Idealismus* as the clearest perhaps hitherto unnoticed parallel to the well-known *Biographia Literaria* passage dealing with the primary and the secondary imagination. But then he has failed to notice that this is the very Schelling passage also adduced (in an English translation) by J. Shawcross, ed. *Biog. Lit.* (Oxford, 1907), I, lxi.

⁴ See Coleridge, *Coll. Letters*, II, 714, 725, 737, 810, 974.

⁵ *Coll. Letters*, II, 714.

It should also be remembered that the famous passage from *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* on the poet's eye in a fine frenzy rolling was one that rose up again and again in his mind during the preparation of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1797-1798), and it is clear that this passage of Shakespeare's with its signal reference to the imagination inscribed itself deeply in his brain. Centering as Shakespeare's lines do on the imagination as the distinctive property of those truly puzzling categories of mankind, lunatics, lovers, and poets, they must also have contributed to making it completely natural for Coleridge, of all men, to regard the imagination as a very outstanding faculty indeed.

As soon as the first flush of excitement and enthusiasm of the *annus mirabilis* and the publication of the *Lyrical Ballads* had subsided it would seem that there were two events that may be held responsible for inducing Coleridge to turn his attention to the critical principles underlying his own and Wordsworth's artistic contribution. The first of these was his long stay in Germany during which his thoughts were imbued with German metaphysics, an immersion in metaphysics which was accompanied by his growing awareness that the poet in him was dead. A feeling of gloom and despondency is found to prevail in many of his letters of the time, and no extract from them could better illustrate his feeling of stagnation than the one just given. Coleridge was experiencing a profound spiritual and moral crisis. His mind was heavily taxed by his excessive eagerness to master contemporary German philosophy, and feeling his 'genial spirits' fade away he lamented the languishing of his 'shaping Spirit of Imagination' in one of his last great poems, *Dejection: An Ode* (first version of April 1802). German philosophers and kindred writers had in their systems accorded a large place to aesthetics and the psychology of art. In his depression Coleridge inevitably became attracted by a field of study that might be able to explain the loss of his creative powers.

But a second event, of hardly less importance, was likewise instrumental in leading him to consider the bases of his art. Wordsworth, he seems to have felt, had done him an injustice to add a preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1800), a preface in which certain principles were set forth with which he could not agree or for which he felt he must claim priority of conception. Indeed, the first signs of Coleridge's dissatisfaction with Wordsworth's preface already appeared in a letter of 13 July 1802, where he stressed the 'radical Difference' of their opinions, a feeling of dissent which he had no doubt long been harbouring.

Coming to grips with Kant and his followers — the philosopher's reluctant disciples — Coleridge stored his mind with that vast number of ideas, to be scattered over his writings, which were to nonplus the source-hunters among Coleridge scholars to-day. Not all of these ideas could be turned to good account but some were destined to remain in his mind for the rest of his literary career. Most strikingly the idea that imagination was involved in the act of perception itself greatly impressed him and

whenever he referred to it he never failed to mention his authority for it,⁶ namely Christian Wolff (1679-1754), the thinker who dominated the pre-Kantian era. Coleridge seems for the first time to have encountered this notion in the early months of 1801, for this is what he entered in one of his notebooks of the time:⁷

Imaginatio quoque in actum perceptionis influit — Wolff, Annot. in Psych. rat. §§.24. vide Pl. 76.

The reference, as Professor Kathleen Coburn points out in her remarkable edition of the earlier notebooks, is to the *Institutiones philosophiae Wolfianae* (2 volumes, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1725) which includes Wolff's *Psychologia rationalis*. Coleridge owned a copy of Volume One, which is now in the library of the Rev. A. D. Coleridge. Miss Coburn further points out that John Livingston Lowes⁸ was unable to trace the reference to its source, but this the industry of Coleridge's latest editor of *inedita* has now discovered in Sectio I Caput I § 24 of the *Psychologia rationalis*. But does that really settle the matter? What is unaccounted for by Miss Coburn is what follows the Latin phrase, *vide Pl. 76*, words apparently added by Coleridge himself, either for purposes of comparison with another work or with a view to helping him to track the passage to its source in case of need. The puzzle is solved by opening the first volume of Ernst Platner's *Philosophische Aphorismen* (Leipzig, 1793), page 76, where Wolff's phrase closes Platner's account of what he calls 'das Anerkennen'. The last paragraph devoted by Platner to the genesis of apperception is so important⁹ that it deserves to be fully quoted.

Dasz die Seele die Theile und gleichsam Elemente der Vorstellung, verbinden, bey den letzten noch auf die ersten zurücksehen, folglich bis das Anerkennen vollendet ist, alle Theilvorstellungen in der Phantasie gleichsam fest halten, und sich bewusst seyn müsse, dasz es dieselben sind, die sie den Augenblick vorher gedacht hatte: das ist bereits in der allerersten Ausgabe, §.29. unter den Erfodernissen einer Vorstellung mit Bewusstseyn angegeben worden. Natürlich gehört also zum sinnlichen Vorstellungsvermögen in dieser Rücksicht Theilnehmung der Phantasie. Herr Kant irrt wohl, wenn er (S. 120. I. Ausg.) sagt, dasz kein Philosoph vor ihm daran gedacht habe. Wolf sagt, da er von dem Zustand des Bewusstseyns (apperceptio) redet, Psych. rat. §.24. Anima attentionem suam successiue ad alias aliasque perceptiones partiales in totali contentas dirigit. — In apperceptione igitur plures actus sibi inuicem succedunt; consequenter perceptio, quoad

⁶ Coleridge quotes Wolff in *The Friend*, ed. 1818, I, 245 ff. (Bohn ed., London, 1906, p. 95); see also Coleridge's *Miscellaneous Criticism*, ed. T. M. Raysor (London, 1936), p. 199 and his *Miscellanies*, ed. T. Ashe (London, 1911), p. 165.

⁷ Coleridge, *The Notebooks*, ed. K. Coburn (London, 1957), entry 905. The entry is in notebook 21 and is dated by Miss Coburn between 31 Jan. and 13 Feb. 1801.

⁸ J. L. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (2nd ed., London, 1951), pp. 507-8.

⁹ The distinction psychologists usually make between perception and apperception is irrelevant to the present argument; in quoting Wolff (either from the *Psychologia rationalis* or, more probably, by way of Platner) Coleridge changes 'apperceptionis' to 'perceptionis', and 'perception' is the word later used in related contexts. Wolff himself distinguishes the two terms. — It is also worth mentioning in this connexion that the British Museum owns a copy of Wolff's *Logic, or Rational Thoughts* (London, 1770), bearing annotations in Coleridge's hand (press-mark C. 43. b. 2).

animi sibi conscia est, per aliquod tempus conseruatur; — at necesse est, ut perceptiones partiales per aliquod tempus conseruatas, easdemque esse intelligat, consequenter momentorum temporum diuersitate eas a se ipsis veluti distinguat. Und in der Anm. folgert er daraus, dasz die Phantasie bey dem sinnlichen Vorstellungsvermögen mitwirke: imaginatio quoque in actum apperceptionis influat.¹⁰

It is perfectly clear from this quotation that when Coleridge wrote Wolff's phrase in his notebook, he had Platner — not Wolff — on his desk.

Before discussing the significance of Coleridge's use of Platner at this early date, it may be noted in passing that this German thinker is mentioned in the first (18 February 1801) of the so-called philosophical letters, together with Wolff and J. G. H. Feder, and that Coleridge is known to have owned the two volumes of the *Philosophische Aphorismen* (1793-1800), volumes now preserved in the British Museum and bearing the press-mark C.126.c.5. The first volume contains many notes in Coleridge's hand, but they do not seem to have been entered in the period when Coleridge read Platner for the first time.¹¹

Following Wolff and Kant, Platner argues in the passage above quoted that for apperception to function adequately the activity of what has come to be called the reproductive imagination is necessary. Platner's is therefore a conception of the imagination which is identical with that of Coleridge, who maintained that the primary imagination was 'the living Power and prime agent of all human Perception'. Platner quotes Wolff primarily to dispute Kant's originality in this matter by referring to an important footnote in the first edition of the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781), where Kant had maintained that no psychologist before him had ever thought of imagination as a faculty fashioning empirical intuition or perception. Here are Kant's own words:

Dasz die Einbildungskraft ein notwendiges Ingredienz der Wahrnehmung selbst sei, daran hat noch wohl kein Psychologe gedacht. Das kommt daher, weil man dieses Vermögen teils nur auf Reproduktionen einschränkte, teils, weil man glaubte, die Sinne lieferten uns nicht allein Eindrücke, sondern setzten solche auch sogar zusammen, und brächten Bilder der Gegenstände zuwege, wozu ohne Zweifel, auszer der Empfänglichkeit der Eindrücke, noch etwas mehr, nämlich eine Funktion der Synthesis derselben erfordert wird.¹²

The significance of Coleridge's reading of Platner lies in its having led the poet to conceive of imagination as a 'necessary ingredient of perception itself', a conception for which he seems to have taken his first cue from

¹⁰ E. Platner, *Philosophische Aphorismen* (Leipzig, 1793-1800), I, 75-76. For further similarities of thought between Coleridge and Platner see my article 'Coleridge and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, XXXVI (1958) 812-850.

¹¹ A note on page 359 refers to Humphry Davy as 'Sir', which dates the note after 8 April 1812, the day Davy was knighted.

¹² Kant, *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781), p. 120. The passage is not found in the second edition of the *Kritik* (brought out in 1787). G. Whalley, *Poetic Process* (London, 1953), p. 54, quoting the above passage says that Coleridge 'has evidently taken a clue from Kant in distinguishing a phase of imagination at the level of perception, and has substituted the more convenient, less restrictive term "primary" for Kant's "reproductive".'

Wolff — through Platner of course — and probably not, as is generally assumed, from Kant. Furthermore, from the moment he began his intense study of philosophy he had become 'exceedingly suspicious of *supposed Discoveries in Metaphysics*' (in a letter of 13 February 1801), and so he could agree whole-heartedly with Platner's rejection of Kant's claim to originality.

One further observation remains to be made. Platner, when translating Wolff's terms, does not discriminate between *Phantasie* and *imaginatio*, for we notice that in his German rendering he does not use the term *Einbildungskraft*. It is only in later paragraphs of his *Philosophische Aphorismen*, and also in his *Anthropologie* (Leipzig, 1772), that the two faculties are opposed. *Phantasie* refers to a faculty whose function it is to represent absent things — a mode of memory, in Coleridge's words — and imagination is only differentiated from 'fancy' by the higher degree of perfection in the clarity and vividness of its images.¹³ Unlike most romantic thinkers, therefore, Platner fails to emphasize the peculiarly creative capacity of the imagination.

Of course, it would be absurd to claim that Platner — or even Wolff — made any fundamental contribution to the elaboration of Coleridge's celebrated theory of the imagination. Much of it no doubt belonged to the aesthetic heritage of the post-Kantian era (one early example of the new emphasis on organic unity, imagination, emotion and the like appeared in the figure of Karl Philipp Moritz), and a new period of aesthetic thought was not initiated until the teaching of Schelling began to make its impact on a number of artists who felt dissatisfied with the over-all aridity of the Kantian system. Schelling, whose part in Coleridge's intellectual development is always likely to be underrated by English students of the poet, was undoubtedly the most influential aesthete of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. But Platner's aphorisms, giving evidence of wide reading and an admirably eclectic spirit, and appealing to Coleridge by their very fragmentary nature, were the first to direct the poet's attention to a most important aspect of human psychology. Coleridge himself assessed the aphorisms according to their true worth when he ended one of his marginal notes on them in the following terms: 'Pl. is an excellent Logician, a good Psychologist, a learned & meritorious Historian of spec. Phil. but he is not a metaphysical Self-Thinker.'¹⁴

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¹³ For a general account of Platner's aesthetics see E. Bergmann, *Platner und die Kunstphilosophie des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1913), esp. p. 106 ff. Bergmann expresses himself as follows: 'Einbildungskraft verhält sich zur Phantasie wie Scharfsinn zum Verstand. Einbildungskraft ist also mehr als Phantasie. Sie ist creatio non entis, Phantasie representatio absentis.'

¹⁴ End of a hitherto unpublished marginal note (in ink) in the margin of pp. 200-201 of Platner's *Philosophische Aphorismen*.

Negative Contexts

For years I have been collecting data peculiar to negative contexts; they do not seem to lead to any general theory, but certain tendencies can be observed. In the list given here, I shall — for obvious reasons — not mention such facts as are described in every grammar: the use of *do*, *dare*, *need*, the pronunciation of *shan't*, *won't*, etc.

Quite a number of the facts I have recorded are not restricted to negative contexts: they are also found in restrictive, hypothetical or interrogative sentences; a few of them are even found in positive assertions as well, but not so frequently.

A.

The history of the words listed in this section reveals that at a certain moment they assumed a new meaning or use in negative contexts.

BACKBONE, meaning *strength of character*, is chiefly used with a negative word or one implying absence:

He has no backbone. (Harrap.)

A great man he could never have been, for his character was destitute of backbone. (O.E.D.)

BE may mean *to become* in a negative question:

Why don't you be a doctor? (Engl. Studies XXXIV, 44.)

BEAR, meaning *to like*, is used negatively, interrogatively or hypothetically:

I cannot bear antimacassars. (O.E.D.)

BEGIN, expressing a slight degree, is used negatively:

The statement doesn't begin to be comprehensive enough. (Horwill: American Usage.)

CARE, meaning *to regard as important*, is only used in negative or conditional constructions:

I don't care what people say. (O.E.D.)

In the meaning *to like* it was originally used in negative and interrogative constructions; now it is also found in positive sentences, but usually as the alternative or negative of an implied negation (cf. O.E.D., care, 5).

CIRCUMSTANCE, in the American phrase *not a circumstance to*, means *nothing in comparison with*:

Zwingli's troubles because of the peasants were, however, not a circumstance to those caused by the Baptist party in Zurich. (Horwill: American Usage.)

COME TO, meaning *to result in*, is used negatively, restrictively, hypothetically or interrogatively:

It all came to nothing. (Swann: Intermediate English, 96.)

COULD, meaning *succeeded*, is only used with the negation :

She couldn't find her money. (A. Johnson & G. C. Thornley: Grammar & Idiom, 38-9.)

CUT ICE, meaning *to count for anything*, is usually found with a negation :

He had admitted that the international strike he had called did not cut much ice. (Horwill: American Usage.)

GOOD, after *it is*, is chiefly found in negative or interrogative constructions :

It is no good talking. (O.E.D.)

When speaking of persons *to be no good* means *to be worthless* :

He's no good, I tell you. (O.E.D.)

HALF in the phrase *not half* means *at all* :

He never admits a thing is good, but merely not half bad. (O.E.D.)

Yet the phrase may also mean *very* :

It isn't half cold ! (Harrap.)

HAVE after *will not* or *would not* may mean *to allow* :

I would not have it spoken about. (O.E.D.)

It may also mean *to admit as a fact* :

Stephanus will not have him to be Helen the son of Deucalion. (O.E.D.)

HAVE NO USE FOR may mean *to dislike* :

I have no use for him — don't like him. (O.E.D.)

HAVING ANY, expressing belief or liking, is used negatively :

I am not having any. (Harrap.)

HURRY, meaning *short time*, is only found with *not* :

The late Mr T. whose like we shall not see again in a hurry. (O.E.D.)

KNOW, meaning *to experience*, is chiefly used in negative constructions :

He has never known trouble. (O.E.D.)

KNOW WHICH WAY TO TURN used figuratively is only found with the negation :

She didn't know which way to turn to find means. (O.E.D.)

LEAST, meaning *any*, is especially used in negative or hypothetical contexts :

Without the least preparation. (O.E.D.)

LIKE, in the negative phrases *There is nothing* (or *none*) *like*, assumes a pregnant sense: *so good, so wonderful as* :

There is nothing like health. (Harrap.)

MAKE OF may mean *to account for* in a negative or interrogative sentence :

I don't know what to make of him. (O.E.D.)

MATTER, meaning *importance* or *to be of importance*, is chiefly used in negative or interrogative contexts :

No matter. It doesn't matter.

MIND, meaning *to care for*, *to be affected by*, *to object to*, is chiefly used in negative, interrogative or conditional sentences :

His heir minded nothing but fox hunting. (O.E.D., *Obs.*)

I shouldn't mind a cup of tea myself. (O.E.D.)

MORE, meaning *again* or *further*, is only used with *no* :

Military distinction is no more possible by prowess. (O.E.D.)

MUCH, meaning *anything important*, is used in negative or interrogative contexts :

I do not think the evidence amounts to very much. (O.E.D.)

The phrases *much of a* and *much to look at* are only used in negative contexts :

He is not much of a scholar. (O.E.D.)

You are not much to look at. (O.E.D.)

NEARLY, meaning *anything like*, is only used negatively :

I have not received nearly one-half of the subscription. (O.E.D.)

SAY, meaning *to judge*, is only used in negative, interrogative or restrictive contexts :

What the end of it all would have been I really cannot say. (O.E.D.)

SHOULD is used in a clause dependent on an expression of possibility, probability or expectation, if that expression is used negatively, hypothetically or interrogatively :

It is unlikely that he should have been there. (O.E.D.)

STAND, meaning *to like*, is used like *bear* (cf. above) :

She could not stand that manager fellow. (O.E.D.)

When meaning *to allow* it is always used negatively :

The bishop will not stand for such marriage on the part of a clergyman. (Horwill: American Usage.)

STICK, meaning *to scruple*, is chiefly used negatively :

Such women who do not stick at telling a falsehood, will not hesitate to listen at a door. (O.E.D.)

SUPPORT, meaning *to like*, is used like *bear* (cf. above) :

I cannot support even the idea of your becoming one of those undone lost creatures!
(O.E.D.)

TAKING ANY is used like *having any* (cf. above) :

I am not taking any. (Harrap.)

THAT, in the meaning illustrated in the following example, is only found in negative or interrogative sentences :

We are not pigeons that we should eat dry peas. (O.E.D.)

That is used elliptically with *not* at the head of a sentence :

Where is she staying now? Not that I care. (O.E.D.)

THERE IS, as illustrated here, is only found in negative constructions :

There is no resisting it. (O.E.D.)

THOUGHT, meaning *mental anticipation, expectation*, is now mostly used with negative expressed or implied :

I had no thought of meeting him there.

WITHOUT, with conditional implication, is mostly found in negative or dubitative contexts :

The people believed that without the nobles there was no safety. (O.E.D.)

WONDER as a noun is used without a verb especially in phrases like *No wonder, Small wonder, What wonder* :

No wonder Nero loves her better than that pale sad lady who sits among the six Vestals.
(O.E.D.)

B.

In this second section will be found words that have apparently always been used with a peculiar meaning in negative contexts.

BAD-LOOKING is only used negatively :

They were not a bad-looking circle. (O.E.D.)

COMPARE, meaning *to bear comparison with*, is chiefly used in negative sentences :

Imported meat does not compare with English. (H. C. Wyld: Univ. Engl. Dict.)

The phrase *not to be compared* usually implies great inferiority in some respect. (O.E.D.)

FOR, meaning *before the expiration of*, is only used in a negative sentence :

I shan't get up for another hour. (O.E.D.)

GEE, (*sl.*) meaning *to fit, to suit*, is only used in negative sentences :

It don't seem to gee ! (O.E.D.)

LONGER, expressing continuation, is rarely used in an assertion unless it is modified by *no* or some other adverb :

There was no longer any room for doubt. (O.E.D.)

SO, meaning *to that extent*, is only found in negative or interrogative contexts; in affirmative sentences it tends to become a mere intensive without comparative force (O.E.D.) :

A voice so thrilling ne'er was heard. (O.E.D.)

TILL and UNTIL, meaning *before*, are only used negatively :

I never saw her till this time. (O.E.D.)

TOUCH, meaning *to handle*, is usually found in negative contexts :

I had never touched a card. (O.E.D.)

USE, after *it is*, is used like *good* (cf. above) :

It is no use to say "I am poor". (O.E.D.)

C.

With the following words it looks as if the negation had protected certain uses or meanings which are obsolete or obsolescent in other constructions :

A, meaning *one*, is only found in phrases like *not a, all of a sort* :

He solemnly assured them that not a hair of their heads should be touched. (O.E.D.)

ABIDE, meaning *to like*, is now only used in sentences like *I cannot, I can scarcely, Who can abide* :

People cannot abide pamphlets in these days. (O.E.D.)

AT ALL is now only used in negative or interrogative sentences :

I did not speak at all. (O.E.D.)

AVAIL is obsolete except in negative, restrictive or interrogative constructions :

The highest sagacity is of no avail, when there is an insufficiency of data. (O.E.D.)

BOOT, meaning *to do good*, is now only used negatively, restrictively or interrogatively :

It boots not to look backwards. (O.E.D.)

BROOK, meaning *to like*, is now only used in negative or preclusive constructions :

That haughty spirit that could brook no equal or superior. (O.E.D.)

BUT, meaning *except*, is now only used in negative, interrogative or restrictive constructions :

None but they have a right to rule in the Church. (O.E.D.)

CAN AWAY WITH, meaning *to like*, only survives with *not* :

Idclatry is a thing they cannot away with. (O.E.D.)

CEASE, as a noun, is now only used in the phrase *without cease*.

COPE WITH, meaning *to contend with*, is now mostly used in negative contexts :

Unfit to cope with the problems. (O.E.D.)

DETER, in the indicative of the passive voice, is only found in negative sentences :

Nothing will deter him. (Harrap.)

FAR is rarely used in an assertion, unless it is modified by *not* or some other adverb :

The house is not far away. (H. E. Palmer: Gram. of Engl. Words.)

HELP, meaning *to refrain from*, is restricted to interrogative or negative sentences :

One cannot help loving her. (Harrap.)

After *not* .. *than* the negation disappears :

Don't tell him more than you can help. (Wyld.)

LONG referring to time, is used like *far* (cf. above) :

You haven't been gone long. (W. S. Allen: Living Engl. Structure, 286.)

MAKE MENTION OF is now slightly archaic or literary, except in negative contexts :

The Calmadolese geographer makes no mention of the sources from which he derived his information. (O.E.D.)

MANY and MUCH (Adj.) are rarely used in an assertion unless they are modified by *not* or some other adverb, or used as the subject or part of it :

The English don't drink much wine. (E. H. Palmer.)

I didn't see many friends there. (E. Mendelssohn & J. W. Palmer: Correct your Engl.)

NEXT TO, meaning *almost*, is now only used before a negative word :

There was next to nobody at the meeting. (Harrap.)

So, followed by *as* to express comparison, is now only found in negative or interrogative clauses, and even there is often replaced by *as* :

Never had the conditions of the Puritans been so deplorable as at that time. (O.E.D.)

STAND ON or UPON, meaning *to raise difficulties* about, is now rare except in negative contexts:

I'm not going to stand on nice points of law. (O.E.D.)

D.

There are a few words whose meaning cannot be modified by *not*; prominent among them are *may* (possibility), *will* (volition), *must*, *ought* and its synonym *should*. For instance, *You should not do that* means *You should refrain from doing that*; absence of advisability is expressed by *You need not do that*. Volition is expressed in *She would not go out*; absence of volition in *She didn't want to go out*. A possibility is expressed in *It may not rain*; impossibility in *It cannot rain*. Necessity or command is expressed in *She must not see him*; absence of necessity or command in *She needn't see him*.

The same impossibility is observed in the following words.

ALREADY is replaced by *yet*:

He isn't yet here.

EXCEPT is replaced by *excepting* or *excepted*:

All men are fallible, not excepting the Pope or the Pope not excepted. (H. W. Fowler: M.E.U.)

SOME is replaced by *any*:

I don't like any of them.

But *some* can be used in a negative sentence if the negation bears on another word:

I don't like some of them.

STILL is replaced by *longer*:

He is no longer here.

But if the negation bears on another word, *still* can be used:

The coffee was still not ready. (L. Davidson.)

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Notes and News

Some Problems of the Vespasian Psalter

Ever since it was edited in 1885 by Henry Sweet and even before that date,¹ students of all nationalities have studied the Vespasian Psalter gloss with the most exacting thoroughness to extract from it every possible scrap of learning.

In the early stages the question of the dialect to which the interlinear translation belonged remained for some time unsettled.² More recently the problem of the provenance of the manuscript and subsidiarily the date of composition gave rise to much controversy between two distinguished scholars whose divergent opinions were expressed in *The Review of English Studies*.³ Gneuss's contribution 'Zur Geschichte des Ms. Vespasian A. I.'⁴ confirms Sisam's views by adding arguments to the effect of proving that the Vespasian Psalter was one of the two psalters described by Thomas of Elmham.

The question whether the gloss was made for the Vespasian Psalter or copied into it from a model was often alluded to without being given any satisfactory answer. There seemed to be arguments proving that the gloss was original and others which looked equally decisive the other way.⁵ In 1954, H. Gneuss was still writing by way of conclusion to his valuable *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen*:⁶ 'Ob A (i.e. the VP gloss) auf einer Vorlage beruht, ist nicht sicher.' It is K. Sisam again who in 1956, after a careful sifting of what he calls the 'apparent examples', retained 'a significant number of glosses which translate a variant that is not in the Vespasian Latin, but is known from other Anglo-Saxon psalters' and demonstrated by doing so that the gloss was not originally written for the Vespasian Psalter.⁷

It seems somewhat strange that Sisam's predecessors in that line of inquiry should have found it so difficult to form an opinion on the subject or rather to demonstrate conclusively what most of them felt to be the truth. The fault lies chiefly in the fact that they did not have at their

¹ J. Stevenson's edition, *Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter*, Surtees Society, London, 1843, is completely unreliable, but it was the work of a pioneer.

² It was first regarded as late Northumbrian (cf. J. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, Preface; E. Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, Halle, 1882, § 2, n. 3) or as Kentish (cf. H. Sweet, 'Dialects and prehistoric Forms of English', in *Trans. of the Phil. Soc.*, 1875-6, p. 555; Zeuner, *Die Sprache des Kentischen Psalters*, Halle, 1881).

³ K. Sisam, 'Canterbury, Lichfield and the Vespasian Psalter', *R.E.S.*, N.S., VII (1956), pp. 1-10 and 113-131; S. M. Kuhn, 'Some early Mercian Manuscripts', *R.E.S.*, N.S., VIII (1957), pp. 355-374.

⁴ *Anglia*, 75 (1957), pp. 125-133.

⁵ H. Sweet, *The Oldest English Texts*, E.E.T.S., O.S., 83 (1885, reprinted 1938), p. 185.

⁶ Berlin, 1955, p. 158.

⁷ *R.E.S.*, VII (1956), p. 127.

disposal all the information they needed about the Latin text. Sweet seems to have devoted all his care to producing an almost perfect Old English text, but his Latin is not free from inaccuracies. As K. Sisam himself points out: 'Occasionally Sweet's print of the Latin is at fault ...' or 'The Latin text has been altered in many places; and Sweet, if he notices the change, usually prints the earlier reading even if the gloss renders the later ...'⁸

On the other hand, the two collations published respectively in 1932 and 1941 by R. Roberts⁹ and S. M. Kuhn¹⁰ bear only on the Old English. Of course, we are grateful to R. Roberts for suggesting the reading *wysctun* instead of *wyrcun*, H1.3 (folio 141r), a misleading and impossible form, and to S. M. Kuhn for pointing out, among other details, that the ð of *gefiðð*, Ps. 20.2 (folio 25r), was made from an original t, which sheds new light on the formerly isolated *gefiht* of Ps. 15.9 (folio 20r). But no collation tells us, for instance, that in Ps. 7.3 the U of 'salvum' is corrected into A, which would probably have prevented the editor of the Junius-Psalter¹¹ from quoting the passage as proof that the gloss was copied from a model with the correct 'salvam'. As the correction cannot be dated for a certainty, Sisam carefully eliminates the example.¹² In Ps. 109.7, 'de torrente in via bibet propterea exaltabit caput' of *burnan in wege dronc fordon up ahof heafud*, Sweet's printing of the Latin futures 'bibet' and 'exaltabit' caused K. Wildhagen to quote this passage as proof that the gloss was copied from a psalter with the readings 'bibit' and 'exaltavit'.¹³ On closer examination (folio 110r) it appears, however, that the manuscript's original readings were 'bibit' and 'exaltavit' and that the second I of 'bibit' has been altered to E,¹⁴ while the V of 'exaltavit' was erased and replaced by B. This invalidates Wildhagen's argument unless the emendations can be proved to be earlier than the gloss.

Other examples are even more illustrative of the usefulness of a carefully collated Latin text. In Ps. 117.25, the Latin uncials of the Vespasian Psalter read: 'O Domine salvum me fac O Domine bene prospera' glossed *georstu dryhten halne mec doa eawla dryhten wel gesundfulla* (folio 115r). Sweet prints 'prosperare' and adds 'the re in cursive' in a foot-note

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ 'A New Collation of the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns', *Leeds Studies in English and kindred Languages*, 1 (1932), pp. 22-23.

¹⁰ 'The Gloss to the Vespasian Psalter: Another Collation', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XL (1941), pp. 344-347.

¹¹ E. Brenner, *Der altenglische Junius-Psalter*, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 23 (1908), p. XIV, n.

¹² *R.E.S.*, VII (1956), p. 127, n.

¹³ In his review of R. Roeder's edition: *Der altenglische Regius-Psalter*, Halle, 1904, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 116 (1906), p. 160, n. 4.

¹⁴ By the adjunction of two small horizontal bars, the upper one being omitted as it would nearly coincide with the upper bar of the following uncial T. Another example of the same way of correcting I to E is to be found on folio 16, Ps. 9.25: 'inquiri' emended into 'inquire'.

without any further comment or reference. He must, however, have had an intuition of the importance of even such a small detail for he alludes to it in his introduction, where he writes: ¹⁵ 'In 117.35 (read 25) the correct *prospera* has been made into *prosperare* by the addition of *re* in a cursive hand apparently the same as that of the gloss.' Indeed the *re* was obviously added by the scribe who wrote the gloss, which makes it certain that he was at least using another Latin psalter with the reading 'prosperare'; what would have been the point of emending 'prospera' to 'prosperare', since the former makes reasonably good sense and *gesundfulla* is as good a gloss to the active 'prospera' as to the deponent 'prosperare'? ¹⁶

That the scribe also used a pattern gloss has been shown by K. Sisam by means of examples that do not rest, like those of some of his predecessors, on the shaky foundation of an emended Latin lemma. There is no need to add anything to his decisive arguments. I only wish to conclude this brief note by quoting an example which, as far as I know, has not been pointed out as yet though no emendation in another ink or hand nor any erasure has marred the passage. ¹⁷ The first line of the Ambrosian hymn 'Ad Matutinos' numbered 11 in Sweet's edition reads 'Splendor paternae gloriae De luce lucem praeferens' glossed *birhtu federlices wuldres of lehte leht forðbringende*. The last Latin word should read 'proferens' and *forðbringende* is the correct gloss to 'proferens', not 'praeferens'; this is indeed the only place in the VP where the prefix *forð-* translates the Latin prefix 'prae-'. ¹⁸ Moreover, it is impossible to reconcile the meaning of the Latin 'praeferre' 'to carry in front, hold forth'

¹⁵ *The Oldest English Texts*, p. 185.

¹⁶ Both the Roman and Gallican versions of the Psalms read 'prosperare', imper. sg. of depon. 'prosperari', which accounts for the emendation. The only other occurrence of the verb in the Vespasian Psalter is in Ps. 36.7: 'prosperatur', whether a deponent or a passive form, is glossed by the passive *bið gesundfullad*. H. Gneuss rightly points out (*op. cit.*, § 30, pp. 66-7) that *gesundfullian* occurs exclusively in liturgical manuscripts; on the other hand, he notices a discrepancy between some of the Old English renderings of the Latin depon. 'prosperari', to which he ascribes, in Ps. 1.3 (not in VP) and 36.7 the meaning 'gedeihen, Glück haben', and in Ps. 117.25, the meaning 'gnädig sein, Glück geben'. In the two cases with which we are concerned (i.e. Ps. 36.7 and 117.25), it seems that the meaning of the verb *gesundfullian* was, in the glosser's mind, 'to render fortunate, happy, to make successful', hence 'to be propitious', glossing in Ps. 36.7 'prosperare' 'to make prosperous, successful' and in Ps. 117.25 'prosperari' 'to be propitious' (see A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.*, Oxford, 1949, p. 329, s.v. *prosperor*, and cf. Bosworth and Toller's *Dict. and Suppl.*, which enter *gesundfullian* with the meaning 'to be made prosperous, to be successful', which is rather questionable).

¹⁷ More examples (many of which, I was pleased to find, are identical with those quoted by Professor Sisam, *R.E.S.*, VII (1956), p. 127, foot-note) appeared in a dissertation presented for the degree of Doctor, on July 14th 1955, under the supervision of Professor S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne. Part of it will be published in the Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège (*A Glossary of the Vespasian Psalter and Hymns*); it is now in the press.

¹⁸ It usually corresponds to 'pro-': *forðgan* 'procedere', *forðlutan* 'procidere', *forðyppan* 'prodire', *forðlædan*, *forðgelædan* 'producere', *forðlocian* 'prospicere', *forðwegán* 'provehere', *forðfromung* 'profectio'.

with that of *forðbringan* 'to bring forth, produce', which is the exact correspondent of Latin 'proferre'. If the scribe had had a Latin model only, he might have altered AE to O as he did with 'prosperare'; then he would have glossed according to his emendation. Instead of that, he simply copied the gloss without perhaps even noticing that his own text was erroneous. Since 'proferre' is the reading we find in Migne (*PL* 86, 935), the gloss must have been made for a text with Saint Ambrose's correct reading and copied from it into the Vespasian Psalter.

Liège.

PAULE MERTENS-FONCK.

A Note on the Dirge in *Cymbeline*

The dirge in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (Act IV, ii) has provoked much discussion, the greater part of which is concerned with the authenticity of the whole or part of it rather than with the meaning of the song;¹ the text is apparently quite clear and does not offer any difficulty for scholars; but the poem has sometimes been given a definitely Christian interpretation by uninitiated readers, and the words *Home art gone* (stanza I, line 4) have sometimes been taken to mean *Thou art gone to heaven*. The style of the song, I admit, does not at first view exclude any particular interpretation and some peculiarities of its diction, which are reminiscent of Christian phrases, are seemingly quite consistent with the prevalent conviction that the dirge derives from a Christian conception of death.

The recurring words *all must come to dust* may remind one of the words spoken by the priest on Ash-Wednesday; the phrase *thy worldly task* may be thought to imply the belief in a life in the other world, as distinct from this earthly, mortal, life; the line *Home art gone and ta'en thy wages* may lead one to think of a return of the soul to God and of the Last Judgement; the antiphonal character of the whole poem, spoken alternately by Guiderius and Arviragus, may sound like the verses and responses of a liturgical song.

But if the effect achieved by these rather formal peculiarities of the dirge seems to be congruous with a Christian interpretation, one may wonder whether this is really in keeping with the context; in other words: does anything in the play or in the scene where the poem occurs admit of such an interpretation?

¹ See: *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. by Edward Dowden, 1918: Introd., p. xxxviii, and also pp. 144-5, footnote. — *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy, 1955: Appendix C, p. 223. — *The Variorum Shakespeare*, ed. Furness, 1913, pp. 323-4.

The fact that *Cymbeline* takes place in pre-Christian Britain does not, of course, exclude this possibility. Shakespeare might very well have thought of *heaven* as the *home* to which Fidele has returned after his supposed death. We know that Shakespeare was not interested in historic verisimilitude; more perhaps than any other play, *Cymbeline* abounds with examples of flagrant anachronisms;² the play shows 'a confusion of manners of different times', to use Dr. Johnson's own words, and also in matters regarding religion there is a welter of discordant appellations: though the characters in *Cymbeline* more often appeal to Roman gods and goddesses and Shakespeare borrows his imagery more from their pagan world and paraphernalia, yet some customs and habits, some turns of speech refer to a world, a culture and a conception of life that may be considered as Christian; such phrases or words as *morning's holy office*, *angel*, *angel-like*, *holy water* cannot but conjure up images only too familiar to Christians. Yet, if it is true that Shakespeare was 'careless about these things', it cannot be denied, however, that some elements in *Cymbeline* do point to Shakespeare's intention to give the story some sort of pagan frame.

The fact that Jupiter, Juno, Diana, etc. . . ., and 'the gods', are as good as always appealed to, to the exclusion of 'God' — a word we find mentioned only once in the play,³ if I am not mistaken — cannot by itself support this assertion; but if we refer to the performance of ritual acts as described or only suggested in some scenes we feel that at times at least a background of paganism is evoked; the following words spoken by Cymbeline seem to give colour to this statement:

Let's quit this ground,
And smoke the temple with our sacrifices.

(V, v, 398-9)⁴

and:

Laud we the gods,
And let our crooked smokes climb to their nostrils
From our blest altars.

(V, v, 477-9)

This appears again from the scene taking place in the Welsh forest. One detail is sufficiently relevant: just before bringing Fidele to his grave, in the discussion of the burial ritual, Guiderius says:

² See: Harley Granville Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, vol. I, p. 475: '... Shakespeare knew as well as we know that war chariots and the god Jupiter did not fit with a Posthumus made Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, who waves his farewells with hat and glove and handkerchief, with a Cloten who fights duels and plays at bowls, a Belarius who talks of rustling at Court in unpaid-for silks, a Guiderius joking about a tailor, an Imogen disguised in doublet and hose; and — if he had stopped to think about it — that in a Rome over which Augustus Caesar ruled, Frenchmen, Dutchmen and Spaniards would not be found discussing their country mistresses or an Iachimo making a bet of ten thousand ducats. We commonly say he was careless about these things.'

³ Perhaps because the use of 'God' had been banished from the stage since the accession of James I.

⁴ Quotations from the play refer to *The Arden Shakespeare*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy, 1955.

Nay, Cadwall, we must lay his head to the east,
My father hath a reason for 't

(IV, ii, 255-6)

Quoting Wyatt, Furness gives this passage the following explanation: 'The Christian custom of burial is to lay the head to the *west*, and the feet to the east; [....] In reversing this position Shakespeare may have no other intention than to suit the pre-Christian period of his play.'⁵ Nosworthy considers 'Wyatt's suggestion [....] as possibly correct' and confirms that 'Imogen is buried according to classical or early Celtic practice, which was the opposite of Christian burial'.⁶

It should be made clear here that, by referring to such details and allusions, which are meant simply to give local colour, one is not trying to define the actual atmosphere of the play. It is quite obvious that in this respect the play's intention is much more complex. Witness the fact, for instance, that Iachimo is clearly meant to personify the corrupt Renaissance Italian and the dangers he represents in the eyes of the XVIth-century English puritan.

It remains, however, that among the elements which make for local colour, some may call up Christian as well as pagan notions, whereas others, when placed in the Christian perspective, cannot but be considered as referring to superstitious beliefs or practices; but nowhere do we find a reminder of a *specific* Christian doctrine. The fact is that Shakespeare was so much penetrated with the spirit of his time that he thought and spoke according to the notions which were prevalent in his own day and that he derived his imagery from them, whatever the subject of his play or the period in which it was supposed to take place. It follows that the above considerations on the general trend of the play do not entitle us to decide as to the interpretation to be given to the words at issue.

Let us come back now to the words *Home art gone* and consider them in their immediate context. The double theme of the poem can be formulated thus:

1. Death is a release from the troubles of life;
2. All men are equal in death.

This double theme is not proper to the dirge; indeed, the poem is a mere repetition and amplification of ideas which have been previously expressed in the scene where the poem occurs.

The idea of equality in death, the idea that all must come to dust, is worded first by Imogen at the opening of the scene:

⁵ *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶ *op. cit.*, p. 139, Dowden also has a note to this effect; see p. 144.

Arviragus: Are we not brothers?

Imogen: So man and man should be;

But clay and clay differs in dignity,
Whose dust is both alike.

(IV, ii, 3-5)

The same idea is expressed again, though in reverse form, by Belarius just before the burial takes place:

though mean and mighty, rotting
Together, have one dust, yet reverence
(That angel of the world) doth make distinction
Of place 'tween high, and low.

(IV, ii, 246-9)

And again by Guiderius in these terms:

Thersites' body is as good as Ajax'

(IV, ii, 252)

This idea, it is true, has also found expression in the Dances of Death;⁷ but these as well as the ritual words: *Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return*, which are echoed in the dirge by *all must come to dust*, are essentially a *memento mori* by which man is reminded of his end and urged to be ready at all times to appear before his Eternal Judge; such is not the spirit of the song, which is addressed to a dead person, and cannot therefore have the value of an exhortation, but is rather meant as a consolation.

What is more, in the words spoken by Belarius, Arviragus or Guiderius directly referring to the death of Fidele, we find no trace of the idea of a home that would be heaven; Fidele's companions seem to be concerned only with giving the unfortunate youth a decent grave. To Arviragus, the more imaginative of the two brothers, the grave must be strewn with flowers. Nobody will say that he is thus complying with a Christian practice:⁸ the ancient Greeks and Romans are known to have kept the observance and early Christians to have been opposed to this custom of laying flowers on the graves of their dead; nowadays Christians of strict observance still refuse flowers to be laid on the bier or on the tomb. The significance of Arviragus's gesture is in keeping with his simple poetical nature and also with the idyllic atmosphere which pervades the whole scene; flowers are associated in his mind, not so much with death, as some critics have said, but rather with the idea he has formed of Fidele, who is all purity, all prettiness, freshness and delicacy.

Guiderius, by contrast, gives vent to his concern with giving Fidele a burial place, in more practical terms:

⁷ Those dances of death are termed 'superstitious' by Favrot in his book *Histoire des Inhumations*, Paris, 1868; pp. 117-8.

⁸ Saint Augustine is said to have made the following statement concerning the flowering of graves: 'Si nous mettons tant de soins à l'inhumation, c'est pour remplir un devoir d'humanité et non pour le salut des défunts.' Quoted by Favrot, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Let us bury him,
And not protract with admiration what
Is now due debt. *To th' grave*⁹

(IV, ii, 231-3)

The same preoccupation appears again from the words :

And let us
. sing him *to th' ground*¹⁰

(IV, ii, 235-6)

When, after the burial, Belarius sees the bodies of Fidele and Cloten both strewn with flowers, it is the idea of *bodily decay*,¹¹ not that of the immortality of the soul, that he stresses by his comparison :

The herbs that have on them cold dew o' th' night
Are strewing fitt'st for graves [.]
You were as flowers, now wither'd: even so
These herblets shall, which we upon you strew.

(IV, ii, 284-7)

As I have said earlier, these ideas are taken up in the dirge itself. Particularly stressed, since the poem opens and closes with it, is the idea of rest in death; this again is underlined in the words *ta'en thy wages*; true, the use of the word *wages* may induce a Christian to think of the rewarding in the other world of all our deeds, good and bad; but the immediate context merely conveys the image of a labourer who, having done his work, receives payment for it and goes home; the fact that he has been *paid* for it carries the idea of *completion* of the task, and, metaphorically, of the end of his life. On the other hand the terms involved are made explicit in the first two lines of each stanza; these clearly indicate how we must understand *wages*. In fact, what did Fidele's *worldly task* consist in? He had to bear heat and cold, endure tyranny, care for his own subsistence, he met with dangers of all kinds — thunderstone and lightning — and had to suffer slander. Now he has *finish'd joy and moan* — the concluding words after the enumeration of the hard trials of his life. What is the wages he receives for going through all this? The quiet of death and the final rest in the grave. It is significant that these words should find an echo in Belarius' final speech; looking at the corpses of Fidele and Cloten, he says :

Their pleasures here are past, so is their pain.

(IV, ii, 290)

I shall come back to these words and their real implication.¹²

The final wish of the two brothers :

Quiet consummation have

⁹ My italics.

¹⁰ My italics.

¹¹ See, in a previous quotation, p. 176, the words *rotting together* which seem to reinforce my assertion.

¹² See p. 179.

makes us think of Hamlet's soliloquy (III, i, 61-64) in which the word *consummation* takes the meaning of a death that would be the end of all worries and sufferings, a 'consummation devoutly to be wished', a sleep that no dreams would trouble:

To die : to sleep ;
No more.¹³

Such is also the sense to be given to the word in *King Edward III*, as Dowden points out:¹⁴

darkness, consummation, dust and worms

As to the adverb *home*, O.E.D. gives as its meaning: to the place of final rest, to the 'long home'; *to the grave*;¹³ to 'the place appointed for all living'; and *to go home* is glossed: *to die*¹³ (common dialectically).¹⁵ The latter receives only one illustration in O.E.D.; the example is taken from Scott, *Antiq.*, xxxii, (1816) *But ye are sure your mother, the Lady Countess, is gane hame?* Could it be that the lexicographer simply overlooked Shakespeare's use of the phrase, attested in this meaning some two hundred years before the above quotation?

Schmidt's *Shakespeare-Lexicon* has likewise: *Home*, subst. [...] 3) [...] Hence = *the grave*:¹³ *these that I bring unto their latest h.*, Tit., I, 83; cf. Hml., V, i, 256.

and: *Home*, adv., [...] 4) to the place or person, to whom a thing belongs [...] *the bringing h. of bell and burial*, Hml., V, 1, 256 (i.e. to the grave; cf. Tit., I, 83). But the presence of *latest* in the former example, and of *bell and burial* in the latter, makes the meaning of both these lines perfectly plain.

Finally, Bartlett's *Concordance* gives no example of the word *home* used by Shakespeare in the meaning of *heaven*.

My concluding words are that nothing, in the poem or in its context, induces us to take the word *home* as meaning *heaven*, so that we must be content with the definitions recorded in the reference works from which I was quoting in the preceding paragraphs. *Home*, in the line discussed, means nothing but *grave*. We find a further confirmation of this in the final couplet of the burial scene functioning as a coda which resumes the main theme of the dirge and gives it a more definite and satisfactory

¹³ My italics.

¹⁴ *op. cit.*, p. 146, footnote.

¹⁵ To be complete I should add that O.E.D. also gives *home*, subst., as referring to the grave, or *future state* (My italics). But then we have found nothing in the poem or in its context that entitles us to take the word in the latter sense.

It is interesting to note that German has *heimgegangen* in the meaning of *gestorben*, also *der Heimgang* for *das Sterben*, *der Tod*; and, of course, the French *à sa dernière demeure* resorts to the same image.

conclusion; these two lines, one of which was previously quoted,¹⁶ merely imply that both Cloten and Fidele have gone the way of all flesh; their bodies have finally returned to the earth from which they came:

*The ground that gave them first has them again*¹⁷
 Their pleasures here are past, so is their pain.

(IV, ii, 286-90)

Liège.

FERNAND CORIN.

Notes and News

Further Contribution. Owing to lack of space an article by Professor Irène Simon on 'Some Aspects of Virginia Woolf's Imagery' has to be held over till next year.

English Studies at Ghent. Dr W. Schrickx, author of *Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries* (1956) and of articles on Coleridge and other writers, has been appointed to succeed Dr Franz de Backer as Professor of English Literature in the University of Ghent.

English Studies Abroad. Two new publications in the field of English, to be repeated at irregular intervals, have recently appeared: *Brno Studies in English*, from Czechoslovakia, and *Cairo Studies in English*, from the United Arab Republic. The former contains linguistic papers as well as literary ones, the latter literary papers only, though its avowed purpose is 'to publish articles of research in the literature and language of the English-speaking world'. *Brno Studies in English* opens with 'Two Chapters on Written English' by Josef Vachek (whom older readers of *English Studies* will remember for his article 'What is Phonology?' in Vol. XV, 1933), and 'Thoughts on the Communicative Function of the Verb in English, German and Czech', by Jan Firbas. Other articles, on 'The Reflection of Social Reality in Keats's Poems and Letters', 'The "Newgate School" of Romance and its Place in the English Literature of the Eighteen-Thirties', and 'The

¹⁶ See p. 177.

¹⁷ My italics.

Revolt of the Workers in the Novels of Gissing, James and Conrad' are, as the Foreword has it, 'mainly aimed at a revaluation of some aspects of the English literary heritage from the angle of to-day's social and cultural context'.

Cairo Studies in English prints four lectures delivered by Prof. Geoffrey Bullough in the University of Cairo in 1956; one on Dryden's 'Ode to the Memory of Mistress Anne Killigrew', by John Heath-Stubbs; and four papers by Egyptian contributors, among which we note one by Mahmoud Manzalaoui on the difference between the mainly visual European imagination and the mainly verbal and abstract Arab imagination.

Both volumes may be ordered from the Universities where they are published.

Études Anglaises. We quote with pleasure and gratitude the courteous words of congratulation printed in the January-March number of our French namesake *Études Anglaises*:

English Studies. — Par son numéro 1 (février 1959) cette revue célèbre son 40^e anniversaire. Son directeur, le professeur R. W. Zandvoort, retrace, dans une manière de préface, la formation et le développement de ce "Journal of English Letters and Philology" qui grâce à son comité de membres étrangers, a un caractère véritablement international en même temps, ajoutons-le, qu'un prestige mondial. Notre revue adresse à *English Studies* ses vœux les plus chaleureux de succès et de prospérité. — L. B.

Reviews

Die germanischen Runennamen: Versuch einer Gesamtdeutung.
Ein Beitrag zur idg./germ. Kultur- und Religionsgeschichte, von
KARL SCHNEIDER. Verlag Anton Hain K.G., Meisenheim am
Glan, 1956. Price: paper DM 55.—, bound DM 59.—.

To review Professor Schneider's impressive *Habilitationsschrift* is a rather formidable task. The reviewer must not only work his way through some 600 pages of text and notes. He must also try to do so *sine ira et studio*, and that is even more difficult; for he can hardly help being torn between his admiration for the author's labour, and his scepticism as to the author's premisses, methods and results.

In his preface Professor Schneider warns us that his work was printed in 1955 as he had presented it to the Philosophical Faculty of Marburg University in 1949, when research possibilities were still much limited in Germany. This means that his material largely consisted of Grienberger's

collections of the 1890's, which in turn went back to older sources. Although the reader has to take account of this handicap, he has some right to ask why the author did not subject his material from manuscripts to a closer scrutiny. Readings proposed by Mone in 1830, by Stephens in 1866-68 or by Massmann in 1871 are hardly questioned, and no attempt seems to have been made at completing the material.¹ The evidence of the so-called Hrabanic alphabets — about the oldest evidence we have — is rejected on the authority of Harder, who vainly tried to explain all deviations from a hypothetical standard as 'spielerische Entstellungen'. In fact these alphabets give us some valuable clues as to the ways and conditions of the transmission of manuscript runes. As to the names of the Gothic letters, I believe Miss J. Blomfield came nearer to the truth when she wrote that 'these have no claim to represent runic nomenclature current among the Goths in IV. They do represent alphabet lore current among *some* Germanic people in VIII; and their connection with a dialect which was then, as far as we know, obsolete makes it probable that they are riddled with antiquarian confusions. As a source of runic nomenclature they are worthless' (*Saga-Book of the Viking Society* 12, 1941/2, 211 f.).

Professor Schneider's initial remark also implies that he has been unable to check his views against such important contributions to runic problems as Askeberg's *Norden och kontinenten i gammal tid* (1944) or Bæksted's *Måltuner og troldruner* (1952). The former might have shown him that there are still defenders of a Roman origin of the runes, the latter that not all is said when the runes are connected with Gmc religion and magic. The reader may be more surprised at not finding Jacobsen-Moltke's *Danmarks Runeindskrifter* or the Swedish Academy's *Sveriges Runin-skrifter* among the books used by the author.

In the third chapter of the first part ('Zu einer Neudeutung der Runen-namen: Arbeitshypothesen und Methodisches', p. 43 ff.) the following theses and principles are set forth: The runes originated among the Cimbrians in northern Italy in 113 or 102/1 B.C.; a North Italic alphabet served as a model. The runes were not only phonetic (or phonemic) characters, but also ideographic symbols, especially when used in cult and magic. Their names indicated their ideographic meanings. Since the rune-names are of Protogermanic origin, they cannot be explained by examining the corresponding words in Gmc dialects written four to eight centuries later: they retained far older meanings. To interpret them one must set out from the runic poems. The divergences between these poems are only superficial; in fact they go back to a common Protogmc religious and magical tradition. A 'philologisch-kritisch-vergleichende Betrachtungs-

¹ The following manuscripts contain runic material not used by Professor Schneider: British Museum, Cotton MS. Vespasian A. xviii and Stowe MS 57; Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R.14.34; Munich, Bayrische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 276 and 14436; Oxford, St. John's College MS. 17; Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek MS. a.IX.32; Trier, Priesterseminar MS. 61 = R.III.13. For further details I must refer the reader to my *Runica Manuscripta*, and to my paper on 'Die "Hrabanischen" Runen', *Z.f.d.Ph.* LXXVII, 1959, 1-19.

weise' is not sufficient to discover this relation; the rune-names must also be connected with three 'dimensions' of primitive Gmc culture, which Professor Schneider indicates by 'bäuerlich', 'asisch' and 'vanisch'. An important part of Gmc culture (including religion) is of Indo-European origin; therefore comparative IE linguistics and the comparative study of IE religions will also contribute to the solution of the problem of the rune-names.

These principles gave Professor Schneider a very broad basis on which to build, and an almost inexhaustible arsenal from which to draw his arguments. He has fully made use of these opportunities in the six chapters which he devotes to the reconstruction of the cultural pattern expressed by the rune-names. (B. *Die Deutung*, pp. 53-435): 'I. Runennamen des bäuerlichen Lebenskreises; II. Runennamen des kultischen Bereiches; III. Runennamen des kosmogonisch-mythologischen Bereiches; V. Runennamen des asischen Bereiches; VI. Das allmächtige Schicksal'; chapter IV is a 'religionsvergleichender and religionsgeschichtlicher Exkurs'. For each rune-name the data provided by the runic poems are analysed and assigned their places in the general system. An unbelievable wealth of material illustrates the argument; it is not only provided by OGmc literature and religion, but also by such less obvious sources as the Rigveda and present-day folklore. The results are summarized in four more chapters (C. *Ergebnisse*, pp. 438-492); in one of them the author also tackles the problem of Gmc ē. In an appendix he applies his findings to a number of runic inscriptions, including Cynewulf's runic signatures, ll. 84 ff. of *Salomo and Saturn* and ll. 48 ff. of *The Husband's Message* (pp. 493-574). The book ends with a bibliography, over 40 pages of notes, registers of the rune-names, runic characters, inscriptions, etc., and seven tables and diagrams showing the structure of the Gmc runic system.

As I indicated before, it is not easy to judge this work *sine ira et studio*. If I for one cannot declare myself wholly convinced by this monumental work, it may of course be due to the author's overthrowing so many cherished opinions. One is bound to feel a little shock when one finds that one has been reading the OE stanza on the *u*-rune for 15 years without getting a hint of its real implications. Professor Schneider tells us that the usual translation is only 'der erste flüchtige Eindruck' (p. 232 ff.). He believes that the OE rune-name *ūr* was actually a name of the 'Urwesen' Heimdall, who had some connexion with the world-tree of Scandinavian mythology; in *ānmōd* he sees a compound of *ān* 'one' and '*mōd* in Tieftonstellung < -*mad* < urgerm. **maiðaz*, "Baum, Balken, Pfosten"', the meaning of the whole being 'the one tree, the tree καὶ ἑξοχήν'. The first half of the OE stanza then becomes (and being omitted):

Ur ist der Pfosten καὶ ἑξοχήν; oben gehört,
ein sehr geschlechtsgieriges Tier, etc.

The last line of the corresponding Icelandic stanza (*hirðis hatr* 'Hasz des Hirten') is also interpreted as an allusion to Heimdall, which is made more

convincing by emending *hatr* to *heiðr*. The Norwegian *u*-stanza may be explained along the same lines by interchanging the rhyming words. Similarly the stanzas on the *h*-rune, which are usually read as referring to 'hail', here allude to 'das erste Lebewesen als Weltei und Weltriese' (p. 152 ff.), although the IE 'Welteivorstellung' has not been discovered so far in Gmc cosmogonic lore. I fear these are some of the points where most scholars will refuse to follow Professor Schneider. His evidence does not really seem to warrant such far-reaching conclusions, especially when they lead to interpretations of Cynewulf's signatures that are perhaps new, but hardly convincing.

The fundamental principle by which he explains the origin of the rune-names may also leave some doubts. He supposes that the *f*-rune came to mean 'cattle' because the inventor of the rune-names saw in its shape the head of an ox; in the same way the *o*-rune got the value 'eingehegter Bodenbesitz', the *w*-rune 'Sippenbanner'; the *c*-rune originally looked like a V turned upside down and was interpreted as 'Flamme, Flammenspitze'; the *y*-rune reminded him of the head of a brooch and thus came to mean 'gold', etc.

If one often gets the impression that the foundations on which Professor Schneider builds are not nearly strong enough to support his conclusions, this feeling is strengthened by such relatively unimportant details as the rendering of the Scandinavian rune-names of Leiden MS. Voss. Lat. Q. 83. These names are not given here as found in the manuscript, but 'in einer vom Cod(ex) abweichenden, auf runologischen und sprachwissenschaftlichen Tatsachen fuszenden lat. Umschriftform' (p. 14). Most readers would no doubt prefer to have the manuscript evidence treated as a *Tatsache*, if only to exclude any possibility of a vicious circle. The author would also find us more ready to accept his views if he did not draw arguments from the slightest anatomical details of a carving found with one of the so-called Unterweser or Oldenburg inscriptions, the authenticity of which is more than doubtful. Many hints in Professor Schneider's work may lead to further research, but he cannot be said to have solved the problem of the rune-names.

Ghent.

R. DEROLEZ.

Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries: The Background of the Harvey-Nashe Polemic and Love's Labour's Lost. By Dr. W. SCHRICKX. Antwerpen: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel. 1956. viii + 291 pp. Price B.Fr. 250.—.

One of the chief merits of this study lies in the attempt to re-create certain aspects of the literary atmosphere in which the young Shakespeare composed at least one of his early comedies. The various components

of this atmosphere have already received detailed attention by a series of scholars, but I know of no other sustained effort to gather them into one study and focus them on *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Dr. Schrickx has some important things to say about mythography and the various uses made of it by the writers of the late 80's and early 90's of the sixteenth century. He rightly insists, e.g., on the fact that myths could have a very personal meaning for writers like Gabriel Harvey, Thomas Nashe and Abraham Fraunce, Nashe being frequently alluded to as Cerberus, while Ganymede became a symbol of spiritual aspiration in the neo-platonic sense of the Florentine Academy. The second chapter is devoted to the chaos in the theatrical companies at that period, and Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the later Earl of Derby, appears in a new and significant light when he is sometimes appealed to as Ganymede. That George Chapman, in *The Shadow of Night*, was following, in an obscure fashion, the tradition of neo-platonic thought, has been suspected by other scholars already, but the possibility of his being influenced by the French 'scientific poet' Maurice Scève opens up new vistas and ways of interpretation. The question of Chapman leads to a discussion of the 'School of Night', and again Dr. Schrickx arrives at the conclusion that the Earl of Derby may well have played a central part in this circle.

The most substantial part of his study deals with the Marprelate controversy and the literary quarrel between Nashe and the Harvey brothers, especially Gabriel, two intimately connected events in the literary life of the late 80's. The author is able, by his thorough reading of the literature of the period, to shed new light upon the two protagonists who, he is inclined to think, are portrayed and alluded to in the Latin comedy *Pedantius*, the *Parnassus* plays, Giordano Bruno's *Cena de le ceneri* and John Florio's *Second Fruits*. He is more confident than other scholars who have dealt with the same subjects in drawing inferences from these portraits and allusions to the personalities concerned.

The rather loose sequence of chapters on the literary fashions and events of the period finds its coherence in the last chapter on *Love's Labour's Lost*. This comedy, and possibly an early version of *As You Like It*, appears strangely permeated by the literary spirit of the late 80's and early 90's. Both the historical background — the events in France at that time — and the presence of Armado-Harvey and Moth-Nashe seem to point to a composition in autumn 1592, as H. B. Charlton had suggested as early as 1918. Dr. Schrickx thinks he can discover allusions to the Harvey-Nashe polemic in the play and offers an interesting explanation of the puzzling last line, but the weightiest argument in favour of this thesis seems to me the fact that the rival claims of love and learning, which form the spiritual backbone of the play, were specially discussed, under the influence of the French academies, in the early 90's, while the linguistic experiments in *Love's Labour's Lost* smell strongly of the verbal acrobatics displayed in the writings of both Nashe and Harvey.

The author can be congratulated on this study, which is carefully

documented and yet courageous in its conclusions. Although we do not expect indisputable facts from a book on such difficult and tricky subjects, it seems to me that he has not always escaped the temptation of allusiveness — a quality which, strangely enough, plays such an important part in the writings of the period he has treated. His study is scarcely meant as an introduction to the various subjects it deals with, although it is distinguished by lucidly written surveys of the fields which have been explored by other scholars. For that purpose it is too esoteric and allusive, but the initiated reader will find that it teems with original and interesting suggestions and hypotheses which, it is to be hoped, will be followed up by Dr. Schrickx and other scholars.

Saarbrücken.

ROBERT FRICKER.

The Songs and Sonets of John Donne. An Editio Minor with Introduction and Explanatory Notes by THEODORE REDPATH. London: Methuen, 1956. li + 155 pp. Price 18/—.

This edition is intended for students and for the general reader, in England and abroad. For this reason, Dr Redpath has modernized both spelling and punctuation, and he has given notes on 'every point likely to cause difficulty to a reader of reasonable intelligence' (p. vii). He has not burdened his edition with full textual notes, but he has indicated his departures from Grierson in the Notes, and tried to justify his readings. In the Introduction, he discusses; I. the Status of the *Songs and Sonets* in English Poetry; II. the Place of the *S & S* within Donne's Work; III. Groupings within the *S & S*; IV. Some Leading Features of the *S & S*; V. the *S & S* and the Tradition of the English Love-lyric; and finally, the Text and Canon. He has also added a select bibliography to help his readers to fuller information about Donne.

Dr Redpath was certainly right to modernize the spelling; quaint old forms are apt to be an obstacle to the modern reader's enjoyment of the poems, or conversely, to encourage a taste for quaintness which distorts the reader's view of the poems. Few problems of interpretation were involved here (except perhaps in l. 10/11 of the *Song*, 'Go and catch a falling star': 'If thou be'st borne to strange sights'; could not Donne have meant 'If thou be'st *born* to strange sights'?). Punctuation is a more delicate problem; no wonder Dr Redpath has found it fascinating, though at times almost unendurably teasing (p. ix), but he should be praised for courageously facing the problem and for committing himself to definite interpretations (e.g. *The Legacy*, st. 2). Inevitably, some of his readers will occasionally differ from him; but this would have happened whatever his decision on difficult points (for instance: in the light of his own interpretation of ll. 5-8 of *The Undertaking*, it is not clear why he adds a comma after

'the art', l. 7, unless he considers the article as having semi-demonstrative value. In *The Dream*, l. 27, a comma at the end of the line would necessitate a short pause and might help the reader to see that 'torches which must ready be' is the object of *light*). At times one may prefer Grierson's reading, or wish that the editor had told us why he has chosen another variant (e.g. *Twickenham Garden*, l. 15, 'nor leave this garden' is preferred to Grierson's 'nor yet leave loving' because it seems to fit the sense of the stanza better). On the whole, however, the reasons are given clearly and enable the reader to form an opinion on the point at issue. In some cases the new reading is a definite improvement on Grierson's (e.g. *Love's Usury*, l. 20 and *A Valediction: Of Weeping*, l. 7). Dr Redpath has also dropped the apostrophes used in the MSS as well as in the early editions to indicate that two words should be pronounced with scarcely any interval between them, but he has occasionally inserted a slur to indicate that there should be virtual continuity in pronunciation (p. li). His use of the slur seems, however, to be a little arbitrary (e.g. in *The Sun Rising*, l. 17: 'Whether both the Indias of spice and mine'; l. 21 'She is all States'; in *The Indifferent*, last line: 'You shall be true to them, who are false to you'. Early edd. have: the 'India's, She'is, who'are.); besides, whether the apostrophe was intended by Donne or not, the generalized use of it in the seventeenth century seems to point to a feeling about his rhythms which may be worth recording. In *The Dream*, l. 20, the reading 'profane' of the printed editions, accepted by Grierson, to which Dr Redpath prefers the manuscripts' 'profaneness', seems to point in the same direction; and Dr Redpath remarks: 'The alteration seems to me just the sort of alteration an editor not responsive to the finer points of Donne's rhythms might have made, in order to achieve a line apparently more regular, though actually much weaker' (p. 57). Perhaps Jonson was not the only contemporary of Donne's who felt that he deserved hanging for not keeping of accent, or for departing from syllabic regularity.

An editor who intends to provide notes for a reader 'of reasonable intelligence' can hardly expect to solve the problem to everyone's satisfaction. Dr Redpath eschews pedantry, but almost always gives sufficient information to his readers. Though he occasionally suggests alternative meanings, he cannot be accused of favouring ambiguities for their own sake; yet he sometimes gives the impression of withholding judgment (e.g. *Twickenham Garden*, n. to l. 9: *the serpent*: 'the Great Tempter, mentioned possibly because Donne knows that what he wants is sinful' — certainly, not possibly; note to l. 27 'because her truth kills me': 'alternatively, it may mean that she is herself perversely being faithful with the deliberate purpose of killing Donne' — is not the editor more perverse than the lady?). Dr Redpath probably wishes to stimulate critical reading, but he might have warned his students that two meanings are not necessarily better than one. It is a little surprising also that he should have found it necessary to gloss so many words. Surely, a reader of reasonable intelligence does not need to be told that *but* means *except* (*The Good-*

morrow, l. 5), or that *the North* and *the West* mean coldness and decline (*ibid.*, l. 18). Rather than gloss l. 23 of *The Undertaking*, he could have reminded his readers that *which* can be used with a person as antecedent. Lines 21 and 30 of *The Sun Rising* require no explanation even for a foreign reader; nor does line 5 of *Love's Usury*, or 'get you a place' in *The Canonization*, l. 5. On the other hand, readers to whom 'to transubstantiate' (*Twickenham Garden*, l. 6) is unfamiliar may have to be reminded that the body is the grave of the soul (*The Anniversary*, l. 20); it is surely unnecessary to gloss the whole line as: 'when death comes'. Occasionally one wonders if the note will suffice (e.g. *Mummy*, or *Love's Alchemy*, l. 17: the note 'the short humiliation of a wedding ceremony' may leave the reader just as puzzled as by the line itself), or if it is to the point (e.g. *A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning*, l. 9: does 'moving of the earth' mean 'an earthquake'?) At times, a note on the syntax might have proved helpful. Lines 15-19 of the *Song*, 'Sweetest love...'; have often puzzled students; so has line 25 of *A Fever* (incidentally, Dr Redpath might have quoted this line in his discussion of *Air and Angels*, to show that *it* does not always refer to the last noun before it). The majority of the notes, however, will prove a great help to the readers for whom this edition is intended, for instance the reminder that the simile of the pair of compasses (in *A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning*) was used before Donne; or the note on the pasting of maps on globes (*A Valediction: Of Weeping*). The most teasing cruces are discussed in the notes and in special appendices; it is good for students to be reminded that all the problems are not solved and to present the evidence on both sides rather than impose an interpretation as though there were no difficulty whatsoever.

Dr Redpath only intends to help his readers to disentangle the literal sense of the poems. Yet, since his choice between variants sometimes depends on his own sense of the meaning of the poem as a whole, he might occasionally have added a word about the tone or the effect intended. For instance, in his note to lines 21/22 of *The Anniversary* ('And then we shall be thoroughly blest, / But we no more than all the rest;'), he tells us that Donne is 'either inadvertently misinterpreting the Scholastic view' that all are 'equally content in Heaven, but not equally blest', or 'wresting it in the interest of the poem' (p. 37); but the contrast between everyone's content (or bliss) *in heaven*, and the two lovers' bliss *on earth* is only incidental to the poem; that Donne should add this to the main contrast between all things that 'to their destruction draw' and the love that has no decay, is a characteristic of his to which attention should be drawn. One would also like to know how Dr Redpath reads the last half-line: is the poet confident, or is this statement an anticlimax? — Another example, where a choice of variants is involved, occurs in *The Dream*, l. 29/30: 'thus I / Will dream that hope again, but else would die', where Grierson following the printed editions has: 'then I / Will dream...'; the present editor prefers *thus* (as in most MSS) because 'it seems to have

somewhat more finality' (p. 57); tastes differ, and some readers may feel that since the poet stops arguing and settles down to his dream again, the quieter *then* is preferable.

In the Introduction, Dr Redpath discusses most of the critical problems which the *Songs and Sonets* are likely to raise. He is well-informed and his critical sense can be trusted. His readers will particularly enjoy what he has to say of the imagery, diction, tone and metre of the *S & S*, and of their relation to other love-lyrics. Perhaps the least satisfying part of the Introduction is his attempt to distinguish groups within the *S & S*. To divide them into poems 'in which the predominating attitude is negative and those in which it is positive', does not help much, and sometimes the poems in the sub-groups differ too much in tone and purpose to be classed together: for instance, if *The Flea* is to be called a courting poem, we should be warned that Dr Redpath is using the term in a Pickwickian sense. The purpose of this grouping, however, is to show the variety of Donne's 'subjects', and Dr Redpath does suggest, both here and in his chapter on some features of the *S & S*, that the range of feelings expressed is very wide indeed.

This edition is sure to be welcomed by all students; it should be particularly helpful to students abroad.

Liège.

IRÈNE SIMON.

Die typischen Erzählsituationen im Roman. Dargestellt an *Tom Jones, Moby Dick, The Ambassadors, Ulysses*, u.a. Von Dr. FRANZ STANZEL. Wien-Stuttgart: Wilhelm Braumüller. (Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie, lxiii.) 1955. 176 pp. Price Du. Fl. 19.80.

Mediate presentation, says Dr Stanzel, is the main characteristic of the novel; the central problem in discussing narrative techniques is therefore the point of view chosen by the novelist. Dr Stanzel distinguishes three types of 'Erzählsituationen' or procedures in presenting the materials, and he discusses them both in the abstract and with reference to particular novels. This examination of narrative techniques is intended to help us to grasp the structure and meaning of the novels, and to contribute to the theory of the novel. In his introduction and first chapter, the author examines the theories of the epic and the novel propounded by such critics as Petersen, Petsch, Otto Ludwig, Günther Müller, Koskimies, Kayser etc. . . ., and his last chapter is a 'Versuch einer Typologie des Romans'.

Dr Stanzel's three types are: 'der auktoriale Roman', in which an omniscient author figures as narrator and serves as medium between the reader and the story; 'der ich-Roman', in which the medium is a character inside the novel; and 'der personale Roman' (sometimes also called 'der

neutrale Roman'), in which the reader is invited to look directly at the scene. Types 1 and 2 belong to Ludwig's 'berichtende Erzählung', type 3, to his 'szenische Darstellung'. Readers familiar with Henry James will remember his efforts to 'dramatize', his dissatisfaction with the omniscient author and his careful examination of the merits of scenic presentation. Dr Stanzel's distinctions are therefore not quite new; long before him Percy Lubbock had stressed the importance of the 'centre of vision', and compared the uses of scenic and pictorial methods in narrative. In spite of this, Dr Stanzel still has something to offer in his discussion of the several 'Erzählsituationen', but it is unfortunate that he should have chosen such names for them: 'der auktoriale Roman' is not a happy term, while the labels 'ich-Roman' and 'personaler Roman' are somewhat misleading. He is apt also to underestimate the contribution of British and American critics in the field, probably because these writers have eschewed the slightly pedantic jargon which Dr Stanzel seems to favour. E. M. Forster he does not find very helpful, though he must recognise the cogency of several remarks in *Aspects of the Novel*; but of course Forster does not talk the kind of language that makes for a 'Theorie des Romans' or a 'Typologie des Romans'. Even the late Joseph Warren Beach, whose *Twentieth-Century Novel* discusses many problems that Dr Stanzel examines afresh, is treated a little cavalierly: 'Unbeirrt durch gattungstheoretische Überlegungen stösst auch Joseph Warren Beach auf den scheinbaren Widerspruch...' (p. 33). One suspects that this is a matter of temperament, and that Dr Stanzel is naturally more interested in systems than in critical insights. It is his right, of course, to be concerned with the 'Ontologie des literarischen Werkes' (cf. his high regard for R. Ingarden: *Das literarische Kunstwerk: Eine Untersuchung aus dem Grenzgebiet der Ontologie, Logik und Literaturwissenschaft*); it is also his readers' right to prefer a different approach to problems of criticism. Dr Stanzel's theoretical discussions in his first two chapters suggest at times that he has more *esprit de géométrie* than *esprit de finesse*; but his sensitive discussion of the end of *The Portrait of a Lady* (pp. 9-12) corrects that impression: the analysis does bring out an interesting point of structure and meaning. His last chapter, however, again bears witness to his taste for systems. Starting from Goethe's attempt to order the various literary genres and to distribute them in a circle in between the three points of epic, lyric and drama, Dr Stanzel goes on to propose his own diagram of the three 'Erzählsituationen'. He then discovers a correspondence between his three types and Goethe's three main genres. It is doubtful, however, whether this kind of triangular or circular arrangement can contribute to a better understanding of novels, or, for that matter, of the novel. And it is a little surprising that Dr Stanzel, who is so fond of discriminations, should be content with such a neat diagram.

It would be a pity, however, if readers were put off by the bias of the author, for the chapters dealing with each of the 'Erzählsituationen' are illustrated by discussions of novels, some of which contain interesting

remarks. His chapter on 'Der auktoriale Roman' is based mainly on *Tom Jones*; many of the comments are to the point, and Dr Stanzel shows to what use Fielding puts his method. The chapter is, however, less illuminating than the author's taste for discrimination might have led us to expect: he does not attempt to show what effect is produced by Fielding's procedure; nor does he seem to be aware of the peculiar pleasure which the author's intrusion into the novel provides. The various uses are recorded, but we hardly get the sense of Fielding's subtlety in his attitude to his readers.

The discussion of the 'ich-Roman' is illustrated by an analysis of *Moby Dick*, but Dr Stanzel also has interesting comments on other novels, such as *Moll Flanders*, *Henry Esmond*, *All the King's Men*, *Tristram Shandy*, *The Sound and the Fury*. He reminds us that the two procedures can be used side by side, and his most illuminating remarks refer to the transitions from one to the other, and to the distinction in the 'ich-Roman' between the 'erlebender Ich' and the 'erzählender Ich'. The analysis of the structure of *Moby Dick* shows Dr Stanzel at his best, for his discriminations do contribute to a better understanding of the intentions of the novelist. Not all the structural problems are tackled, but the points discussed are central to the structure and meaning of the novel. One may wonder, however, whether Dr Stanzel was right to choose *Moby Dick* to illustrate this type of novel; both the structure and the significance are so peculiar that conclusions drawn from this analysis may seem to be hardly applicable to any other novel: Melville's ambiguities are properly his own, and the narrative methods he adopts are inseparable from them. Yet Dr Stanzel's analysis throws considerable light on a most complex work.

The chapter on the 'personaler Roman' has less to contribute to our understanding of *The Ambassadors*, the novel chosen to illustrate this type of 'Erzählsituation'; but Dr Stanzel has cogent remarks on James's shift from scenic presentation to commentary, and on the stylisation of Strether's consciousness. In the discussion of *Ulysses* he shows that Joyce has rejected few of the narrative conventions, except the main one, *viz.* that the novelist should keep to one 'centre of vision'. His suggestion that the opening pages of the chapter in the Ormond Hotel are a kind of aubade deserves consideration, as does his opinion, derived from C. G. Jung, that the novel presents the stream of consciousness of one person, Ulysses, who stands for the creative consciousness of the author. These and similar remarks make it worth while to peruse the analysis of Joyce's various techniques.

The main interest of this study thus lies in the comments on the novels: there one can see that the analysis brings to light aspects of the method which bear directly on the structure, and consequently, on the meaning of the works discussed.

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¹ See E. S., Oct. 1958.

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Lausanne 1959

The contributors to the present number of *English Studies*, professors of English in Swiss universities and younger Swiss scholars, bid a hearty welcome to their colleagues from other countries who are meeting at Lausanne for the Fourth Triennial Conference of the International Association of University Professors of English.

With this welcome the Editors of the Journal are glad to associate themselves. It has been their privilege to be closely connected with the foundation of the Association. In 1948, together with prominent contributors in France, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia and the USA, they addressed a letter to the Professors of English in British Universities, requesting them to convene a Congress of English Studies in an English University town, to be followed by similar meetings held alternately in Britain and on the Continent. Our British colleagues responded to the appeal and in 1950 the first Conference was held at Oxford. The next year the International Association was founded and affiliated to the International Federation for Modern Languages and Literatures under the auspices of UNESCO. Further Conferences have been held at Paris in 1953 and at Cambridge in 1956.

English Studies was founded in 1919. This year it celebrates its Fortieth Anniversary by devoting one entire number to contributions from each of the six countries represented on the Board of Editors. The (double) Swiss Number has been planned to appear on the eve of the Lausanne Conference. Editors and contributors, together with the Organizing Committee, present it to the members of the Conference, in the hope that it may give them some idea of the position of English studies in Switzerland.

Thomas Speght as a Lexicographer and Annotator of Chaucer's Works

The publication of Thomas Speght's edition of Chaucer's works in 1598 was a notable event, because it recognised what had slowly been growing clear for some fifty years, viz. that the language of the great mediaeval poet had begun to present serious difficulties to the reader. Hence a glossary and annotations had become desirable. These were provided by Speght.

Three issues of the 1598 edition are recorded,¹ and in 1602 a second edition appeared.² The glossary of the 1598 edition is headed 'The old and obscure words of Chaucer, explained' and the running title of the pages that follow, reads: 'The hard words of Chaucer, explained'. After the glossary come two lists. The first contains 'The French in Chaucer, translated'; the second, 'Most of the Authours cited by G. Chaucer in his workes, by name declared'. The edition ends with 'Corrections of some faults, and Annotations vpon some places'.

In 1602 we note an attempt at various improvements. One of these is indicated by the superscription of the glossary:

The old and obscure words in Chaucer explained, whereof either by nature, or deriuation,

Some are Arabicke,	}	Noted with	}	a.	}	Some Dialects within this our Country of Brittain, and many of them deriued from the Saxon tongue,	}	Noted with <i>b</i> .
Some Greeke,				g.				
Some Latine,				l.				
Some Italian,				i.				
Some French,				f.				
Some Dutch,				d.				

The rest are explained by way of Analogie

Annotations also vpon some words and places, with direction to the Folio and Page.³

The running title of the 1602 edition agrees with that in the edition of 1598. An innovation is made, however, by the introduction of a list embodying: 'So much of the Latine in Chaucer translated, as is not by himselve Englished'. But Speght does not confine himself too strictly to the interpretation of phrases for the benefit of the reader. On occasion he goes so far as to give a synopsis of the twelve books of Statius' *Thebais*.

The list of French words is slightly enlarged, but much more important are the amplifications in the names of authors quoted by Chaucer. These

¹ *Short Title Catalogue*, Nos. 5077, 5078, 5079.

² *Ibid.*, No. 5080.

³ This heading is entered by hand in the British Museum copy (Press Mark 644.m.2) of *The workes of Geffray Chaucer . . .* Thomas Petit, London [1545?]. The British Museum Catalogue speaks of MS. notes in the above-mentioned copy. If we examine them, we find that the writer was familiar with the 1602 edition of Speght.

include 'Aristotle, a famous Philosopher, scholler to Plato, and master to King Alexander. He was 345 years before Christ'; 'Pithagoras, an excellent Philosopher of Samos, at whose wisdom Plato did wonder. He was before the incarnation 522 yeares'⁴ and 'Æsopus, a Philosopher born in Phrygia in the daies of Cræsus King of Lydia, to whom he dedicated the Fables which he wrote'. Other notes referring to ancient writers are: 'Homerus, the cheefest of all Poets, wrote in the Greeke tongue two workes, the one called his *Ilias*, and the other his *Odyssea*'; 'Vergilius, the most famous Poet of Mantua, whose life Petrus Crinitus hath set downe at large in Lib. 3. *de Poetis Latinis*';⁵ 'Corinna, a Thebane woman, and a Lyrike Poet: she wrote 50 bookes and Epigrams, as Suidas and Pausanias report'; 'Tullius, a Senator of Rome, father of eloquence, and pure fountaine of the Latine tongue. He flourished about 40 yeares before Christs incarnation'; 'Titus Livius, the most excellent writer of the Romanes hystorie'; 'Ovidius, a famous Latine Poet and Orator, aduanced to bee Senatour of Rome: Hee liued when Christ was conuersant on earth', and 'Valerius Maximus wrote to Tiberius Cæsar a booke of the memorable deeds and sayings of worthie men'. There is a short account of Josephus, who 'wrote in Greek the battaile and destruction of the Iews. He was after the incarnation 76 yeares' and of 'Iustinian, an Emperour of Rome, who caused to be written the bookes of the lawes, called the Digests, Institutions, and the Code, containing the decrees of the Emperours. He was after the incarnation 570 yeares'. Among the theologians reference is made to 'Ambrose, the worthy Bishop of Millaine, in the yeare of our Lord, 373', and to 'Gregorius Magnus' who 'did write much in Diuinitie, *claruit*, An. 369'.

The edition of 1602 provides more information about certain mediaeval writers. Thus Speght records⁶ that 'Alanus among other things wrote a book *De Planctu Naturæ*', and he expands the note of 1598:

Galfride Vinesaufe was a Norman by his parents, but borne in England: hee did write a Complaint for the death of Richard the first, who was slain with an arow as he was in hunting.

to read as follows:

Galfride Vinesaufe was a Norman by his parents, but born in England: he did write in his book entituled *de artificio loquēdi*, by way of example of mourning, vnder the Rethorical figure of Apostrophe, a complaint for the death of Richard the first, who was slaine with an arrow at the siege of the castle of Chalne in Normandie, and liued in the time of King John, An. Dom. 1210.

⁴ 1598 only 'Pithagoras, a Philosopher of Samos'.

⁵ There are numerous editions of *De honesta disciplina*. lib. XXV. *De poetis latinis*, lib. V, at Paris and Lyons in the sixteenth century, and there is a Basle edition in 1532, printed by Henricus Petrus. In addition, *De poetis latinis* appeared at Florence in 1504.

⁶ Under 'antichlaudianus' he speaks of it as 'a certain book written by one Alanus de Insulis'. In the annotations of 1598 this appeared with a reference to 'Gesner'. This reference enables us to conclude that Speght's information was derived from the Swiss scholar and scientist, Conrad Gesner, whose *Bibliotheca universalis*, Zurich, 1545, mentions the 'de planctu naturæ' and 'Antichlaudianus'.

This reference to Geoffrey de Vinsauf and his *Art of Poetry* is valuable. On the other hand, no Welshman, and indeed no Arthurian scholar, would gladly accept the account of Geoffrey of Monmouth:

Galfridus Monumethensis, an Englishman borne, translated into our tongue the hystorie of England, *floruit*, 1152.⁷

Speght also shows a heightened interest in the great writers of Italy. The edition of 1598 had mentioned '*Dantes Aligerus*, an Italian, and borne in Florence, liued 1341' and '*Franciscus Petrarcha*, an Italian borne, did write when Chaucer was a young man. *floruit* 1374'. But it said nothing of Boccaccio, resting content with an allusion to '*Lollius*, an Italian Historiographer, borne in the citie of Vrbine,' the mysterious authority whom Chaucer had cited. The edition of 1602, however, supplies the name of the third illustrious Italian: '*Bocatius* borne at Florence in Italie, set out many things in his owne tongue, *claruit*, 1375'. The explanation for this addition is not to be sought in Chaucer's text, since, as is well known, he does not touch on Boccaccio by name. More probably it is to be found in the preliminary chapter in the edition of 1598 headed 'Arguments to every Tale and Booke', where an allusion is made to Boccaccio in connexion with 'Denyse'⁸ Simkin, the Millar of Trompington'.⁹ In the edition of 1602 the Argument¹⁰ is prefixed to the 'Reeve's Tale', which is said to be 'taken out of Bocchace'¹¹ in his Nouels'. From this statement, which is erroneous, since the 'Reeve's Tale' is but an analogue of a similar tale in the *Decameron*,¹² Boccaccio passed into the list of authors in 1602, thus providing an illustration of his widespread popularity.

Finally, the list includes a number of writers whom, for want of a better description, one may well call scientists: '*Alcabutius*, a writer in Astronomie: as of the conjunction of the Planets, &c.' and '*Albumasar*, alias *Iaphar*, a great Astrologian,' wrote of sundry things in that art'. It adds further that 'Senior Zadith did write a book of Alchymie'.¹³

In considering the edition of 1602, it is impossible to overlook the advice given to Speght by Francis Thynne after that of 1598 had been printed. He himself explains in his address 'To the Readers':

⁷ In part this may have been suggested by Chaucer's reference to 'Englyssh Gaufride' in *The House of Fame*, l. 1470.

⁸ A corruption of the adjective 'Deynous', i.e. 'haughty, disdainful'.

⁹ Sig. c. iiii.

¹⁰ Here also 'Denyse'.

¹¹ In 1598 'Bochace'.

¹² The nearest analogue is a French fabliau, of which two versions are given by W. M. Hart in *The Reeves Tale*, with an introduction (pp. 124-5) in *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and G. Dempster, Chicago, 1941. See also G. Dempster, 'On the Source of the Reeves Tale', *J.E.G.P.*, XXIX, 1930, pp. 473-88.

¹³ A reference is given to Gesner (*vide ante*). This reference appears with fuller details in the edition of 1598; among the annotations there is a correction of an error on Fol. 61, p. 1. This says: 'Senior Zadith Hamuelis filius de Chymia librum scripsit'.

I vnderstood, that M. Francis Thynn had a purpose, as indeed he hath when time shall serue, to set out Chaucer with a Coment in our tongue, as the Italians haue Petrarke and others in their language. Whereupon I purposed not to meddle any further in the work ... Yet notwithstanding, Chaucer now being printed againe, I was willing not only to helpe some imperfections, but also to adde some things: whereunto he did not only perswade me, but most kindly lent me his helpe and direction.

It would seem from the context of this acknowledgement that if the notes were 'drawne into better order', it was thanks to Speght's rival. Certainly, there is more system in the 1602 edition. In that of 1598 the glossing of individual words is mingled with annotations and corrections of errata, whereas in the second edition the interpretations and annotations are combined in an orderly fashion, the latter being generally indicated by brackets.

The expansion of the catalogue of authors was doubtless due in no small measure to Thynne, as we can tell from his *Animaduersions*.¹⁴ He blamed Speght, because in 1598 he had omitted 'manye auctors vouched by chawcer', and somewhat acidly remarked that he rightly entitled his list 'Most of the Authours ...'.¹⁵ Speght took this rebuke to heart and in 1602 proceeded to remedy the defect, so that he could write, not 'Most of the Authours ...', but 'The Authors cited by G. Chaucer in his workes, by name declared'.

In the glossary of 1602 Thynne is mentioned by name on one occasion. It is in connexion with the word 'Harrolds'. Thynne had given strong reasons for the substitution of 'Harlots',¹⁶ and after accepting the emendation Speght adds: 'But more hereof when time shall serue in M. F. Thin's comment'. The influence of Thynne is readily discernible in the annotations, even when he is not quoted as Speght's authority. Thus in speaking of the word 'Eros' Speght says:

Whereas some copies haue Hereos, some Hernes, and some such like counterfait word, whereof can be giuen no reason; I haue set downe Eros, s. Cupid: as most agreing in my opinion with the matter ...

He then adduces Lucian in support of his contention:

... So that the louers of Eros, that is, Cupids seruauents, doe cary themselues comely in all their passions, & their maladies are such as shew no open distemperature of body or minde: which mediocritie this Arcite was farre from keeping.

Finally, he says:

wheras some will haue vs read Heroes, i. noble men; I cannot dislike their opinion, for it may fitly stande with the sense of the place.

The proposal to adopt 'Heroes' came from Thynne,¹⁷ and we have here

¹⁴ Ed. G. H. Kingsley; revis'd edition by F. J. Furnivall, London, 1875, E.E.T.S., O.S., No. 9.

¹⁵ P. 71.

¹⁶ Pp. 71-3.

¹⁷ Pp. 44-5.

an early discussion of a much debated word in the 'Knight's Tale' (l. 1374).¹⁸

Another example of Thynne's guidance is to be seen in Speght's note on Kenelme:

This *Kenelmus* king of the Mercians was innocently slaine by his sister *Quendrida*, wherby he obtained his name of a Martyr. In the same place, for *Mereturike* we now read *Mercenrike*, which is the kingdom of Mercia, as the Etymologie of the word doth teach. For Rik in the Saxon tongue signifieth a kingdome, and Mercen the marches or bounds of a countrey. So that Mercenrike is *regnum Mercia*, whereof both Kenulph and Kenelme were kings.

In this passage two notes by Thynne are linked together.¹⁹ Speght replaces 'Quenda' by 'Quendrida', though he disregards Thynne's attempt to analyse it as 'Quene Drida'; he accepts the correction of the name for Mercia and uses in a condensed form Thynne's etymological explanation.

Much learning is again shown in connexion with 'Orfrayes'. In 1598 Speght had dismissed the word briefly as 'goldsmiths worke.'; in 1602, however, he writes:

Aurifrisium frised cloth of gold, made & vsed in England both before & since the Conquest, worne both by the Cleargie, and the Kings themselues, as may appeare out of *Mathew Paris*, where he speaketh of the Ornaments sent by the abbots of England to the Pope: And also by a Record in the Tower, where the King commandeth the Templars to deliuer such Jewels, garments, and ornaments as they had of the kings in keeping. Among the which he nameth *Dalmaticum velatum de Orefreis*: that is, a Damaske garment garded with Orfrayes.

The source of this information is Thynne.²⁰ Similarly, it is he who leads Speght to amplify his note on the stork²¹ in 1598 by means of a reference to Aristotle.²² Of greater interest than this ornithology is Speght's note on 'Valerie and Theophrast'.²³ Even in the original form of 1598 there was a personal quality:

This Valerie wrote a booke *De non ducenda uxore*, with a Paraphrase vpon it, which I haue seene in the studie of Master Allen²⁴ of Oxford, a man of as rare learning as he is stored with rare bookes ...

and after alluding to various possible attributions of the names 'Valerie' and 'Theophrast', Speght exclaims: 'Let the Reader iudge'. In 1602 he has taken heed of a remark about John of Salisbury's *Policraticon* by Thynne.²⁵ He expands what Thynne says of Book 8, Ch. 11 and writes:

¹⁸ Cf. F. N. Robinson's note in his edition of Chaucer.

¹⁹ Pp. 59, 62-3.

²⁰ Pp. 33-5.

²¹ 'The assemblie of Foules', l. 361.

²² Thynne, pp. 67-8.

²³ Cf. 'The Wife of Bath's Prologue', l. 671.

²⁴ Perhaps Thomas Allen (1542-1632). Cf. *D.N.B.*, I, pp. 312-3. Sir Francis Beaumont in his address to Speght, written in 1597 and printed in Speght's editions of 1598 and 1602, speaks of 'that worthy learned man your good friend in Oxford, who with many others of like excellent iudgement haue euer had *Chaucer* in most high reputation'.

²⁵ P. 55.

out of which chapter, *Chaucer* hath taken much for this argument, as may be seen in the *Merchants Tale*: but more in the wife of Bathes Prologue, where betweene 30 and 40 verses are translated from thence.

The note ends with a recommendation that the *Policraticon* should be translated in full, and here Speght is not speaking with the voice of Thynne, but as a warm admirer of the great mediaeval writer:

And if the whole worke at this day were by some sufficient scholler translated, it would deserue as much commendation as many bookes, which learned men, not without great commendation, haue heretofore translated.

Elsewhere Speght shows a certain independence. Thus in 1598 he glosses 'haketon' as 'a iacket without sleeues' and in 1602 he retains this, ignoring Thynne's contention that the word means 'a sleveles lackett of plate for the warre, couered with anye other stuffe ...'.²⁶ So too he leaves unaltered the 1598 definition of 'sendall' as 'a thinne stuffe like cipresse', in spite of Thynne's argument that 'yt was a thynne stuffe lyke sarcenette, and of a rawe kynde of sylke or sarcenett, but coarser and narrower, then the Sarcenett nowe ys, as my selfe canne remember.'²⁷ Again he rejects Thynne's criticism of 'hipe' as the red berry on the briar. Thynne's objection that the bramble is likewise known as a briar and that 'the blackeberye ys also redde for a tyme' perhaps seemed too finicky. In any case in 1602 as in 1598 Speght reads 'hip, ... the red berry on the brier'.²⁸

However, he is more often ready to take advice. Thus in 1598 he defines 'nowell' as 'christmasse'. Thynne, on the other hand, asserted that it meant Advent, together with Christmas and New Year, and that 'the true etymologie ... ys not Christmesse, or the twelue dayes, but yt is "godd with vs," or "oure Godde," expressing to vs the comynge of Christe in the fleshe'; this word, of Hebrew origin according to Thynne, therefore implies 'sometyme xx, but for the most parte thirtey dayes, before Christmesse, aswell as the Christmesse yt selfe'.²⁹ The effect of all this is seen in 1602: 'nowell, signifieth *Deus nobiscū*: and is taken for Christmas, & xx. or xxx. daies next before', but quite rightly Speght does not accept the Hebrew derivation. The influence of Thynne can again be traced in the modification of the definition of 'bigin, bigot' as 'superstitious hypocrite'. To this in 1602 is added 'or hypocriticall woman'.³⁰ In two cases Speght's gloss in 1598 had been somewhat vague: 'heroner, a certaine kinde of hawke' and 'porpheri, marble'. The edition of 1602 brings more precise statements: 'heroner, a speciall long winged hawke' and 'porpheri ... a marble mingled with red'. Thynne's

²⁶ P. 31.

²⁷ P. 41.

²⁸ P. 40.

²⁹ P. 40.

³⁰ Cf. Thynne, p. 37.

comments³¹ contributed a good deal here, especially his description of porphyry as 'a stone of reddishe purple coolor, distincte or enter laced with white veynes, as you may see in the great pillers entringe into the royall exchange or burse in Cornehill.'

Discrepancies between the 1598 and 1602 editions such as those just mentioned are repeatedly found to be corrections inspired by Thynne. For example,³²

A Vernacle³³ had he sowed vpon his cappe) A brooch or figure wherein was set the instruments wherewith Christ was crucified, and withall a napkin, wherein was the print of his face

is replaced by

A cloth or napkin, wherin was the figure of Christs face.

Similarly, 'trepeget, a Ram to batter wals' becomes 'an instrument to cast stones' because of the convincing arguments of Thynne,³⁴ and 'autentike, of antiquitie' is changed into 'autentike, of awthoritie'. Behind this last definition lies a severe rebuke:

howe you may seme to force and racke the worde to Chaucers meaninge, I knowe not; but sure I ame, the proper signyficacione of 'autenticke' is, 'a thinge of auctoryte or credit allowed by menne of auctoryte, or the originall or fyrste archetypum of any thinge; which I muse that you did not remember.'³⁵

Again, instead of 'owndy and crispe, slied and curled' 1602 has 'owndy wauing', the latter being based on the interpretation of 'oundye' as 'wavinge or movinge, as the water dothe', which Thynne illustrates from the art of heraldry.³⁶ Thynne once more uses his knowledge of heraldry to interpret 'wyuere', which had baffled Speght in 1598. With an air of condescension he remarks:

'Wiuer,' you expounde not wherefor I will tell you, a Wyuer is a kynde of serpent of good Bulke, not vnyke to a dragon, of whose kinde he is, a thinge well knowen vnto the Heroldes, vsinge the same for armes, and crestes, & supporters, of manye gentle and noble menne.'³⁷

Duly enlightened by this note, Speght in 1602 is able to read: 'wyuer, a kind of serpent much like to a dragon'.

Another sphere in which Thynne is well equipped is that of alchemy. Finding that Speght in 1598 after the word 'citrination' merely leaves a blank, he supplies a lengthy note,³⁸ which inspires the gloss of 1602: 'perfect digestion, or the colour proouing the Philosophers stone'. The

³¹ Pp. 39, 41.

³² Pp. 42-3.

³³ See the description of the Pardoner, General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, l. 685.

³⁴ P. 41.

³⁵ Thynne, p. 42.

³⁶ Pp. 35-6.

³⁷ Pp. 41-2.

³⁸ P. 38.

gloss of 'fermentation' in 1598 as 'dawbing' is obviously unsatisfactory, and it is Thynne's exposition of the true meaning³⁹ that suggests the 1602 reading: '... giuing life to the Philosophers stone'. Coming across the word 'Resagor' in the 1598 edition, Thynne declares:

This worde sholde rather be 'resalgar:' wherefore I will shewe you what Resalgar ys in that abstruse scyence whiche Chaucer knewe full well, althoughe he enveye againste the sophisticall abuse thereof in the chanons yeomans tale. This Resalgar is that whiche by some is called 'Ratesbane', a kynde of poysons named 'Arsenicke', whiche the Chemicall philosophers call their venome or poysons.⁴⁰

In 1602 Speght agrees to the meaning 'rats bane', but he does not adopt 'Resalgar'. In his comment on the edition of 1598 Thynne remarks to Speght: 'You expounde not 'Resagor,' beinge a terme of Alchymye; as you leave manye of them vntouched'.⁴¹ Possibly it was because of this thrust that in 1602 chemical terms such as 'ceruse',⁴² 'litarge' and 'Mercury crude' are introduced, together with an account of their manufacture or treatment.

However, quite apart from the stimulus afforded by Thynne's *Animaduersiones*, there is much that is of interest in Speght's glossary and annotations. Thus in 1602, touching on the Physician, as he appears in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Speght explains that a physician

ought to be skilfull in Astronomie, and Magicke naturall. For if by Astronomie he be not able to judge in what state the Heauens stood, and what their Aspects were, when his patient sickened: and by Magicke naturall to calculate his natiuity, thereby to know which of the heauenly bodies ruled most in his birth, hee shall hardly, or but by chaunce, conjecture to what end his sicknesse will sort.

In connexion with the word 'Magicke' Speght returns to the physician both in 1598 and 1602 and expatiates on the making of

Sigils or Characters stamped in mettall in their due times, fitted to that signe that gouerned that part of the bodie, wherein the maladie was: as the stampe of Aries for the disease in the head, & of Leo for the reines, &c. Hereof he [i.e. Chaucer] speaketh in the third booke of Fame.⁴³

Again in 1598 and 1602 the reference to the honour bestowed on the Knight in Prussia elicits a lengthy commentary:⁴⁴

This Knight beeing often among the Knights of the Dutch order, called *Ordo Teutonicus*, in Prussia, was for his worthinesse placed by them at the table, before any of what nation soeuer. If any desire to know the profession of these Knights called Teutonicis, it was thus: They hauing their dwelling at Ierusalem, were bound to entertain Pilgrims, and at occasions to serue in warre against the Saracenes. They were apparrailed in white, and vpon their vppermost garment did weare a blacke crosse. And for that this

³⁹ Pp. 32-3.

⁴⁰ P. 36.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² 1598 has only 'white ledde'.

⁴³ Cf. *The House of Fame*, III, ll. 1265-70.

⁴⁴ G.P., ll. 52-3.

order was first begun by a certaine rich Almaigne, none were receiued into the same, saue onely Gentlemen of the Dutch nation. After Ierusalem was last taken by the Saracenes, Anno 1184, these Knights retired to Tolemaida: and that being taken, into Germanie their owne countrey. And when as there also the people of Prussia vsed incursions vpon their confines, they went vnto *Fredericke* the second, then Emperour, Anno 1220, who graunted them leaue to make warres vpon them, and to turne the spoile to the maintenance of their Order. After this conquest of Prussia, these Knights grew rich, and builded there many temples, and places of residence for Bishops, who also were enjoyned to weare the habite of the Order. Chaucer will haue his Knight of such fame, that hee was both knowne and honoured of this Order.

The allusion to palmers at the beginning of the General Prologue led Speght in 1598 and 1602 to attempt a differentiation between a pilgrim and a palmer:

The Pilgrime had some dwelling place, the Palmer had none: the Pilgrime trauailed to some certain place, the Palmer to all and not to any one: the Pilgrime might goe at his owne charge, the Palmer must professe wilfull pouertie: the Pilgrime might giue ouer his profession, the Palmer must be constant vntill he had obtayned the Palme; that is, victory ouer his ghostly enemies, and life by death.

In his symbolical interpretation of the palm-branch or palm-leaf Speght departs from the customary explanation that it was a sign that the wanderer had visited the Holy Land.⁴⁵

He is not quite accurate either in his discussion of the word 'Peruise' in connexion with Chaucer's description of the Sergeant of the Law.⁴⁶ He says:

A barre: & here it is vnderstood of the conference called the *Peruis* amongst the young Counsellors, Pleadars, Attorneis, or Students of the law, such as at this day might resemble the course in the houses of Court or Chauncery called mootes, and boltes: wherein the forme of pleading & arguing a case is exercised: For so doth *Fortescue* in his 51. chapter of his booke, commending those lawes, prooue, when he saith: that after the Iudges were 'risen at xj. of the clock from hearing of causes at Westminster, *Placitantes tunc se diuertunt ad peruism, & alibi consulentes cum seruientibus ad legem & alijs conciliarijs suis.*

When dealing with 'Tabard', on the other hand, Speght is on safer ground. He defines it as 'A Iaquet, or sleuelesse coate, worne in times past by Noblemen in the warres,⁴⁷ but now onely by Heraults, and is called theyre coate of Armes in seruise'. Passing on to the Tabard Inn, he gives some information about its state in his own time:

It is the signe of an Inne in Southwarke by London, within the which was the lodging of the Abbot of Hyde by Winchester. This was the Hostelry where *Chaucer* and the other Pilgrims mett together, and with *Henry Baily* their hoste, accorded about the manner of their journey to Canterbury. And whereas through time it hath bin much decaied, it is now by Master *I. Preston*, with the abbots house thereto adioyned, newly repaired, and with conuenient roomes much encreased, for the receipt of many guests.

⁴⁵ Vide *O.E.D.* under 'Palmer'.

⁴⁶ *G.P.*, I, 310.

⁴⁷ According to the *O.E.D.*, it was worn by the lower classes, monks and foot-soldiers and had no sleeves, whereas the short surcoat worn by a knight over his armour had short sleeves.

Another note with a strong local association was inspired by the ballad which praises Rosamond: ⁴⁸

This *Rosamond* the faire daughter of *Walter Lord Clifford*, was forced to bee concubine vnto *Henry* the second, who builded for her at Woodstock an house with a Labyrinth vnder the ground, much whereof at this day is to be seene: as also a goodly Bath or Well, called to this day *Rosamonds well*. In the end she was poysoned by Queen *Elienor*, some write; and being dead, was buried at Godstow in an house of Nonnes besides Oxford. Not long since her graue was digged, w[h]ere some of her bones were found, and her teeth so white (as the dwellers there report) that the beholders did much wonder at them.

Speght loved to combine the concrete with the romantic, as may be seen again in his comment on the allusion to Sir Gawain in the 'Squire's Tale' (I. 95): ⁴⁹

This Gawyn was sisters sonne to Arthur the great king of the Brittaines, a most famous man in warre, and in all maner of ciuilitie: As in the Actes of the Brittaines we may read. In the yeare 1082. in a prouince of Wales called Rose, was his sepulchre found, and his body affirmed by many, to haue ben of the length of fourtene fot.⁵⁰

It is a matter for regret that a writer with such a bent and such knowledge of the recondite should have failed to record all that he knew about Wade. In his comment on 'The Merchant's Tale' (E1424) all that he has to say both in 1598 and 1602 amounts to no more than a hint at the possibilities that the theme might have disclosed:

Concerning *Wade* and his bote called Guingelot, as also his straunge exploits in the same, because the matter is long and fabulous, I passe it ouer.⁵¹

Even in dealing with a mathematical term like 'Dulcarnon' in *Troilus and Criseyde* (III, I. 931) Speght contrives to capture the attention of the general reader: ⁵²

⁴⁸ See the editions of 1598 and 1602. It is, of course, the work of Lydgate, not of Chaucer, and now goes by the name: 'To my Soverain Lady' (cf. Skeat's ed. of Chaucer, *Chaucerian and other pieces*, xlvii and 281-4, I. 77).

⁴⁹ The note appears in the editions of 1598 and 1602.

⁵⁰ In part at any rate this note seems to have been inspired by H. Lhoyd, *The historie of Cambria, now called Wales ... translated into English by H. Lhoyd Gentleman ... Corrected, augmented and continued ... by David Powel*, London, 1584. Powel's edition does not give the date 1082, but his account, coming between others dated 1079 and 1087, says: 'About this time, or not long after, the sepulchre of Walwey, king Arthurs sisters sonne, was found vpon the sea shore in the countrie of Ros: the bodie by estimation, vpon viewing of the bones, was thought to be xiiij. foote in length.' Powel in a marginal note refers to Matthew Paris. However, the passage in his *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, I, p. 33, does not attempt to date the discovery of Gawain's body. It says vaguely: 'Hoc etiam tempore corpus Walwani ... in provincia Walliarum in sepulchro inventum est ... Erat autem sepulchrum ejus longitudinem habens xiiii pedum.' The allusion to 'Ros' in Powel seems to connect him with Speght.

⁵¹ This 'has often been called the most exasperating note ever written on Chaucer'. Cf. F. N. Robinson's edition of Chaucer, p. 818.

⁵² Both in 1598 and 1602. On 'Dulcarnon' cf. R. K. Root's edition of *Troilus and Criseyde*, Princeton, 1926, pp. 481-2.

Dulcarnon is a proportion in *Euclide*, lib. 1. *Theorem*. 33. propos. 47. which was found out by Pythagoras after an whole yeeres study, & much beating of his brayne: In thankfulness whereof, he sacrificed an Oxe to the gods; which sacrifice he called *Dulcarnon*. Alexander Neckam an ancient writer in his booke *De Naturis rerum*, compoundeth this word of *Dulia*, and *Caro*, & will haue *Dulcarnon* to be *quasi sacrificium carnis*. Chaucer aptly applieth it to Creseide in this place: shewing that shee was as much amazed how to answer Troilus, as Pythagoras was wearied to bring his desire to effect.

Just as he is interested in Criseyde's perplexity, so Speght is concerned with Troilus' state of mind, as it is described by Chaucer,⁵³ when he has fallen in love. He remarks in 1598:

This madnesse counted by some an *indecorum* in such a valiant man, for as much as it proceeded of earnest loue, doth nothing disgrace *Troilus*. For *Socrates* in *Phædro Platonis*, praising loue, saith that it is not to be despised, because it is a kind of madnesse, and making there foure kindes of madnesse, hee proueth them all to be profitable. *μανικὴν, misterialem, poeticum, & Amatorium*.⁵⁴ With this last was *Troilus* possessed.

In spite of Speght's recourse to *Socrates* for support, it was evidently felt by the end of the sixteenth century that *Troilus'* excessive display of emotion was at variance with his position in the epic of *Troy*. The code of courtly love was no longer appreciated, and in its place an ideal of loftiness and self-control had begun to emerge. The new concept may be illustrated from *Thynne's* attitude to *Arcite*:⁵⁵

... *Arcyte*, in this furye of his love, did not shewe those courses of gouer[n]mente, whiche the Heroes, or valiante persons, in tymes paste vsed; for thoughe they loued, that passionne did not generallye so farre ouerrule them (althoughe yt mighte in some one particular personne) as that they lefte to contynewe the valor, and heroicke actions, whiche they before performed, for the Heroes sholde so love, as that they sholde not forgett, what they were in place, valor, or magnanymytye, whiche *Arcite*, in this passionne, did not observe ...

If *Arcite*, a knight born of the blood royal of *Thebes*, was thus open to criticism, it was only to be expected that some of Speght's contemporaries should find fault with *Troilus*, especially as they saw Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* against the background of the great struggle between the Greeks and the Trojans. For them no doubt it was 'a most admirable & inimitable *Epicke poeme*'.⁵⁶

No such great issues were involved in the 'Anelace' and the pouch worn by the Franklin. Yet with characteristic Renaissance zeal for

⁵³ *Troilus and Criseyde*, I, 499: 'That he was well nigh wood'.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Phædrus*, 265 b.

⁵⁵ Pp. 44-5.

⁵⁶ MS. Add. C. 287 in the Bodleian Library contains a Latin translation of all five books of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, in contrast to the first two only in Sir Francis Kynaston's version published at Oxford in 1635. The MS. is not in Kynaston's hand, but may be ascribed to him. The English text of Chaucer is also transcribed. By a study of the variants in Speght's editions of 1598 and 1602 it may be ascertained that the English text used was that of 1602. The implications of the phrase quoted above from a comment in the MS., fol. 6 verso, are discussed by Dr. B. L. Joseph in *Essays and Studies*, London, 1954, pp. 42-61.

learning, in 1602 Speght cites Matthew Paris twice as his authority, on each occasion appositely:

A falchon or woodknife. Which I gather out of Mathew Paris, page, 535, where hee writeth thus: *Quorum vnus videns occiduam partem dorsi* (of Richard Earle Marshall, then fighting for his life in Ireland) *minus armis communitam, percussit eum in posteriora* (*loricam sublevando*) *cum quodam genere cultelli, quod vulgariter Analacitus nuncupatur, & lætaliter vulnerabat eum cultellum vsque ad manubrium immergendo*: which Anelace was worn about the girdlesteed of the bodie, as was the pouch or purse: For thus, page, 542. writeth the same Mathew Paris: *Interquos Petrus de Rivalis primus in causam vocatus apparuit coram rege in habitu clericali, cum tonsura, & lafa corona, analaceo tamen a lumbali dependente, &c.*

Even the word 'Meritot' calls forth a grave reference to a writer in Latin. It occurs in the 'Miller's Tale' (A 3770),⁵⁷ and Speght in 1602 remarks on it:

A sport vsed by children by swinging themselues in belopes or such like till they be giddy. In Latin it is called *Oscillum*, and is thus described by an old writer. *Oscillum est genus ludi, scilicet cum funis dependitur de trabe, in quo pueri, & puellae sedentes impelluntur huc & illuc.*

The intoxication of the Cook gives rise to a gloss⁵⁸ with the same solemnity (or is it only mock-gravity?) as in the discussion of 'Meritot'. Speght explains 'Wine Ape' in the Manciple's Prologue (H 44) and buttresses his interpretation with quotations from Juvenal and Horace:

Wine Ape ... *Vinum Apianum*: that maketh one in such taking, that hee cannot with a straw hit a broad fanne: The cause is, for that after the drinking thereof vnmeasurably, one thing semeth two to the eyes, as sayth *Iuvenall*: *Geminis exurgit mensa lucernis*. And Horace: *Saltat Milonius, vt semel icto accessit fervor capiti, numerusque lucernis*.

However, elsewhere Speght can define species of drink without relying on Latin authorities, but he may still fall back on a learned word to convey his meaning clearly. Thus in 1602 'braket' is 'a drinke made of water and honey'; 'piment, (*pigmentum*,)' is 'a drinke of wine and hony' and 'sider, a drinke made of appels'; 'mede, (*hydromeli*)' is 'hony and water sodden together' and 'methe', which Speght does not recognise as a linguistic development of 'mede', is 'a kind of sweet drinke'. As for 'clare, clari', it is described as 'wine and honey mingled' or as '*Vinum rubellum*', that is, 'red wine', and 'vernage' is 'sweet wine to bee drunke in Winter'. It is odd that Speght, who was familiar with 'clare' and 'vernage' in the same context as 'ypocras' in the 'Merchant's Tale' (E 1807) should have glossed 'ypocras' as 'Hippocrates workes' and not as a cordial drink, made of wine flavoured with spices.⁵⁹ If he were alive at the present day, a visit to Basle on New Year's Eve, when 'Ypocrass'⁶⁰ is often in demand, would enlighten him.

⁵⁷ The reading now accepted is 'viritoot'.

⁵⁸ Both in 1598 and 1602.

⁵⁹ See *O.E.D.* under 'Hippocras'.

⁶⁰ Also known as 'Hippokras' and 'Hypokraz'. It is drunk warm with sugar, cinnamon and cloves.

Musical terms constitute another group that Speght defines, though not always quite accurately. In 1602 'sautri' is glossed in one place as 'an instrument like to an harpe, but far more pleasant', and in another 'sawtry' is interpreted as 'daunsing, instrumentall musicke, or the instrument'. The 'rote' is 'an instrument of Musicke vsuall in Wales';⁶¹ the 'citriall' is 'a gitterne, or doulcimer, called Sambuca';⁶² the 'cornmuse' is 'Musicke on Cornets'; the 'douced' is 'a pipe made of box, sounding most sweetly'; the 'ribibble' or 'rebecke' is 'a gitterne, or fiddle', and the 'sitole' is 'the sweete musicke of the Doulcimer called *Sambuca*'. As for 'simphony', Speght contents himself with the laconic 'musicke'.

Equally terse is the interpretation of 'blackeberied' in the 'Pardoner's Prologue'.⁶³ In 1598 it is 'to hell', in 1602 'Hell'. Speght's definitions are often interesting, even when they are unexpected. Thus in 1602 'barbicans' are 'watch toures, in the Saxon tongue, borough kennings'; a 'lollar' is 'a breaker of fasting daies'; 'herawdes' are 'furious partes in a play' and 'gossomor', 'things that flie in the aire in sommer time like copwebs'. 'Ferne' is 'long time', and 'ferne yeare', 'February'.

Speght glosses 'ey' as 'an egge' without any comment about English dialects. For him it was apparently just an archaic form. On the other hand, he writes at some length on the 'warriangle', i.e. the shrike:⁶⁴

Warriangles ... be a kind of birds full of noise, and very rauenuous, preying vpon others, which when they haue taken, they vse to hang vpon a thorne or pricke, and teare them in peeces, and deuour them. And the common opinon is, that the thorne, whereupon they thus fasten them and eat them, is afterward poisonous. In Staffordshire & Shropshire the name is common.⁶⁵

About the relationship of cognate English forms Speght has no idea. Consequently, 'lestis' is glossed as 'temptations, lustes, pleasures', but he obviously does not understand the connexion between 'lest' and 'lust'. So too 'lorrell' is defined as '(*lurco*) deuourer', but Speght appears to be unaware of its affinity with 'lossell', which means, according to him, 'crafty fellow'.

It would perhaps be too much to expect that Speght should know anything about 'wyerds', which he glosses as 'destinies', without attempting to indicate its derivation. On the other hand, 'howselin', which is rendered by 'receiue the sacrament', is classified as 'b.', that is to say, as belonging to 'Some Dialects within this our Country of Brittain, and many of them deriued from the Saxon tongue'. So too is 'nale', 'the alehouse', but the very definition does not suggest that Speght was aware of the origin of

⁶¹ 1598, 'an instrument of musicke'.

⁶² 1598, '(samba) a gitterne'.

⁶³ C 406.

⁶⁴ Cf. the 'Friar's Tale', D 1408.

⁶⁵ Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, Vol. VI, p. 385, under 'Wariangle', records it as having been known in Yorkshire, Staffordshire, Derbyshire and Shropshire, but as being obsolete.

the 'n' in this word.⁶⁶ He is equally at sea over 'twy ... two', 'twifold ... dubble' and 'twy, tway ... two', all three entries bearing the mark 'd.', that is, 'Dutch'. Yet he appears to have had some perception of semantic change.

Perhaps one may venture to explain in this way the definition of 'blankemanger'⁶⁷ in 1598 as 'a meat of Rise and Almon milke: brawne of capons and sugar' in contrast to that of 1602, 'custard'. Again 'alestake'⁶⁸ in 1598 is 'a maypole, or alebush' and in 1602 'Maypole' only. At any rate, the transformation of 'Iape'⁶⁹ is explicitly revealed by Speght:

Iest, a word by abuse growen odious, and therfore by a certain curious gentlewoman scraped out in her Chaucer: whereupon her seruing man writeth thus:

My mistress cannot be content,
To take a iest as Chaucer ment,
But vsing still a womans fashion
Allows it in the last translation:
She cannot with a word dispence,
Although I know she loues the sence.
For such an vse the world hath got,
That words are sinnes, but deeds are not.

From some examples that have been glanced at in passing, it is evident that Speght was incapable of giving derivations correctly. This is his weakest spot. He is perhaps most successful with words of Arabic origin; but on the whole he is confused, and frequently he fails to trace the source in any language whatsoever. His scheme was no doubt over-ambitious; he had not the necessary equipment, and the time was not yet ripe. It would be easy, but also unwise, to deride his groping efforts. Rather he should be regarded as a pioneer, whose aim was high, though he failed in execution.

In spite of its defects, his work was a boon to those who perceived that Chaucer was a great writer, but needed guidance in order to understand him. On their behalf the anonymous author of a poem prefixed to the edition of 1602 thanked Speght for explaining and reviving Chaucer:

In reading of the learn'd praise-worthie peine,
The helpfull notes explaining *Chaucers mind*,
The Abstruse skill, the artificiall veine;
By true Annalogie I rightly find,
Speght is the child of *Chaucers* fruitfull breine,
Vernishing his workes with life and grace,
Which envious age would otherwise deface:
Then be he lov'd and thanked for the same,
Since in his love he hath reviv'd his name.

⁶⁶ From 'then', the earlier dative of the definite article, so that 'n' being attracted to the following 'ale', 'at then ale' became 'at the nale'.

⁶⁷ See the Cook, G.P., l. 387.

⁶⁸ See the Summoner, G.P., l. 667.

⁶⁹ See the Pardoner, G.P., l. 705 and O.E.D. under 'jape'.

It was a sign of the readers' appreciation that the editions of 1598 and 1602 were followed by a third in 1687. There is some likelihood that this last edition was the one used by Pope when preparing his adaptations of Chaucer,⁷⁰ and so the humble labours of the lexicographer and annotator served to facilitate communication between the two great poets across the centuries.

Basle.

H. G. WRIGHT.

On the Sources of John Wilkins' Philosophical Language (1668)

My immediate starting-point for the following lines is an interesting article by B. DeMott,¹ where this scholar intends to show that for Wilkins' final undertaking in constructing an artificial universal language whose vocabulary was to be based on a classification of 'things' according to their nature, not only English influences (starting with Fr. Bacon) were at work, but that the basic plan virtually originated with continental writers, with I. A. Comenius and C. Kinner who visited England (1641, 1647 resp.) and whose ideas, moreover, were circulated by G. Hartlib among the Oxford group of English projectors. DeMott publishes an interesting letter written by Kinner to Hartlib (June 1647) in which the former sketches the plan for a new 'philosophical' language which should conform to our mental concepts of things and in its structure should avoid everything irregular, and D. is convinced that 'the procedures specified in this letter were precisely like those that Wilkins followed not long after it was written'.

As it is my intention to discuss in the following some problems connected with Wilkins' semantics in part III of his *Essay*, I restrict myself to a few remarks concerning *this* question. The assumption of a direct decisive influence exercised by Kinner upon Wilkins seems to me to be a kind of short cut. I do not doubt that such continental influences played some part among the Oxford scholars, esp. with Dr. Ward, who may have been an important mediator, and that Wilkins as well as Dalgarno also became acquainted with those ideas, yet the first who put them into practice was undoubtedly G. Dalgarno in his *Ars Signorum* (1657; 1661), and it is still my opinion that Wilkins was first of all indebted to him, as I tried to show long ago.² That this was also the opinion among Oxford scholars becomes

⁷⁰ Cf. *The Rape of the Lock and other Poems*, ed. G. Tillotson, Twickenham Edition, London, 1940, pp. 8, 12.

¹ In: *J. of English and Germanic Phil.* LVII (1958), 1-14, entitled 'The Sources and Development of J. Wilkins' Philosophical Language'.

² *Zum Weltsprachenproblem in England im 17. Jahrhundert* (1929; Anglist. Forschg. Bd. 69; pp. 5 ff).

evident from a letter the famous Dr. Wallis³ wrote to Lord Brounker (first president of the Royal Society) in which, beside other matters touching the question of priority in the study of general phonetics in reference to Holder's work⁴ — which does not concern us here —, he comes to speak of Dalgarno and Wilkins. 'The case is this', says Wallis,

'In the Year 1653 I published (together with my English Grammar) a Treatise of Speech: shewing therein, with what Organs, in what Positions, and by what Motions, all Sounds used in Speech are Formed: and that, upon such Positions and Motions, such Sounds will certainly follow, (whether he that Speaks, do Hear himself or not). This (my Letter says, as well as the Postscript) I think to be the first attempt in that kind ... But I am since followed by others. Some years after; Mr. George Dalgarno, at Oxford, applied himself to write a Treatise concerning a Universal Character [i.e. universal graphic symbols]; (which he published in the year 1660, intituled, *Ars Signorum*;) concerning which he consulted me, (as he did also Dr. Wilkins, Dr. Ward and others). I told him my sense of it, (as I did also to Dr. Wilkins) that the thing was certainly fisible in Nature, but that I did not think it likely to obtain in Practice. Because this Universal Character must be in the nature of a New Language (which he was so apprehensive to be true, that, having once contrived his Universal Character, he did, upon this suggestion, accomodate thereunto his *Universal Language*, to make his Character effable: as is there seen.) So that, For all Persons, to Learn his Character, and to have all Books written in it is the same thing as to Translate all Books into one Language and to have this Language learned by all. Which if it cannot be hoped of any of the languages now in being, (which have the advantage of being already understood, by more than ever are like to learn that other:) much less is it to be hoped for a New Language, now to be contrived ... This enterprise of Mr. Dalgarno, gave occasion to Dr. Wilkins (the late Bishop of Chester) to pursue the same design (as himself intimates in his Epistle:)⁵ both as to a Real Character, as he calls it, (or Characters of Things instead of Words;) and the expressing these Characters by Vocal Sounds; (which he calls his Philosophical Language;) in his *Essay of a Real Character and Philosophical Language*, published in the year 1668 which is the Result of his Thoughts on that Subject, for divers years before; with the concurrence of Dr. Seth Ward (now Bishop of Salisbury) and Dr. William Lloyd (now Dean of Bangor) and others; (as himself mentions) with whom he had frequent conference about that Affair. And it would have been published somewhat sooner, if not interrupted by the Fire of London, in the year 1666. Not that he did expect, this Real Character of his, and his Philosophical Language, should universally obtain; and all the Books be translated into it: But, to shew, the thing to be fisible; and divers Advantages which might arise thence, if it could so obtain. And, to demonstrate the thing itself to be Practicable; He was pleased (when his Book was newly made public) to write a Letter to me, in his Real Character; to which I returned an Answer in his Philosophical Language: And we did perfectly understand one another, as if written in our own Language ...'

I think that Wallis' declaration as to Dalgarno's importance for Wilkins' work is clear enough and leaves no doubt about the historical sequence of ideas. In any case, Dalgarno's work should not be underestimated in the development of Wilkins' final plan. We shall see later on that Wilkins was also indebted to Dalgarno in some important problems concerning general semantics.

³ 'A Defence of the Royal Society and the Philosophical Transactions ... in Answer to the Cavils of Dr. William Holder, by John Wallis', London 1678; pp. 16 ff.

⁴ Holder's *Elements of Speech*, 1669.

⁵ But, as I made out in my earlier treatise, Wilkins does not mention Dalgarno by name.

Another point which interests me is the attitude Comenius takes with reference to a universal artificial language. His *The Way of Light* and its English translation (1642) which DeMott adduces in his paper (p. 4) is for the moment not accessible to me, but, as far I can see, the problems mentioned there concern first of all the vocabulary which ought to be based on the nature of things, not on the compilation of primitive words of an existing language. This vocabulary problem — the relation of words to things — occupied Comenius from the beginning in his practical text books where we find a classification of the vocabulary (Latin and other languages) into a hundred conceptual classes (*centum communissimi rerum tituli*);⁶ in the English edition of 1662 the title reads: *Ianua Linguarum novissime ab ipso Authore (i.e. Comenius) Recognita, Aucta, Emendata Adjunctis Metaphrasi Graeca et Anglicana Versione* and on the back of the title page we find a dedication of his Tubingensis editio of *Ianua linguarum* by Comenius to Roger Daniel, a London bookseller and printer, 'eo fine, ut in editione Ianuae nostrae Linguarum Latino — Graeco — Anglicae (quod sibi jam sub manu esse dixit) hoc ipsum Tubingensis editionis imitari possit'; [written in Amsterdam, June 1657]. When compared with the earlier editions of the *Ianua* we find now a new long Latin preface whose author (Daniel?) calls himself 'interpret et metaphrastes' of Comenius' work and praises him for his grammatical tendencies. And, to our surprise, this preface contains a sharp attack on Dalgarno and his *Ars Signorum*: 'verum nescio', the preface continues, 'quis intervenit et hanc sibi in solidum deberi laudem strenue reclamat; qui Artem Signorum procuderit, sive Characterem universalem, ut vulgo loquuntur. Spernit autem iste cum vulgo loqui, ac proinde ἀνοδιδάκτος novam invenit linguam, qua solus utatur. Ita et suam habent anseres, graculi et caeterae aves oscines sibi peculiarem dialectum ...'. The existing civilized languages are firmly grounded, such a new artificial language is Utopian; the inventor of such a language is a man 'qui linguas eruditae, quibus omnis sapientia cum divina tum humana continetur, contemptui habeat prae hac Utopiana, a semet reperta'. This refers to a remark of Dalgarno's (p. 90 in his *Ars Signorum*) where he says that the existing languages ought to disappear so that his artificial language might prevail. If this preface has been written in the spirit of Comenius then we can hardly assume that he was in favour of such a 'Utopian' undertaking.

Let us turn now to some semantic problems which Wilkins raises in part III of his *Essay*, entitled 'Concerning Natural Grammar'.⁷

After having established the categorical system of all these concepts (their genera, differentiae and species) to which names ought to be given in his universal language (i.e. its vocabulary) Wilkins proceeds in part III

⁶ In his various editions of 'Ianua linguarum'; e.g. 1632² (Leipzig), 1631 (an English edition by Anchoran for Latin, English and French, 1662 (an English edition by Roger Daniel for English, Latin and Greek).

⁷ *Essay*... (1668) pp. 297-384. For a summary of the contents of the whole cf. my book *Zum Weltsprachenproblem*..., pp. 26-29.

to present an outline of its grammar, its semantic structure and its phonetics. Wilkins calls it 'universal or natural' grammar and defines it himself: 'Natural grammar (which may likewise be stiled Philosophical, Rational and Universal) should contain all such Grounds and Rules, as do naturally and necessarily belong to the Philosophy of letters and speech in the General'.⁸

This subject, Wilkins says, has been treated of but by few, which makes our Learned Verulam put it among his Desiderata,⁹ and he mentions some of his precursors. As I shall have to refer to or quote from one or the other of them I prefer to arrange them in chronological order giving the full titles to their works and the editions I have consulted.¹⁰ Wilkins mentions first of all Scotus, Caramuel and Campanella; then those who wrote works on the Latin language with occasional theoretical considerations: Scioppius (Sanctius), Scaliger and Vossius. Dalgarno does not appear in his list. 'But to me it seems', Wilkins remarks, 'that all these Authors in some measure (though some more than others) were so far prejudiced by the common Theory of the languages they were acquainted with, that they did not sufficiently abstract their rules according to Nature. In which I do not hope, that this which is now to be delivered can be faultless; it being very hard (if not impossible) wholly to escape such prejudices: yet I am apt to think it less erroneous in this respect than the rest.'

He divides the problems of grammar into three parts:

- I. Concerning the *kinds of words*, or these several modes and respects, according to which the names of things may be varied in their acceptations; being made either derivative *Nouns* or *Adverbs*; together with their several *inflexions* and *compositions*; which may be stiled *Etymology*.

⁸ p. 297.

⁹ cf. Bacon's Works ed. Ellis, vol. I, p. 654.

¹⁰ J. Duns Scoti *Opera Omnia* (editio nova), Paris 1891 ff. 'Grammatica speculativa', vol. I, pp. 1-50.

1540 I. C. Scaligeri *De Causis Linguae Latinae*. Lugduni (my text: a Bern edition, 1580). [1559 P. Ramus, *Grammatica Latina*; (my text: Paris 1572)]. Not mentioned by Wilkins. [1587 Sanctius, *Minerva seu de causis linguae Latinae; Salmanticae*]. This work was edited again in 1654 by C. Scioppius, whom W. mentions.

1635¹ Vossius, G. J.: *Aristarchus sive de arte grammatica libri septem*; my text an edition of 1662.

1638 Thomae Campanellae *Philosophiae Rationalis Partes quinque* (Grammatica, Dialectica, ...) Tomus I, Paris.

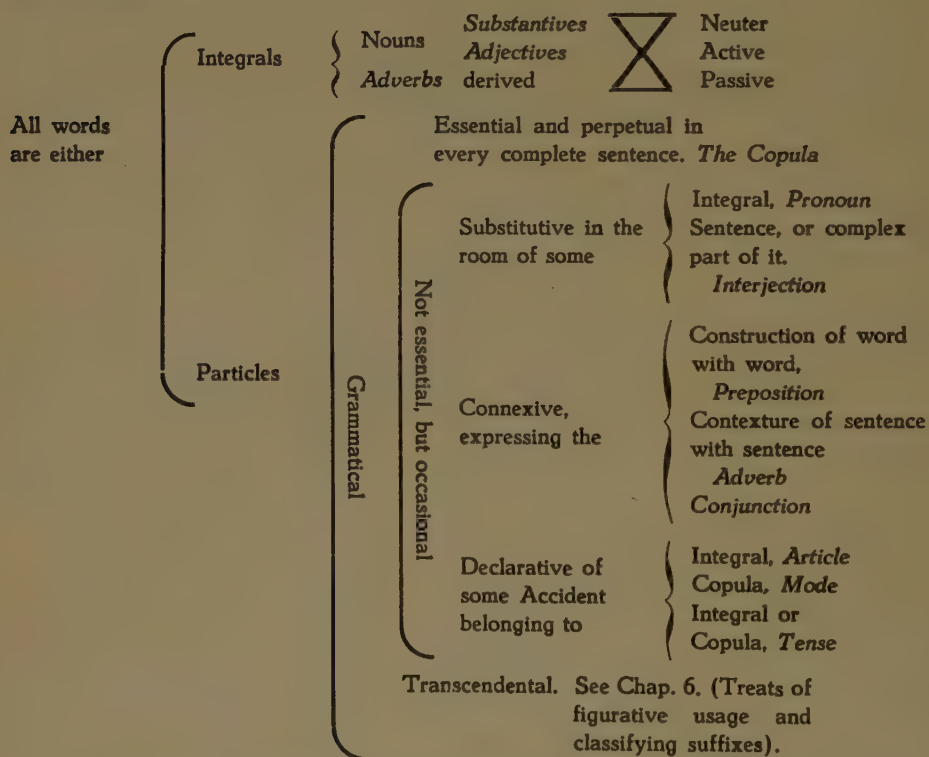
1654 I. Caramueli *Theologia Rationalis complectens Grammaticam Audacem* cuius partes sunt tres, Methodica, Metrica, Critica. Quarum Prima ab omnibus linguis praescindens disputat philosophice de artificiis et secundis intentionibus artis grammaticae: de Partibus orationis; de earumdem numero, de singularum qualitatibus et usu ... Frankfurt.

1662 G. Dalgarno, *Ars Signorum*, in Works (pp. 1-109), ed. Cockburn and Maitland, Edinburgh 1834.

- II. Concerning the proper *union* or right construction of these into *Propositions* or sentences; which is called *syntax*.
- III. Concerning the most convenient *marks* or *sounds* for the expression of such names or words; whether, by *writing*, *Orthography*; or by speech, *Orthoepy*.¹¹

I shall confine myself to a discussion of some problems of Wilkins' part I, his 'Etymology'. Two aspects appear in this doctrine of words; first their 'formal'¹² differences or kinds of them = the parts of speech. The second aspect concerns their accidental changes, in respect of inflexion, derivation, composition.

Wilkins' classification of the 'parts of speech' is so to speak the foundation on which the whole structure rests. I must present it in his own scheme:



What strikes us first in this classification of words is their bipartition into *integrals* and *particles*, of which the former only comprise nouns (and

¹¹ *Essay* . . . , p. 298; part III (W.'s phonetics) I have treated in detail in my book (pp. 63-92).

¹² 'formal' in opposition to 'material'; formal = semantic. It is the old Aristotelian distinction between *forma* (*εἶδος*) — *materia* (*ὕλη*).

adverbs derived from them). The 'integral' is defined by Wilkins as a word which signifies some entire thing or notion, 'whether the Ens or Thing itself (e.g. *rex*) or the Essence of a Thing (e.g. abstract nouns like: *regality*), and he counts among them also 'Derived adverbs' signifying the manner or affection of a thing.

Nouns are those words 'which men do agree upon for the names and appellations of things'. Every noun 'which in conjunction with a verb makes a complete sentence, and signifies simply, and *per modum subsistentis per se* is called a Substantive. That which signifies *per modum Adjuncti*, or *adjacentis alteri*, is called an Adjective.'¹³ These Latin definitions at once remind us of the scholastic tradition, and Wilkins takes them over literally from Campanella.¹⁴ By the way, we may remark critically that Wilkins' grouping of adjectives and adverbs among his integrals is not a descriptive, but a genetic aspect — those words can be derived from substantives, but do not in themselves signify some entire thing or notion. Yet the remarkable fact is that practically only nouns are principal words in Wilkins' scheme, all the others particles. This point of view seems quite unique, and among those authorities whom Wilkins mentions we find it nowhere.¹⁵ Most of these writers follow the ancient tradition (with slight variations): Scotus (8 parts of speech), Scaliger (8), Vossius (8), Campanella (7, without the interjection), Caramuel (10 with the article and the pause). The only exception is Schioppius (← Sanctius) who, seemingly following Ramus, has only 3 parts of speech i.e. *nomen*, *verbum*; *particula*. In any case the *verb* is reckoned everywhere among the important parts of speech. Yet Wilkins eliminates it and puts the *Copula* among the essential particles.

As to the *verb* Wilkins declares:¹⁶ 'That part of speech, which by our Common Grammarians is stiled a *Verb*, (whether Neuter, Active or Passive) ought to have no distinct place amongst Integrals in a Philosophical Grammar; because it is really no other then an *Adjective*, and the *Copula sum* affixed to it or contained in it: So *caleo*, *calefacio*, *calefio*, is the same as *sum calidus*, *calefaciens*, *calefactus*.' In theory Wilkins is perfectly right, because a full verb in an assertion really contains the assertive idea + the predicative concept. Is Wilkins original in this axiom or could he find a similar opinion in one of his forerunner? I think we have here another more intimate proof of Dalgarno's influence on Wilkins because in his *Ars Signorum*¹⁷ D. emphasizes his conviction that there would be only one principal part of speech i.e. the *nomen*; all the others belong to the

¹³ *Essay* . . . , p. 299.

¹⁴ Campanella, p. 21.

¹⁵ As to the question of the 'parts of speech' cf. my *Die Frühzeit der engl. Grammatik*, (1941) p. 6 f. and a general outline of the situation reported at the 7th Linguistic Congress (London, 1956, Proceedings, p. 251 ff.).

¹⁶ *Essay* . . . , p. 30.

¹⁷ In chap. VIII 'De Flexionibus grammaticisibus'.

inflexions and cases of it: 'Ratio assertionis haec est; omne *Ens* quodcumque necessario primo locum habet in linea praedicamentali; omnis autem notio praedicamentalis est Nomen. Quare sequetur, Verbum esse tantum casum, seu flexionis nominis non minus quam aliae partes a Grammaticis enumeratae', and he analyses 'amamus' into '4 distinctas notiones; id est, *nos, praesenti tempore, sumus (vel potius ita) amantes*'. The copula (in whatsoever form) is the sign of 'actus mentis iudicativi'; this was Dalgarno's opinion, and I have no doubt that Wilkins took it over into his structural system and ordered his parts of speech accordingly. It may be mentioned that Caramuel occasionally when he comes to speak of the verbum substantivum 'esse', analyses a sentence 'Petrus legit' as 'Petrus est legens',¹⁸ but nevertheless he counts the verb among his parts of speech.

In some other aspects Wilkins might have found stimulating ideas in the works of Campanella and Caramuel. Wilkins is very fond of systematizing, and he distinguishes among his nouns nouns neuter, active and passive (e.g. *lux, illuminatio, illuminari*), a semantic classification which among others he might have found in Campanella¹⁹ where this writer gives a long list of nouns signifying either 'essentiam puram' like *homo* (that would be Wilkins' neuter noun) or 'essentiam actionis' like *lectio, auditio* (Wilkins' active noun) or 'essentiam patientis' like *creatura, factura* (passive nouns). On the other hand Caramuel discusses various semantic functions of the *adjective*²⁰ which might have given Wilkins some hints for his valuable suggestions on this problem.²¹

One might go on — almost indefinitely — discussing more detailed questions and problems concerning the semantic structure of this universal language, but I must stop here.

In conclusion I should like to mention that Wilkins had considerable influence on English Grammar when Cooper in his *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (1685) introduced important semantic aspects taken over from the *Essay*.²²

Therefore when following up the question of influences upon Wilkins' work it was not my intention to depreciate his unique achievement, and I believe (with the late O. Jespersen) that his *Essay* will in its sphere remain an admirable and scholarly work.

Bern.

OTTO FUNKE.

¹⁸ Caramuel, § 90.

¹⁹ Campanella, cap. IV.

²⁰ Caramuel § 54.

²¹ *Essay* . . . , p. 302.

²² Cf. my article in *A Phil. Miscellany* presented to E. Ekwall; Uppsala 1942, part II, pp. 15 ff.

Thomas Hollis's Bequest to the Library of Berne*

'There are but two subjects worthy of a wise man's consideration: religion and government.' This sentence is written on the fly-leaf of the copy of Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government* now available in the Library of Berne. It is a tall leather-bound volume in quarto, richly decorated with gold, one of the outstanding items among some 430 books, which were presented to the Public Library of Berne by Thomas Hollis in the years between 1758 and 1765.

There is no doubt that this great donation was considered an honour by the government of Berne. In their letter of acknowledgement 'Their Excellencies' expressed their admiration for the elaborate bindings and the value in money, and were pleased to note that the cases had been delivered safely and free of charge after their perilous journey from London to Genoa by sea and across the Alps to Berne on pack-horses. On the other hand, however, the donation was causing them some inconvenience: some of the books were written in Latin, but most of them were in English, a language that few people were able to understand on the Continent in those days, and very few in Switzerland — the mercenaries, our staple export, being of no use in this respect on the other side of the Channel, and the young British gentlemen on their Grand Tours preferring German courts and Italian cities to Swiss scenery, which had not yet been boosted by Goethe or Byron. In Berne, only men like Prof. Albrecht von Haller, eminent scientist and writer, and Johann Rudolf Sinner, the Chief Librarian, knew English because they had contacts with Britain. Sinner was enthusiastic about the donation and had shelves made bearing the inscription 'Bibliotheca Angli Anonymi', since the donor had taken every precaution to prevent his name being discovered. All correspondence concerning the donation had to pass through Rodolphe Vautravers, a Bernese, whose wife was English; he was at that time living at Biel, outside the Canton of Berne, in a magnificent mansion overlooking the lake. The anonymity of the donor was another inconvenience to the authorities: was it not awkward to thank an unknown foreigner who was so generous as to rouse suspicion!

It must have been with relief that they learnt the donor's identity soon after his death. He had bequeathed the sum of £100 to the Library of Berne and his executor disclosed his name. He was Thomas Hollis, Esq., F.R.S., an honourable London gentleman. There was, however, some reason for suspicion considering that Hollis was one of the most eccentric men among the worthies of the age of Garrick and Dr. Johnson. When the latter heard that Hollis was rumoured to be a dangerous man who advocated Democracy and Atheism, his verdict was: 'Hollis was a dull

* This is the summary in English of a larger study to be published shortly under the title *Die Hollis-Sammlung in Bern. Ein Beitrag zu den englisch-schweizerischen Beziehungen in der Zeit der Aufklärung*, in which details and references to the sources will be found.

poor creature as ever lived, and I believe he would not have done harm to a man whom he knew to be of very opposite principles to his own.' Dr. Johnson's statement was biassed, it is true, but not altogether unfair. Hollis certainly was no fighter; he led a rather quiet and solitary bachelor's life in Pall Mall, attended by two servants. He had a large fortune in lands and stocks, which allowed him to live comfortably without practising a profession; but he also lived up to a family tradition of generosity. His grand-uncle, for instance, had endowed Harvard College, Massachusetts, with one professorship and ten scholarships. Harvard was to remain the favourite object of Hollis's generosity although he extended his benefactions to other libraries in Britain and abroad. When a fire destroyed Harvard Library, Hollis hastened to send contributions both in cash and in books. These books were intended to teach advanced political and religious ideas to the élite of New England.

So it was with growing concern that Hollis watched the conflict arise between the King's Government and his friends in the Colonies. Hollis was not to see the cause of the latter triumph, since he died in 1774, but he continued to support them within the narrow range of his activity. Thus Hollis may be ranked among those Englishmen who, while advocating equal rights for the English in North America, were hoping for conciliation. He caused warnings to be inserted in London journals; e.g. 'Englishmen, Scottishmen, Irishmen, Colonists, Brethren; Discordia Res Maximae Dilabuntur' (Feb. 1769). His diary reveals that he had made up his mind about the issue: 'The whole equity lies on the side of the North-Americans; the Bostonians in particular have acted as became an outraged, free, and brave people.' Taking sides with the Colonists and sharing their political and religious ideals is in complete accordance with Hollis's 'liberal views' (the term is his). Here was a conflict recalling the Glorious Revolution, when progressive thought and determined action had defeated despotism in State and Church, abolishing the 'Ancien Régime' in England one century before the French Revolution.

Hence it is astonishing to learn that it should have been the Republic of Berne, whose government was entrusted by the Grace of God to an oligarchy of some seventy families, that was second only to Harvard in receiving Hollis's gifts. The library sent to Berne exceeded by far the parcels of books presented to other towns or universities on the Continent including Zurich, Basle, Geneva, Groningen, Leyden, Göttingen, Leipzig, Petersburg and Moscow. Research on the donation to Berne, however, became possible only when Prof. Strahm, the present Chief Librarian, re-assembled the books about ten years ago with the help of Sinner's catalogue. The present study was nearly finished when most valuable investigations made at Harvard by Prof. Caroline Robbins¹ were brought to my notice. She had succeeded in tracing Hollis's manuscript diary for the

¹ *The Strenuous Whig, Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, in: *The William and Mary Quarterly*, VII (July 1950); *Library of Liberty — Assembled for Harvard College by Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn*, in: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, V (1950).

years 1759-1770 and the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg Va. kindly agreed to send a copy of the microfilm to Berne Library. The diary, covering some 2300 pages, supplements the rather scanty sources provided by scraps of correspondence at the British Museum, by the minutes of committees in the Bernese government and by the so-called *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis* in two bulky volumes, which were compiled carelessly after Hollis's death at the expense of his principal heir.

My summary must be restricted to a brief survey of the bequest, and will conclude by examining Hollis's motives and his relations with Berne. This essay, it is hoped, may be a small contribution to the study of Anglo-Swiss relations in the Age of Reason.

The sentence quoted at the beginning of this article illustrates both Hollis's methods and the principal trends of his thought. A great many of the books sent abroad contain notes and cross-references in his own hand, written on the fly-leaves and in the text; he marked selected passages by underlining them. This method of annotation may be ascribed to his didactic ends, and it helps us to realize what his aims really were. Moreover, some books had been printed or reprinted at his orders and a list of these works demonstrates Hollis's opinion that 'religion and government' are the worthiest subjects to be written about. The same quotation may also serve to draw up a rough classification of his donation to Berne. About one third of the titles are political, another third religious or philosophical, whereas the rest, for want of a more appropriate title, must be classed as 'Miscellaneous'.

This group can be qualified by way of exclusion; literature is absent and emphasis is laid on mathematics and natural science. The backbone of this section is the complete set to date of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, among whose members Hollis was numbered. They were supplemented by Boyle's and Newton's works and by studies in natural history. One of Hollis's catch-phrases, 'Search profitable knowledge', explains why husbandry and gardening are largely represented. Being an active member of another learned club, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, Hollis took a particularly lively interest in the reform of agriculture, which aimed at re-establishing the value of rural economy, neglected under the prevailing theory of mercantilism. This economic movement, proceeding from England, advocated abandoning time-honoured customs of farming and adapting the production of foodstuff to the growing population. The influence of rural reform can also be traced in Berne where the 'Oekonomische Gesellschaft' was flourishing in the 'Sixties. Even where government and religion were not immediately concerned, Hollis favoured progressive ideas.

Another heading which might be inserted under 'Miscellaneous' is philology, if such a term is not premature. Hollis was aware of the problems raised by the history and diversity of languages, and it is at

interesting detail that John Chamier, Governor of Bengal, whom he presented with a case of books, was to be a great contributor to philology through his discoveries in Sanskrit. For Hollis, however, the practical aspect again predominated. The gospel of Liberty, as embodied in the books on politics and religion, was written, as he humbly put it, in 'the language of Liberty'. English, therefore, had to be taught on the Continent by means of Wallis's *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* (first published in 1653), which was reprinted by Hollis and regularly enclosed in the parcels he sent abroad. For Berne, Dr. Johnson's famous *Dictionary* and the 7th edition of E. Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* were added.

On the fringe of literature (in the narrow sense of the word) a group of books should be mentioned, published in order to make the middle class familiar with advanced thinking. Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* and Mandeville's *The Fable of the Bees*, although widely different in their outlook, may serve as examples. Their success, however, must have been small compared to that of the periodicals edited by Addison and Steele. The impact of *The Spectator*, *The Tatler*, *The Englishman*, etc. on English prose and on Continental journalism cannot easily be overrated.

Imitations by anonymous editors are also found among Hollis's gifts, e.g. *The Freethinker*; *Cato's Letters: or Essays on Liberty, Civil and Religious, and other Important Subjects*. The titles disclose their tendencies, and they may be regarded as a link connecting the 'Miscellanies' with the two subjects that preoccupied Hollis. His dedicatory formula seems an echo to, and an extension of, the latter title: 'An Englishman, Asserter of Liberty, Civil and Religious, Citizen of the World, wishes to present this book to the Public Library of Berne.' Inevitably, as soon as he turned to politics or religion, Liberty, one of the fundamental concepts of Western Thought, was foremost in his mind. What did he understand by this ambiguous and much-abused term? An answer cannot immediately be given; it must be attempted by examining the authors he praised most.

Oddly enough, his favourites were men of the English Civil War; Milton, the politician, not the poet; Marvell, M.P. and pamphleteer; Harrington, author of *The Commonwealth of Oceana*, the utopia of the 17th century; General Ludlow and Algernon Sidney, both defenders of the Commonwealth, both proscribed in the Restoration — the former an exile in Switzerland, the latter executed on Tower Hill in 1682. Sidney's death as a martyr for liberty confirmed, in Hollis's opinion, the idea that his *Discourses Concerning Government* was the greatest manual for statesman.² The religious background of these authors was unorthodox. They claimed freedom of conscience, which was also Hollis's tenet.

Leaving aside, for the moment, the religious implications, we shall trace the ancestry of these political ideas as far as they are represented in the donation. One branch is Calvinistic and international, the other national,

² cf. C. Robbins' study: *Algernon Sidney's 'Discourses Concerning Government': Textbook of Revolution*, in: *The William and Mary Quarterly*, IV (July 1947).

untinged by religious doctrine. The former, originating from a determined opposition to a non-Calvinistic authority, can be exemplified in two works published anonymously by Huguenots, *Franco-Gallia* and *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (1579) and in Buchanan's *De jure regni apud Scotos*. The national branch is the venerable tradition of the Great Charter down to the Petition of Rights, which was to triumph in the Glorious Revolution (Fortescue: *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*; Selden: *Opera omnia*; Prynne: *The Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms*).

The Glorious Revolution, if we take Hollis's word for it, achieved what his Commonwealth heroes had been planning, a happy balance of power within the government and a considerable measure of liberty for the citizens. Locke, the advocate of the Bill of Rights, therefore, is another favourite of Hollis's. He had Locke's major works republished and widely distributed. More fascinating perhaps, because they are so rare, is the flood of controversial pamphlets attacking the Stuarts or justifying the Revolution. They are frequently bound together as *Mixed Tracts*, or *Occasional Papers*.

A close inspection of their titles and Hollis's comments prove that he distinguished three conspicuous characteristics of contemporary English politics as opposed to the Absolutism prevailing on the Continent: the refusal to accept a standing army in times of peace; the independence of judicature, in particular trial by jury; and the right of every man to a private opinion and the public expression of it. These, then, were the true liberties of an Englishman to be coveted by all the other nations. In the first forty years of his life Hollis was proud of them and confident that they were safe. He was not blind to the abuse of money and influence practised in the elections. In spite of his ardent interest in politics he never stood for Parliament, because he was resolved to avoid bribery. This sacrifice of activity, if we trust the *Memoirs*, made him turn to 'the books of the master spirits' as a means of spreading the principles he cherished. After the accession of George III he grew more and more alarmed at the King's propensity to Absolutism, at the corruption in Parliament and at the indifference of the public. He published articles in different journals, constantly warning the readers against the encroaching power of the Government, which — and in this he was right — was to provoke the rebellion in America.

Religious freedom, too, had been granted after the Glorious Revolution. Like Milton and Locke, Hollis did not wish toleration to include the Roman Catholics. Writings full of invective against popery are numerous. A collection of pamphlets against the Jesuits was, for unknown reasons, dispatched to Zurich, where it was accepted with lukewarm thanks. The Jesuits, anxious to defend themselves, offered the Zurich Library a series of books in their own favour. A few years later their Order was to be suppressed by the Pope. This was the greatest concession then made by the Roman Catholic Church to the contemporary thinking of the Age of Reason.

To what extent were its principles supported by Hollis? This problem is not easy to assess, as he was open-minded to anything that was not orthodox. Thus he stood for Dissent against the Church of England, and for free inquiry against clerical doctrine and privilege (e.g. Baron: *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy Shaken*). Free inquiry, however, is rated higher by him than any denomination within the free churches. It is surprising to realize the number of book-titles beginning with 'Free Inquiry...' This claim for free inquiry, by the way, is more informative and more correct for the Age of 'Reason' or of 'Enlightenment' than is either of these expressions. 'Enlightenment' is a rather presumptuous illusion, and 'reason' only part of the truth. There was a great deal of enthusiasm and of irrational optimism animating the most characteristic representatives of the time — including Hollis — but none of them would have waived the claim for free inquiry. Its results might differ widely, according to the lights and the courage of the thinkers and the response of the public. This variety of opinions is corroborated by Hollis's choice of books for Berne; almost every opinion current in the 18th century is represented: Deism, Latitudinarianism, Unitarianism, Scepticism, scarcely-disguised Atheism. Some illuminating titles might be enumerated: Locke's *The Reasonableness of Christianity*, Toland's *Christianity Not Mysterious*, Tindal's *Christianity as Old as the Creation, or the Gospel, a Republication of the Religion of Nature*. Again, the momentous works and the greater issues are augmented by a mass of pamphlets treating controversial details.

As some of Hollis's friends professed Unitarian ideas and petitioned Parliament to abolish the obligation of the clergy to subscribe to the XXXIX Articles, Hollis was said to be an atheist, which rumour reached Dr. Johnson. He said he did not think so, but Hollis might have become one, 'if he had had time to ripen. He might have exuberated into an atheist.' Hollis's doubtful attitude towards the church and religion worried the writer of his obituary, who, while admiring Hollis's political beliefs, could not help deploring his ambiguous opinions on religion. This critic, in passing sentence on Hollis, was right in the light of contemporary standards. Hollis's political ideas were not revolutionary but, in a sense, conservative: he merely wanted to abolish abuse and to restore to full sway the principles of the Bill of Rights, which most English people would endorse in his time as well as in ours. His political creed was based on the national tradition and defended the established powers. In religion, however, he found fault with the establishment and set sail for seas unknown. After all, even today, anyone standing up for political liberty can be sure of approval in the Western world, whereas a man who makes bold to attack the Christian religion openly may still be frowned upon as a traitor to our common heritage.

After surveying Hollis's donation I have to return to the question of why Berne was the principal recipient of his presents in the Old World. The Canton in those days was larger than it is now, extending from the

Lake of Geneva to within fifteen miles of Zurich. It was governed, to the exclusion of everyone else, by some seventy patrician families resident in the capital. Members of the government spent a term of office in the country, acting as bailiffs at the feudal castles. Nevertheless, Berne was considered a model republic and the country prospered, as every foreign visitor asserted.

When touring Switzerland as a young man, Hollis was surprised to find the country cultivated, and not barren as he had imagined, the people hard-working and contented, with moderate wealth. He attributed part of their prosperity to the wisdom of their governments, and, if we can believe the compiler of the *Memoirs*, his respect for them and his gratitude for the hospitality he received were the motives for his later donations. Unfortunately, the diaries of Hollis's two tours on the Continent, which were set apart to be printed, have been lost for more than a century. Thus it cannot be established unequivocally why Berne, among the Swiss Protestant towns, was selected.

It is certain that Vautravers, whom Hollis first met in Genoa on his second tour to Italy, had a great influence on him. He was a citizen of Vevey on the Lake of Geneva, a Bernese subject, but in fact something of a 'knight-errant' all over Europe. He used to tutor young noblemen on their tours and was constantly tempted to live beyond his means and station. He held advanced ideas and on this common ground a strange sort of 'symbiosis' was founded. Vautravers became Hollis's representative abroad, the camouflage of his identity. He acted as an intermediary and suggested further donations, not forgetting his own purse... (More than once Hollis's generosity rescued him from impending bankruptcy.) In spite of being 'a citizen of the World', Vautravers longed for a post however subordinate in the administration of his native country, preferably in a cultural department. Thus he hoped to secure an advantage for himself by attracting Hollis's benefaction to Berne.

His design was favoured by two facts which were certain to direct Hollis's attention to Berne. First, General Ludlow, proscribed as 'regicide' after 1660, had found refuge at Vevey, Vautravers' native town, under the generous protection of Their Excellencies of Berne, to whom Ludlow's *Memoirs* are dedicated. Vautravers busied himself collecting references to Ludlow's thirty years' exile, and Hollis was prompted to emulate Ludlow's gratitude. Secondly, Hollis was eager to promote the foundation of learned societies abroad, since he was convinced that they could develop the spirit of free inquiry and advance the good of mankind 'by deeds of peace'. He was therefore pleased to learn that the 'Oekonomische Gesellschaft' had just been founded in Berne by liberal-minded members of the aristocracy. A correspondence was established through Vautravers with its counterpart, the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce, in London, their publications, mainly dealing with the improvement of agriculture, were regularly exchanged and the chairmen mutually elected honorary members. As far as his anonymity

permitted, Hollis participated in this interchange of ideas and even tried to extend it by sending the annual publication of the Bernese society to Harvard and to Charleston, South Carolina.

Thus, his great donation was made in the light of what had been done in Berne so far, and encouraged those endeavouring to 'spread truth and liberty everywhere'. When in May 1765 he received the letter of thanks, he wrote to Vautravers: 'I am more happy in possessing the letter written to me by order of Their Excellencies of the government of Berne than if I had been gifted an estate or had obtained honor of other kind whatsoever.'

This, however, was not the end of Hollis's relations with Berne. His favourable opinion of Their Excellencies' government was to prove to be mistaken. This became clear by the fates of two men, Rousseau and Herbort.

In 1765, while the donation was being unpacked in Berne, Rousseau was mentioned in Vautravers' correspondence. He told Hollis about Rousseau's plan of taking refuge in England. Hollis advised against Rousseau's settling down, especially 'as we all of us are under the force of certain habits', but agreed that a visit might improve his health. So Hollis dispatched Wallis's standard Grammar to Rousseau on St. Peter's Island in the Lake of Biel. It did not reach him because, in the meantime, he had been expelled by Their Excellencies and was already on his way to England. Hollis's forecast turned out to be right: Rousseau was not happy in the land of liberty. Hollis never met him because he was afraid of revolutionaries with uncouth manners, but he pitied him as a victim of persecution. Hollis had indignant letters from his informant published in London journals. His respect for the government of Berne was dwindling.

It broke down when Hollis heard of the punishment inflicted upon the Rev. Beat Herbort in Berne.³ Six months after the banishment of Rousseau, Herbort's small book entitled *Versuch über wichtige Wahrheiten zur Glückseligkeit der Menschen*, printed anonymously at Biel to escape Their Excellencies' attention, was seized by order of the Secret Council of Berne. All the copies that could be recovered were burnt in the stove of the Town Hall and the author, himself a member of the oligarchy, was arrested. In spite of his ill health and old age he was condemned by the Sovereign Council of the Republic to six years' confinement in his own house, to expulsion from the clergy and was explicitly forbidden to utter any more of his dangerous ideas. Those ideas, supposed to be 'conducive to the happiness of mankind', reveal themselves in this book as a humble request, which is argued in most respectful words: Herbort is shocked at the number of oaths a Swiss has to take; he wishes the formula to be changed by omitting the threats of hell-fire, and suggests that oaths should not be

³ His case is fully discussed in my essay: *Ein Opfer der bernischen Zensur: Pfarrer Herborts Buch 'Versuch über wichtige Wahrheiten zur Glückseligkeit der Menschen', 1766*, in: *Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern*, XLIV (1957).

enforced in matters of conscience. Some copies of the suppressed book were in Vautravers' hands and he kept Hollis informed on the proceedings against Herbolt. His plea, however cautiously expressed, was for religious liberty and his fate was bound to rouse Hollis's sympathy. He reviewed Herbolt's book in the *London Chronicle*: '... There are no people in the world who pride themselves more on their freedom than the Swiss, and yet there are few nations more arbitrarily and more tyrannically oppressed. The sensible Author of this excellent book is, at this instant, scandalously persecuted by the very tyrants who forced the celebrated Rousseau to take refuge in this country.' This is his revised, ironic picture of Republican liberty, and means an abrupt end to the hopes Hollis had connected with his donation.

All the same, it was not the end of his relations with Berne. The Secret Council took great offence at the anonymous article in the *London Chronicle* and through Norton, the British minister in Switzerland, requested His Majesty's Government 'to order the article to be contradicted, the Publisher punished, and his correspondent, if possible, brought to light'. The answer was, as Norton had expected, a courteous refusal to comply. The minister was to explain to the Bernese authorities that the *London Chronicle* was no official paper and the Government, therefore, not responsible for what it published. He should 'endeavour to make them consider it, what in truth it is, an Ebullition of Liberty, unavoidable to a Country constituted like ours'. The deputies of the Secret Council, accordingly, were taught a lesson on the liberty of the press. 'They could not help testifying some surprise at the Extent of English Liberty.' The Secret Council (Hollis had called it the Inquisition in his article) were not discouraged yet, they gave instructions to a secret agent in London to discover the author, and a sum up to 100 guineas was put at this agent's disposal. However, they failed to realize that the 'magnanimous donor' of the books and the 'infamous slanderer' of the newspaper article were one and the same man. Hollis inserted an obituary notice on Herbolt, who had died a few months after the sentence, and even encouraged the Rev. Dr Robertson to translate the proscribed book. It was published in 1768 as *An Essay on Truths of Importance to the Happiness of Mankind; wherein the Doctrine of Oaths, as relative to Religious and Civil Government, is impartially considered*.

By this book Hollis was able to gauge the standard of censorship in the Republic of Berne. He was intelligent enough to realize that most of his favourite books on politics and religion would fall short of that standard. Obviously, only their beautiful bindings, which had become the pride of the Library, their unintelligible language, and Sinner's complicity, saved them from the stake. Hollis had been utterly mistaken, and in his last years he resolved to focus his attention on New England where his ideas were sure to be understood.

However, he was not altogether misled. The members of the Bernese Executive and Secret Council, it is true, had given ample evidence that

theirs was a kind of Ancien Régime; but other members of the aristocracy, such as Herbolt, Sinner, Haller, and the committee of the Economic Society were just the men he had been seeking: they were open-minded 'citizens of the world', but cautious, and rather inclined to preserve the old traditions than to discard them rashly; no revolutionaries, but unprejudiced reformers; no democrats, but men like himself, who cultivated human intercourse and suspected the interference of the State. Hollis, as his obituary mentions, 'preferred above all a private station'. That is why he kept away from political activity and chose to work in the background. Evidence might be given that he shirked decisive action. This may be another reason why his scheme was bound to fail outside New England. It is easy to scorn his eccentric endeavours. Boswell did so, when on his journey through Switzerland he was shown the donation of his unknown countryman. His diary exposes the donor as 'whimsical, ... a most prodigious Whig' and the most prominent books as 'dainty pieces of British republican writing', concluding 'in short, he has made me laugh very heartily'.

We may join in the laughter, or we may consider that, as history teaches us, the English political and religious writings of the 17th and 18th centuries had a major influence on the progress of thought and its realization abroad. Those ideas, obviously, had to be communicated, and Hollis was one of the lesser channels. His efforts ought to be valued as such, regardless of their partial failure.

Biel.

HANS UTZ.

Wordsworth and the Simplon Pass

I

In the summer of 1790 Wordsworth, who had just turned twenty, made the first and most important of his tours on the Continent with his college friend Robert Jones. It was a rapid and fairly strenuous, but happy fourteen weeks' walking tour by two country-bred young men used to long tramps in their native hills.

The overriding, irresistible impulse which made Wordsworth risk academic promotion and success and devote the greater part of his last holidays to this enterprise was the call of the Alps. The pre-romantic discovery of their primitive grandeur had led to extensive travelling in the late sixties and especially in the seventies and eighties. By the time Wordsworth and Jones set out on their tour the Alps were in their first glory and Montblanc then played the part Mount Everest was to play in our day. Though he was following in the wake of many hundreds of

MAP I

o = Places where W.s.J. slept

10 20 30 miles
10 20 30 leagues



MAP II

- Mule track 1790
- New Road (Napoleon) used in 1820 by W.W.s D.W.
- - - - - Wrong path





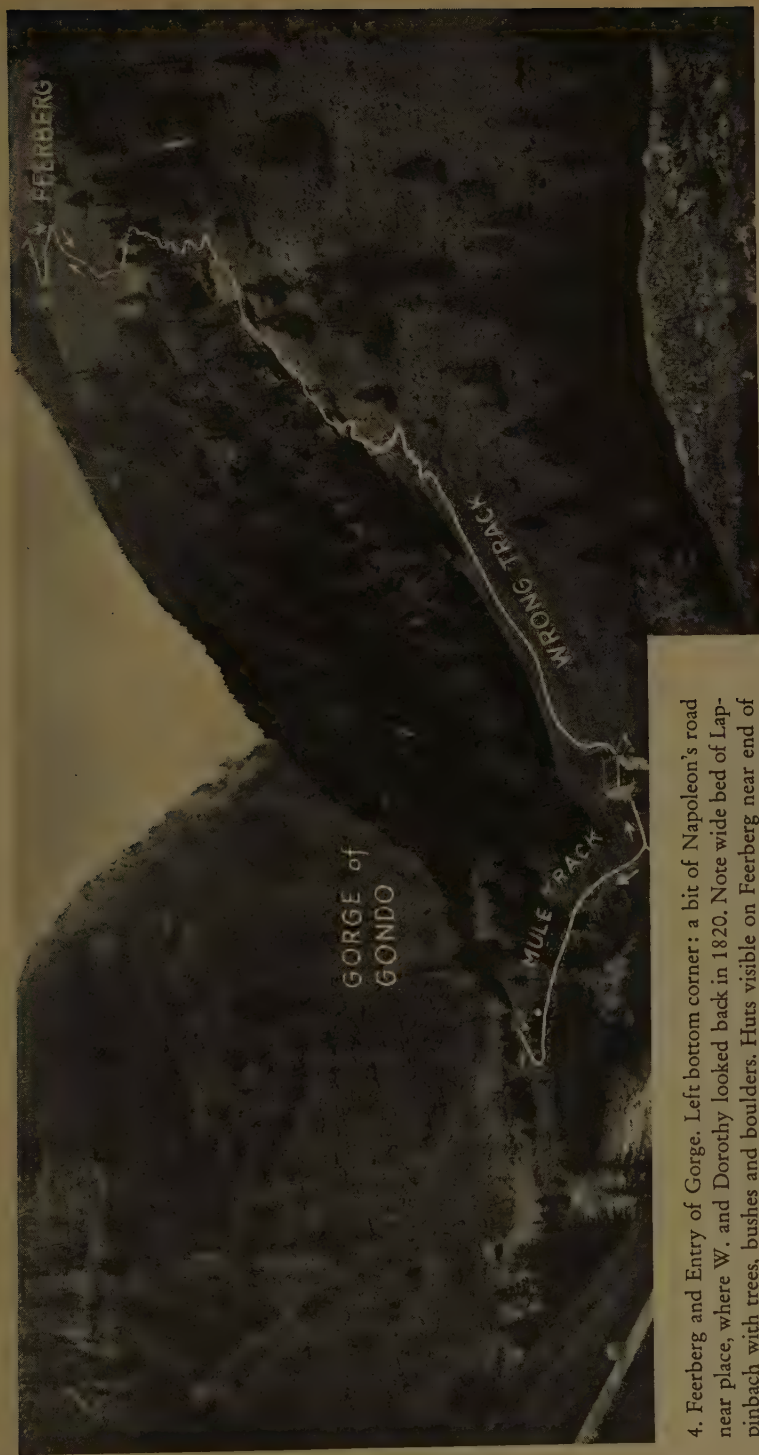
1. Old Hospice on Simplon Pass (6166 ft)
where W. had his midday meal. Prel. VI. 565



2. The "dreary Mansion" of Prel. VI. 645 at
Gondo. Stockalper's depot, built 1678



3. The Height of Simplon Pass (6587 ft) on a clear day. To the left Fletschhorn (13110 ft).
Note level plateau in foreground. The mountains were probably covered by clouds when W. passed.



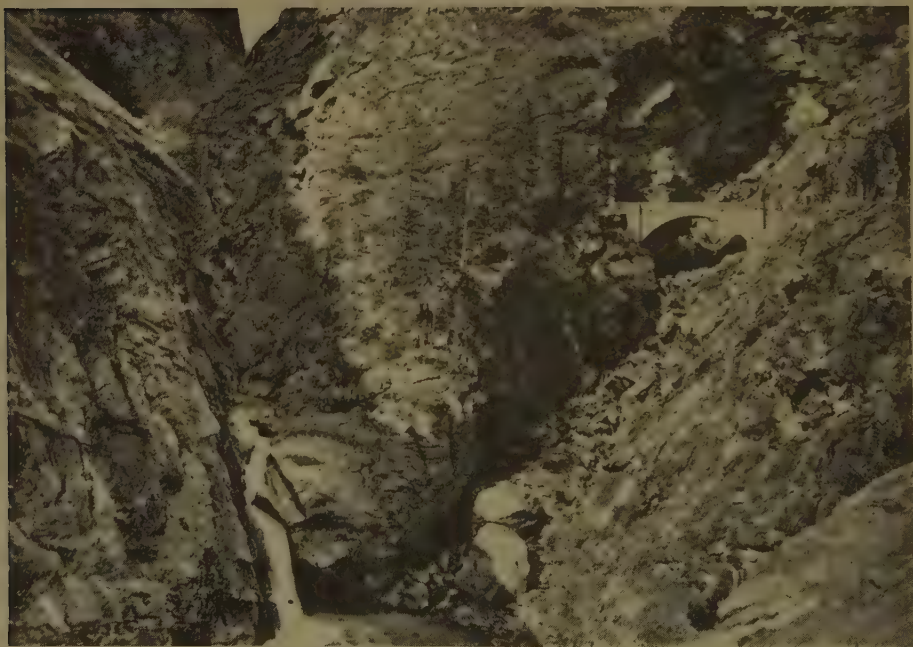
4. Feerberg and Entry of Gorge. Left bottom corner: a bit of Napoleon's road near place, where W. and Dorothy looked back in 1820. Note wide bed of Lapinbach with trees, bushes and boulders. Huts visible on Feerberg near end of white line are at Pt. 1455 of Map II. Meeting with peasant may have been higher up. (See Map. II).



5. Hohsteg and river Doveria before tapping



6. Gondo Gorge (lower reach)



7. Confluence of Doveria (left) and Alpienbach (right). W. passed along steep slope going to left upper corner. W. and Dorothy passed bridge across former waterfall in 1820.

other sentimental travellers, Wordsworth was, unlike them, returning, without knowing it, to forms of nature and of society which were closely akin to those amongst which he had spent his early years.

The route the two Cambridge students followed shows the magnetism which certain specific places exercised in those days. The first of these is the Grande Chartreuse, made famous by the visit of the poet Thomas Gray and Horace Walpole. It was their first objective, which they reached after three weeks on the roads and rivers of France. The next was the celebrated shore of the Lake of Geneva, the home of Rousseau's Julie and the cradle of romanticism. Then came Montblanc and Chamonix, made famous by Horace Bénédict de Saussure's impressive *Voyages dans les Alpes*, which had begun to appear in 1779. Wordsworth and Jones must have heard of the world of mysterious glaciers above Chamonix, or they would not have gone twenty miles out of their way and stayed two days, a most unusual thing, at Chamonix.

The rest of the tour took them up along the Rhone to Brig, from there across the Simplon Pass to Lago Maggiore, eastwards to Lake Como, and from the head of its valley across the Forcola and San Bernardino passes into the Grisons as far down as Reichenau; then up the young Rhine again and across Oberalp pass and the Schöllenen into the region famed for its association with William Tell, thence by way of Lucerne to the lake of Zürich, to Glaris and Appenzell, Constance and Schaffhausen with the Falls of the Rhine. From there they made a farewell tour into the hills of the Bernese Oberland by way of Lucerne, the Brünig pass and the Grosse Scheidegg to Grindelwald and Lauterbrunnen, and reluctantly homewards via Interlaken and Thun to Avenches, Bienne; and then across the Jura hills to Basle, where they took boat down the Rhine.

This route follows an itinerary that was well known at the end of the eighteenth century. It follows in fact, though the order is reversed, the route described by William Coxe in his *Sketches of the Natural, Civil, and Political State of Swisserland* (1779) and the conclusion is almost inevitable that Wordsworth and Jones must have had this book, by a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, in their hands before they set out. Without a distinct memory of Coxe's admirable and enthusiastic chapters on Appenzell and the Canton of Glaris, and his references to the abbey of Einsiedeln, they would hardly have gone out of their way to see these very places, nor would Wordsworth perhaps have turned so confidently to the same book in its extended, vastly improved French version of 1781/82, giving Ramond's translation and profoundly interesting additions, when in 1791 he started composing the 'Descriptive Sketches' in France.

Though the tour, then, followed paths where others had gone before, it was not unprepared. Tremendous expectations, some of the dreams of the age, drove the two students to the Alps. Their ideas of these regions were as yet very vague. They were abroad for the first time. Immense keenness, open and profoundly impressionable senses, together with memories of their northern childhood and attachments that had not yet

hardened into prejudice, and a willingness to learn and admire, were what they brought with them. They came without social pretensions; in fact, if there was anything outwardly unusual about their enterprise, it was that they travelled alone and on foot, without horses, carriages or servants. They avoided all inns, sleeping in huts and travellers' shelters such as the 'Spittals' on the Simplon route. All their belongings were carried in bundles, mostly on their heads. They met with much sympathy among the people, not only in France and Italy, but also among the sterner mountain people. There was much old-world hospitality and trust among people unspoiled by the tourist industry. And lastly, the world then, as now, loved the sight of young blood, innocent eyes, and strong limbs.

In the following pages the events of one day only of those fourteen weeks will claim our attention. It is August 16th, 1790, a Monday, the day on which Wordsworth and Jones crossed the Alps at the Simplon without knowing it, lost their way and had to retrace their steps, finally passed the Great Gondo Gorge and reached the Italian frontier.

The impressions, emotions and experiences of that day were to give rise to some of the most memorable passages of 'The Prelude', the finest of these being the profoundly imaginative verses which Wordsworth published in 1845 under the title 'The Simplon Pass'.

There are six different sources which throw light on Wordsworth's original experience :

- 1) a small notebook (now preserved at Dove Cottage, Grasmere) in which Wordsworth noted down a list of places where he and Jones spent the nights during their trip. The list is published by de Selincourt in Vol. I 325/326 of his edition of Wordsworth's *Poetical Works* (quoted as *P. W.*).
- 2) the long letter Wordsworth wrote to his sister Dorothy from Kesswil on September 6, 1790, three weeks after crossing the Simplon. (*E. L.*³³ = *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. by E. de Selincourt, 1935, Vol. I, p. 33.)
- 3) The 'Descriptive Sketches' published in 1793, composed in France in 1792/93, two years after the trip, in which only a few scattered passages refer to it. (*P. W.* I. 42-89.)
- 4) 'The Prelude', published in 1850, in which the passages referring to the passing of the Simplon are to be found in Bk VI (quoted as *Prel.* VI; quotations, unless marked A (1805) are from the 1850 version).
- 5) Dorothy Wordsworth's full and most valuable diary, kept day by day during the Continental Tour undertaken in 1820, 30 years after the event. The chief passages are to be found in Vol. II 257-264 of de Selincourt's edition (abbreviated *D. W. J.* II 257-264.)
- 6) The unpublished Journal kept by Mary (Mrs.) Wordsworth on the same tour in 1820, preserved in the Wordsworth Museum at Dove Cottage, Grasmere. (Through the kind help of Professor John Butt, one of the Trustees of the Wordsworth Museum, the author of this

article has been able to obtain a copy of the relevant passages of Mary Wordsworth's Journal. He expresses his sincere thanks to Miss Phoebe Johnson, Assistant Librarian at Dove Cottage, and to Professor John Butt.)

In the famous letter written under the immediate impression of his tour, Wordsworth refers to the Alps and, by way of contrast, to the Lake of Como, in the following words:

.. At Brig we quitted the Valais, and passed the Alps at the Simplon, in order to visit part of Italy. The impressions of three hours of our walk among the Alps will never be effaced ... The shores of the lake (of Como) consist of steep, covered with large sweeping woods of chestnut, spotted with villages; ... It was impossible not to contrast *that repose, that complacency of spirit*, produced by these lovely scenes, with the sensations I had experienced two or three days before, in passing the Alps. At the lake of Como, my mind ran through a *thousand dreams of happiness which might be enjoyed upon its banks, if heightened by conversation and the social affections. Among the more awful scenes of the Alps I had not a thought of man, or a single created being; my whole soul was turned to him who produced the terrible majesty before me.*

One would like to know which were the three unforgettable hours. Where did Wordsworth spend them? What was it that impressed him so deeply that he returned to this experience again and again as to one of those 'spots of time' in connection with which the deepest revelations were vouchsafed to him?

It cannot have been the five hours' ascent of the pass in the early morning, as much of it is deep down in the valley, with a final climb which Wordsworth calls 'steep and rugged' in the passage which refers to it (VI. 564. 1850). The 'halting place' where they took their midday meal (VI. 565/566) is the old 'hospice' known as Stockalper Spittal (see photograph, No. 1) built in 1667 by Baron Stockalper as a stores depot and shelter for muleteers and other travellers. It stands, as Wordsworth distinctly says in a discarded variant (*Prelude*, ed. Selincourt 1928, p. 202, l. 494-502), on the other, southern side of the ridge, i.e. the top of the Pass. It continued the charitable mission of an older hospice founded by the Knights of St. John. It is most probable that Wordsworth and Jones had a free meal there, for such meals were given to all travellers until 1929. (Unfortunately there are no records of travellers in the Stockalper Archives at Brig.)

For the next phase we quote the 1850 version (VI. 566 ff.):

Hastily rose our guide,
Leaving us at the board; awhile we lingered,
Then paced the beaten downward way that led
Right to a rough stream's edge, and there broke off;

The 'rough stream' they had reached was the Lagginbach, which carries the waters of a number of glaciers of the Weissmies range down to Gstein (Gabi) and there joins the waters from the Simplon valley. Its bed is 'wide and broken up by torrents' as Dorothy Wordsworth notes (Journal II, 259) and as may be seen on the photograph No. 4. In Wordsworth's day there was a wooden bridge here for mule-traffic, which is marked on

old maps preserved in the cantonal archives. After the building of the road in 1804 the path fell into disuse; the bridge was torn way by floods and was replaced by a few planks. On the other side of the bridge the mule-track was probably hidden among huge boulders and loose stones, left by the violent glacier stream. To any one standing where the photograph No. 4 was taken (the spot mentioned by Dorothy in her Journal) or farther down where Wordsworth and Jones stood hesitating, it is understandable that they should have mistaken the path leading uphill for the mule-path to Italy. It continues in the direction in which they came, as Map 2 shows clearly, whereas the right way turned off at a sharp angle to the left. In the Middle Ages, when the gorge was as yet impassable, it had served as one of the bypasses and had also given access to some small gold mines in the Zwischenbergtal worked by Baron Stockalper's miners. There is a group of cottages at point 1455 of the map, the first of the scattered huts and houses of Feerberg, as the steep slope is called. It must have been among these dwellings, or higher up, that our travellers were hailed by a friendly peasant, probably struck by their outlandish garb. The Feerberg path over Furgge to Zwischenbergtal was, and still is, used by the local inhabitants only. The conversation that followed presents a minor linguistic problem. The German-Swiss dialect of that region is hard to understand even for the Swiss. Wordsworth may have tried to express himself in Italian, and if the peasant had done service as muleteer on the route to Italy he may have understood him; asking the way can, however, be done by pointing alone. Wordsworth, in his meticulously matter-of-fact verse account, makes it clear that they had become uncertain of their path (*Prel.* VI. 575). Little was therefore needed to halt them. After repeated efforts — even this detail is brought out by the verse account — it became clear to them that the right way was downhill. It was then that it dawned on the two travellers that they had crossed the Alps, that the gentle ridge they had passed before midday had actually been the watershed and summit of the pass. Two circumstances contributed to their mistake. As Dorothy tells us, the weather on that far-off August day had been rainy, hence there was no view of the snow-clad 'pikes' and the glaciers that made so deep an impression on Mrs. Wordsworth and Dorothy when they saw them in 1820 (*D. W. J.* 262). Had her brother and his friend seen Fletschhorn on one side (photograph No. 3) and Kaltwassergletscher on the other, it would have been abundantly clear to them that here was the top of the pass. As it was, they probably passed the actual summit without recognising it since, as on other Alpine passes, it is on a fairly wide, level glacial terrace.

Again, as on the Col de Balme, when he had his first glimpse of Montblanc, there was disappointment, all the deeper as the expectations connected with the idea of crossing the Alps had been much vaguer and vaster. They had been deprived of the anticipated sensation of standing, so to say, on the top of the Alps, of achieving some dramatic climax.

It was this that occasioned originally the 'dejection', the 'deep and genuine sadness' (*Prel.* A VI 491) for, after all, this had been their purpose in coming so far. 'The ambition of youth was disappointed', says Dorothy (D. W. J. II 260) 'and they remeasured their steps with sadness . . . W. was waiting to shew us the track, on the green precipice. It was impossible for me to say how much it had moved him, when he discovered it was the very same which had tempted him in his youth. The feelings of that time came back with the freshness of yesterday, accompanied with a dim vision of thirty years of life between. We traced the path together, with our eyes, till hidden among the cottages, where they had first been warned of their mistake.'

The passage, the last sentences of which refer to the view shown in the photograph No. 4, has here been given in full because of the extraordinary amplification this experience underwent in 1804, when Wordsworth composed the lines 525-548 of the early version of Book VI of his great poem.

The time Wordsworth and his friend lost by taking the wrong path can scarcely have been more than an hour and a half, for the cottages of which Dorothy speaks are reached within an hour's climb. Moreover, the 'dull and heavy slackening' (A 551) was 'soon dislodged' by the refreshing movement of their hurried descent and by the impressions that crowded upon them as they entered the great ravine, which was to give them ample compensation for the disappointment they had suffered.

In those days without maps and with no local guide to lead their steps, the ravine of Gondo came to them as a complete surprise. It must have been between three or four in the afternoon of that rainy, 'vapoury' day, when they entered the tremendous defile of the gorge. It is here that the granite of the central Alps is cleft by the action of the wild glacier waters of the Doveria (or Diveria, Divedro, Vedro or Toggia as it is variously called). The ravine, one of the wildest and most grandiose of the Alps, is three miles long and from 1500 to 2500 ft deep. At one point, marked Hohsteg on Map 2, it narrows to a gap of some fifty years' width, which was impassable in earlier centuries, like the Schöllenen gorge at the Devil's Bridge on the Gotthard route. Some time in the late Middle Ages it was bridged, and a passage cut into the sheer rock face. Wordsworth and Jones passed the old Hohsteg, i.e. the wooden bridge that preceded the fine stone structure built by Napoleon's engineers in 1806, which is still in use. The photograph No. 5 of the bridge (from an old postcard) shows the grey waters of the Doveria in their original strength before the building of the power station. The bleached and rounded rocks to the right in the middle distance show how high the torrent rose after a period of rains, such as the one preceding the day when Wordsworth passed. Immediately below the bridge the waters tumble down the chasm in a huge waterfall.

Despite the ravages of 150 years the old mule track is still visible in very many places. When it was rebuilt in the 1660's it must have been a very fine path paved with large granite flagstones, some of which are

still in place in sheltered parts of the track. By 1785 the patch had, however, fallen into disrepair, due to the lack of traffic. The muleteers and their masters, who had been responsible for the maintenance of the track, refused to pay the heavy costs of repairs. Two years before Wordsworth and Jones went over the Simplon, repairing had been resumed, but even then the passage through the gorge must have appeared hazardous and intensely dramatic, with its ever-changing scenery and the roar of the great waters now above them, now immediately at their feet and, in the most dangerous place where the path is suspended on an exceedingly steep slope, roaring and chafing invisibly in an immeasurably deep chasm of which the track at moments revealed a 'sick sight' far below them, like a boiling cauldron.

There is a vivid description of the scene as it presented itself to a traveller coming uphill from Italy in September 1777. This was the celebrated Swiss historian Johannes von Müller, who was accompanied by Jean Trembley and Thomas Gray's friend Karl Victor von Bonstetten, another Alpine enthusiast, who very nearly succeeded in bringing the elderly author of the *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* to the Bernese Oberland. In his *Diary of a Swiss Journey* (*Tagebuch einer Schweizerreise*) he writes: 'You go across pastures and over rocks, over unstable, swaying bridges, past the ruins of older and better bridges . . the rock face towers high above you and down below seems gnawed away by the pounding waves of the wild Toggia. The pass leads over colossal threatening ruins. The river beside us was sometimes almost hidden by mountains, and sometimes it tumbled like smoke into hideous depths below.' (Quoted in Pfarrer P. Arnold's history of the pass and the village of Simplon: *Der Simplon* 1947, p. 128.)

Even regarding the original impression left by the gorge on her brother's mind, Dorothy Wordsworth would be a most important witness, were it not for the fact that in the interval of 30 years between 1790 and 1820, the date of her Continental Tour, the mule track had been abandoned, and in many places obliterated by the construction of Napoleon's famous military road in 1800-1805. The Wordsworths — William, Dorothy and Mary —, went up the new road from Domodossola and entered the gorge in the afternoon of September 9th after looking at Gondo. 'Our path was between precipices still more gloomy and awful than before (what must they have been in the time of rain and vapour when my brother was here before — on the narrow track instead of our broad road, that smoothes every difficulty!). Skeletons of tall pine-trees beneath us in the dell, and above our heads — their stems and shattered branches as grey as the stream of the Vedro, or the crags strewn at their feet. The scene was truly sublime when we came in view of the finest of the galleries.' (D. W. is referring here to the galleries that start immediately beyond the bridge across the Alpienbach, which was one of the sights.) 'We sate upon the summit of a huge precipice of stone to the left of the road, the river raging below after having tumbled in a tremendous cataract

down the crags in front of our station.' The photograph No. 7, taken from this spot, is only a miserable echo, now that most of the water of the 'tremendous Cataract' to the left and all the water of Alpenbach to the right has been diverted.

One has to read the fumbling attempts of prose-writers, even one as good as Evelyn, who passed the Simplon in 1646, or Dorothy Wordsworth and Johannes von Müller, to realise how difficult it is to represent in words the impressions made by Alpine scenery and to realize the miracle Wordsworth achieved in the lines of *Prel.* VI. 621-635.

What remains of the scene today — even after the torrent, the very pulse and soul of the ravine, has been reduced to an inaudible trickle of water — is grandiose in itself, and allows one to guess at the impression it must have made as evening descended that August day, when our two wanderers, still subdued by their recent disappointment, were overwhelmed by the majesty of the scene, the solitude and forlornness amidst those elemental forms and powers. It must be remembered that the torrent and all its tributaries shooting down, like the Alpenbach, from the steepes on both sides were swollen by the recent rains and that it was the time of year when the glaciers are melting and the Alpine rivers are in full spate.

There is no longer any need to ask which were the three unforgettable hours of which Wordsworth speaks in his letter to Dorothy from Kesswil. The first was the hour of shock and disappointment on the Feerberg, the other two were the succeeding ones that brought the revelation of mountain grandeur in the depths of the ravine of Gondo. In the poem about his own life Wordsworth came to separate the experience of the first and the later hours (*Prel.* VI. 561-591 — 617-640); one should remember that in reality they immediately followed each other, exaltation closely after despondency.

We now come to the last part of that long and eventful day. After twelve hours' march, with little rest except their prolonged lunch hour at the Old Spittal on the mountain, our travellers arrived at the frontier village now called Gondo, which in those days still bore its German-Swiss name of Ruden. Here they spent that 'awful' night of which we read in *Prel.* VI. 641 ff.

That night our lodging was a house that stood
Alone within the valley, at a point
Were, tumbling from aloft, a torrent swelled
The rapid stream whose margin we had trod;
A dreary mansion, large beyond all need,
With high and spacious rooms, deafened and stunned
By noise of waters, making innocent sleep
Lie melancholy among weary bones.

This 'dreary mansion', too, can be identified, thanks to Dorothy's Journal (D.W. J. II. 258/9) where we find the passage: 'Soon after we perceive a large and very striking building . . . a square tower at the further end of the roof, and towards us, a lofty gable front, step-like on each steeply sloping side, in the style of some of our old reefs in the north

of England ... the wildest of all harbours, yet even stately in form, and seemingly fitted to war with the fiercest tempests.' (See photograph No. 2) Even now it is 'large beyond all need', having been built for Baron Stockalper and his more than 200 muleteers and their animals and goods in 1678. The torrent is the Grosswasser coming from the Zwischbergental, whose fall even now, though much reduced in volume, fills the valley with its sound.

There is still a minor biographical mystery to be solved. At Gondo Dorothy Wordsworth betrayed her insatiable curiosity in everything associated with her brother's early adventures in the Alps by wanting to go into the old Spittal to see the 'high and spacious rooms' where he had spent the night 'unable to sleep', as she mysteriously adds, 'from other causes', his ears stunned by a tremendous torrent, 'then swoln by rainy weather' (D.W. J. 2). Her curiosity had all been 'for the sake of tales of thirty years gone by', i.e. on account of the very full and exciting report her brother had given her of his journey when he first met her after his return. So she now begged William to show her the room, but the poet could not be persuaded to go with her.

'Why was William unpersuadable?' Mrs. Moorman asks in her biography of the poet, after having pointed out that his curious nervousness could not be due to the roaring of the stream or to uncomfortable beds. (Mary Moorman, *W. W., The Early Years*, p. 142.) There is indeed something strange in Wordsworth's refusal, considering his willingness, shown all along the way, to explain all the topographical details connected with his undergraduate tour.

The explanation seems to be that Wordsworth had some kind of traumatic experience, some 'awful' melancholy during that night. The chief cause must have been, not so much the weariness of the bones, as the overwhelming series of powerful impressions received during the latter half of the day. These, together with the change of air and altitude, and the terrible 'sucking' sound of the torrent probably produced some form of mountain sickness in him, a disturbance like hallucination that often attacks sensitive persons in similar circumstances. If this was the cause of his sleeplessness, he would not have liked to be reminded of his weakness.

However this may have been, the impressions received on that day were so deep that they not only inspired Wordsworth to write the lines entitled 'The Simplon Pass' in 1799 but also gave rise, if only indirectly, to a mood of mystic illumination which descended on the poet when he was about to describe the adventure on the Simplon. The relation of the 'mystic' lines (*Prel.* VI. 592-616) to the verses on the Simplon Pass and to Wordsworth's earlier attempts in his 'Descriptive Sketches' of 1793 will be dealt with in a second part of this essay.

W. B. Yeats and W. J. Turner

1935 - 1937

(With unpublished letters)*

W. B. Yeats's biographers explain his change from the 'smiling public man' of the nineteen-twenties into the out-of-date Irish nationalist of the following decade chiefly by the uprush of vitality, the mood of joyous energy which came with his recovery from a prolonged illness. However, as he was rarely well during the remaining years of his life, the explanation seems hardly sufficient. Instead of speculating about its origins, I propose to study, within the limits of my material, the two main aspects of the new mood, namely the desire to bring about a union of poetry and music, and the opposition against the dominant trends in contemporary English verse.

After the death of W. J. Turner in 1946, part of his correspondence with Yeats has come to hand which, though not adding materially to the facts as related by Mr. Joseph Hone and other biographers, permits a closer view of the period from 1935 to 1937. During these three years Yeats worked on the *Oxford Book of Modern Verse*, the translation of the *Upanishads*, the *Broadsides*, and the broadcasts of poetry. As he was often occupied simultaneously with more than one of these, many of his letters deal with several subjects. Within the four principal headings to which they are assigned, the letters are presented in chronological order.

(1) *The Oxford Book of Modern Verse*

Yeats had always believed in the unbroken bardic tradition of poetry in Ireland. When the Abbey Theatre was opened 1904, he wrote: 'Irish poetry and Irish stories were made to be spoken or sung, while English literature, alone of great literatures, because the newest of them all, has all but completely shaped itself in the printing press'.¹ Two conditions have usually favoured a revival of ballads and folk songs: the impoverishment of literature through conventionality of form and subject-matter, and the rise of communistic feelings.² The revival of ballad-poetry Yeats under-

* *Acknowledgements.* I am deeply obliged to Mrs. D. Mewton-Wood for giving me access to the private papers of W. J. Turner. My thanks are due to Mrs. W. B. Yeats and to Messrs. A. P. Watt and Son for allowing me to use eighteen unpublished letters from Yeats to Turner. To Mrs. Helen Beauclerk, the literary executrix of the late Edmund Dulac, I am indebted for the permission to quote from his unpublished letters and notes. I gratefully acknowledge my obligation to Mrs. Patric Dickinson for much valuable information and criticism.

¹ *Plays and Controversies*, Macmillan, 1923, p. 169. From 'Literature and the Living Voice'.

² Robert Graves, *The English Ballad*, E. Benn, 1937 (2nd. ed.).

took in old age sprang partly from his dislike of the intellectual and nerveless tone of a great deal of contemporary English verse, and partly from his newly discovered sympathy for the common man:

But when the suffering of 1927-1929 brought him acutely back to elemental life, he came to feel, however vicariously, much of that sympathy with the folk he had lacked before.³

He set out on his work for the *Oxford Book* with the general intention of opposing 'bardic' poetry to 'the Ezra, Eliot, Auden school'.⁴ Hence the large proportion of Irish verse, often of ballad or songlike character, in the anthology. Gogarty, Lady Gregory, Higgins, Stephens, AE, Synge, O'Connor, MacNeice, figure prominently in the collection, and 36 of the total of 378 poems are translations, mostly from the Irish.

Yeats knew the poets of his own generation, but read little of the work by the younger writers. He had seen W. J. Turner at the Savile Club and learned that he was music critic for the *New Statesman*. He discovered in conversation that, like himself, Turner was opposed to 'the Ezra, Eliot, Auden school' and by 1935 had published a dozen books of verse. When Yeats read these books, which Turner had sent him to Dublin, he conceived the plan to assign to Turner the rôle of protagonist in the campaign against the English poets he was going to launch with his anthology.

1. Riversdale,
Willbrook,
Rathfarnham,
Dublin.

(Postmark 17.IX.35)
Sept. 15 1935

Dear Turner,

How much do I owe you for those books.

I am lost in admiration and astonishment — I was about to say most at your 'Seven days' then I recalled lovely things in other books. I have been weighing this man and that with a cold mind and here comes majestic song. I have done nothing for two days but read you. I will give as full a representation of your work as I can. It seems my own purified and exalted.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

For several days he remained spellbound by Turner's verse. On September 17, 1935, he wrote to Dorothy Wellesley: 'Some of the poems are exquisite. I choose the word deliberately — exquisite as a flower or a seabird.'⁵ Moreover, he found in *The Seven Days of the Sun*

³ *The Permanence of Yeats*, N. Y., Macmillan Co., 1950, p. 373. From 'Yeats and Crazy Jane: The Hero in Old Age'.

⁴ *The Letters of W. B. Yeats*, ed. by Allan Wade. Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954, p. 833. Later this book is referred to as *Wade*.

⁵ *Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley*, Oxford University Press, 1940, p. 30. Later this book is referred to as *Wellesley*.

(Chatto & Windus, 1925) the same philosophy as in her poem 'Matrix'. He publicly repeated his praise in the final section of his Introduction to the *Oxford Book*, saying that he 'would, but for a failure of talent have been in that [i.e. the school] of Turner and Dorothy Wellesley.'

In a typewritten letter on Oxford Press notepaper, bearing the postmark 14.X.35, he asked for Turner's formal permission to reprint some of the poems. There is a manuscript addition which reads:

2. Formal letter sent for my signature.

I want a lot, but how else can I show my admiration for your work? I ask from most one or two poems.

Please let me abbreviate 'Epithalmium' [*sic*]. I will explain when I see you. I want to abbreviate the title too to just 'Epithalmium'.

On its first publication in *The Dark Fire* (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1918) the poem was entitled 'Epithalamium for a Modern Wedding' and was preceded by a stanza spoken by the bridegroom and followed by four others expressing the poet's philosophy of beauty. Turner restored the original version in his *Selected Poems* (Oxford, 1939).

Yeats arrived in London on October 25, 1935, and on the same day had lunch with Turner at the Savile. After seeing a good deal of Turner he added a paragraph to his account of him in the Introduction to the *Oxford Book*, gently rebuking him for his former treatment of Lady Ottoline Morrell:⁶ 'a rich-natured friendly man he has in his satirical platonic dialogue *The Aesthetes* shot upon forbidden ground'. One of the characters in *The Aesthetes* (Wishart, 1927), called Dytton (which obviously stands for Lytton Strachey), thus analyses the character of their hostess (who is here called Virginia Caraway):⁷

Your description, Esmond, suggests that Virginia Caraway as we know her is merely a by-product of thwarted sex. Her hats, her cloaks, and her zebras are merely the hercomb, spurs, and ruffles of desire *rampant* — blue-blooded lust expressing itself heraldically. Moreover, since we know it is unusual for the female animal to display these insignia of sex — such ornamentation and vivid colouring being reserved throughout history for the male — it suggests that Virginia Caraway is more masculine than feminine [...]. If then, as we suppose, Virginia Caraway is a masculine *libido*, unable to express itself in direct creation, but which is, nevertheless, active, we account for the fact that normal males have invariably fled before her eagerly offered embraces.

Yeats regarded Turner's lack of tact as further evidence of an incomplete intellectual grasp of 'event and circumstance'. He could pardon Turner's gratuitous offensiveness, which his friends attributed to a love of paradox and *blague*, as it was not inspired by malice:⁸

He was no more malicious than a butterfly-hunter, before the day of collectors' poison-bottles, putting a pin through a peacock butterfly or a red admiral.

⁶ P. xxix.

⁷ P. 40.

⁸ Wade, p. 842 (15.XI.35).

When the *Oxford Book* was published, Ottoline Morrell was displeased with Yeats for having 'revived an attack which had fallen into oblivion'.⁹ Reflecting, however, that D. H. Lawrence's and Aldous Huxley's satirical portraits of her in *Women in Love* and *Crome Yellow* were better known than Turner's dialogue which, Yeats said, 'a very few people will ever read',¹⁰ he guessed that the real cause of her displeasure was that he had praised Turner too highly. How Yeats made peace with her and discovered in the process 'that no man can beat a woman in argument but that he may in swearing' is told in an amusing letter of March 24, 1937, to Dorothy Wellesley.¹¹ And this is Turner's final judgment of Ottoline Morrell: 'She was a personality and hers was the last of the great *salons*, as she was one of the last of the *grandes dames* of English aristocracy.'¹²

To return to Yeats's stay in London in the autumn of 1935. He went to a performance of Turner's *The Man Who Ate the Popomack* at the Grafton Theatre, 133 Tottenham Court Road, where it had started a short run on November 4. Yeats admired the play for its freshness of attack and told Turner so.¹³ In his Introduction to the *Oxford Book*, however, he writes that this 'suave, sophisticated comedy' is not consistent with Turner's 'talk about "snivelling majorities".'

Turner struck a blow against the common enemy when he criticised for the *New Statesman and Nation* of March 14, 1936, *The Faber Book of Modern Verse* edited by Michael Roberts, together with two other anthologies edited by I. M. Parsons and R. L. Mégroz respectively. He chastised

the contemporary idolatry of pseudo-science before which — Mr. T. S. Eliot, Mr. I. A. Richards and Mr. Herbert Read having made various preliminary profound and reverential bows — all the not yet individualised young have proceeded to prostrate themselves.

Yeats was represented in the *Faber Book*, but Bridges and Masfield were not. Turner, who was also left out, violently condemned Roberts for his choice of authors and for the general tone of his introduction which, he says, gives evidence that 'intellectual snobbery is on the increase'. As 'Yeats warmly applauded Turner's attack both for its form and contents',¹⁴ a further quotation may be given:

Numbers of *clerics* to-day have had their minds theory-eaten until they have become like cheeses that have lost their integrity and turned entirely into cheese-mites. This empty intellectualism reminds me strongly of the age of scholasticism at its worst, when the brains of many able men were turned into a network of intellectual subtleties out of which all substance had disappeared, and I dare prophesy that all the psycho-analytical jargon of to-day current in literary criticism will, in less than a hundred years, be considered mere childish nonsense.

⁹ Wellesley, p. 145 (11.III.37).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Wellesley, p. 146. See also Letter 15 (4.III.37).

¹² *The Duchess of Popocatepetl*, Dent, 1939, p. 213.

¹³ Letter 10 (24.XII.35).

¹⁴ Letter 4 (18.IV.36).

Yeats's judgment of T. S. Eliot: 'The worst language is Eliot's in all his early poems — a level flatness of rhythm',¹⁵ is echoed by Turner who, in the first of a series of *Four Lectures on the Future of Poetry*,¹⁶ quoted the first of Eliot's 'Preludes' to make good his contention that 'the inability to write poetry exists everywhere' and added:

Experience enters into this but not imagination. It is no more, in my opinion, than a piece of good journalistic description; and finally and decisively its lack of an inevitable, self-sufficing rhythm proclaims that it is made not created.

To illustrate more clearly the idea which guided him in his work for the anthology, namely that a new era had begun for English poetry when poets were no longer passive before the world, but in Berkeleyan fashion discovered that 'the flux is in my own mind', Yeats re-arranged his selection for the *Oxford Book* after his return from Spain in the summer of 1936.

The original selection from Turner is listed in Letter 2 (14.X.35). Apart from those eventually printed, it contained three poems: 'Giraffe and Tree', 'The Sea Carves Innumerable Shells', and 'The Fall' (from *Jack and Jill*, Dent, 1934). Yeats now added four other poems: 'Tragic Love', 'The Word Made Flesh?', 'Hymn to her Unknown', all three from *Songs and Incantations* (Dent, 1936), and 'Reflection' from *Seven Sciagraphical Poems* (privately printed, 1929). He eliminated what he judged 'vague rhetoric' from 'The Word Made Flesh?'¹⁷ and omitted 'The Fall'. By concentrating on the writer of songs and impassioned meditative verse and by leaving out the satirist, Yeats presented Turner as a poet who united music and thought.

The lack of sympathy between Yeats and 'the Ezra, Eliot, Auden school' may be illustrated also by the reception of the *Selections from the Poems of Dorothy Wellesley* which was published on Yeats's recommendation by Macmillan in 1936. Yeats explained to Dorothy Wellesley that Faber and Faber had refused the book because it would have interfered with other publications they were planning, notably one by Louis Macneice, 'an extreme radical',¹⁸ and the *Faber Book of Verse*, an 'ultra-radical anthology'.¹⁹

¹⁵ Wade, p. 846 (21.XII.35).

¹⁶ The first of these lectures, which are unpublished, was given on March 12, 1936, to the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

¹⁷ Wellesley, p. 72 (25.VI.36). Turner adopted some of Yeats's corrections as is shown by a comparison of the original version in *Songs and Incantations* with that in *Selected Poems* (O.U.P., 1939, p. 205). However, he never accepted the alteration made by Yeats in the last line of 'Reflection' because, as he wrote in a letter of July 6, 1945, to the author of the present article, 'it ruined the rhythm and did not make sense'. See also Turner's 'Impression of W. B. Yeats', in the W. B. Yeats Commemoration Number of *The Arrow*, published by the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, Summer 1939, p. 19.

¹⁸ Wellesley, p. 39 (20.X.35).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40 (24.X.35). Wade, p. 875 (23.XII.36).

A draft of Yeats's preface to the *Selections* is reproduced in the *Letters on Poetry from W. B. Yeats to Dorothy Wellesley* (Oxford, 1940).²⁰ In the final version of the preface Yeats inserted a reference to Turner which is worth quoting as it qualifies his earlier praise of *The Seven Days of the Sun*:

Then I came upon *Matrix*, a long meditation, perhaps the most moving philosophic poem of our time (Herbert Read's *Mutations of the Phoenix* is too obscure, Turner's *Seven Days of the Sun* a collection of fragments, some of exquisite beauty) — and discovered that it was moving precisely because its wisdom, like that of the sphinx, was animal below the waist.

Dorothy Wellesley was angered by some of the reviews she got.²¹ Stephen Spender, who reviewed the *Oxford Book* for the *Daily Worker* of December 16, 1936, had been particularly severe on her poem 'Horses'. In an unusually emotional letter Yeats wished to communicate to her his contempt for 'these propagandists'.²² But it was Turner who actively took up her defence and sent a letter of protest, dated December 24, 1936, to the editor of the *Daily Worker*, in which he says:

Mr. Spender's feelings about war poetry do him honour and I would be the last to attack them, although I think that he has not given due critical consideration to Mr. Yeats's point of view. What I wish to object to however, is his attack on the poetry of Dorothy Wellesley, especially as he suggests that I would not care for her company as a poet. I must say emphatically that this is not the case.

Dorothy Wellesley's verse was totally unknown to me until Mr. Yeats introduced it and for my own part I have to admit that her poems came to me as a surprising revelation.

While Turner thus continued, as Yeats had observed to Dorothy Wellesley a year earlier, 'to some extent fighting all our battles',²³ she herself seemed unaware of Turner's part in her literary career. There is a significant slip of memory in her autobiography *Far Have I Travelled* (J. Barrie, 1952):²⁴

In 1940 Hilda Matheson died suddenly — *amica amicarum*. The following year died also Walter Turner.

Four pages later she mentions Turner as one of those who came to her poetry and play readings. She also collaborated in various publications in which Turner was concerned. During the war Mr. and Mrs. Turner stayed at first at Rocks Farm when they were in Sussex; later, on Dorothy Wellesley's insistent wish, they moved altogether to Penns in the Rocks itself.

²⁰ Wellesley, pp. 25-29 (8.IX.35).

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 92 (26.VII.36), p. 96 (7.VIII.36); Wade, p. 860 (13.VIII.36).

²² Wade, p. 875 (23.XII.36).

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 846 (21.XII.35).

²⁴ P. 170. Turner died on November 18, 1946.

The Oxford Book soon became a best-seller²⁵ and the publishers congratulated Yeats on his courage in attacking the establishment represented by the school of Eliot and by Faber and Faber. Yeats rightly interpreted the adverse criticism it got in the press as 'a sure sign that I have somewhere got down to reality'.²⁶ The following letter may be considered as ending the matter of the *Oxford Book of Modern Verse* as far as Turner's share in it is concerned:²⁷

3.

Riversdale.

(Postmark 6.XII.36)

Dec. 5

Dear Turner,

I thank you for your letter — I have read *Air Bubble* with assent and satisfaction and my wife has read much of it again, indeed I would have read it much sooner if she had not got it by her bedside.

You will in a few days get the rest of what is due to you for your work in the Anthology — my wife is still toiling over the accounts.

Did you read Quiller-Couch on the Anthology? Alfred Douglas has sent me a telegram that cost him exactly 8/6 denouncing me. By leaving him out I was behaving as 'the minor poet behaves to the major poet' and so on. He had this telegram printed on a leaflet and sent it to newspapers and notables. Quiller-Couch has sent him a letter of sympathy containing the words 'What an Anthology! What a preface!' and congratulating him on not being included. (I spent I think a guinea on Douglas' poems).

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

(2) *The Translation of the Upanishads*

The idea behind all Yeats's work during the thirties, namely that music and philosophical thought should be restored to literature, is conveyed again by the preface to the translation of the *Upanishads* which he composed during his convalescence in the spring of 1936 in Mallorca. He wanted to use examples taken from modern prose writers to illustrate 'the sudden return of philosophy into English literature round about 1925',²⁸ and he discussed this with Dorothy Wellesley²⁹ and Olivia Shakespeare.³⁰ He had early decided to speak of Turner again as a philosophical writer,³¹ but it was only on April 18 that he wrote to him directly:

²⁵ Wade, p. 868 (28.XI.36), p. 871 (9.XII.36), p. 874 (21.XII.36).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 872 (9.XII.36).

²⁷ Turner had sent a copy of *Henry Airbubble* (Dent, 1936), the sequel to *Blow for Balloons*.

²⁸ Wade, p. 848 (6.IV.36) and Letter 4 (18.IV.36).

²⁹ Wellesley, pp. 60-68 (6.IV.-3.V.36).

³⁰ Wade, p. 852 (10.IV.36).

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 849 (6.IV.36).

4.

Casa Pastor,
San Agustin,
Palma de Mallorca.

(Postmark 18.IV.36)
Easter

Dear Turner,

You wrote to me on Dec. 28. Since then as you no doubt know I have had a long illness. I am now convalescent and at work again. I shall get to England in late May or early June. My hours of work are supervised as, indeed is all I do and must be for some time. I fill up my idle hours by reading contemporary novelists of whom I have known nothing (except Lawrence). I have read much Huxley and some Sackville West. Would you send, as soon as you can, your *'Blow for Balloon'* and I will send you in return any work of mine you want? This is what I am at. I notice that about 1922-5 a philosophic energy comes into our literature — your poems, Dorothy Wellesley's *'Matrix'*, some verses by Reed [i.e. Read], and in prose *Those Barren Leaves* (1923) by Huxley. At the moment I think that I can use this fact in my introduction to Prohuit [i.e. Purohit] Swami's and my version of the Upanishads. Can you recommend me any prose of the first intensity that might help me to make my point. I am told I must read Virginia Woolf.

Who the duce [sic] is Stonier? (O admirable name) he reviewed you and two others in *The New Statesman*.^{31a}

I was delighted in your review of the three anthologies — it was one of the best reviews I have ever read, but such prose is wasted in journalism.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

Turner complied at once with Yeats's request for a copy of his book and received this acknowledgement:

(Postmark 7.V.36)
May 3

5.

Casa Pastor.

Dear Turner,

I have asked Macmillan to send you my collected lyrics — there is everything except the last book which you have.

I delighted on [sic] *'Blow in [sic] Balloons'* or in much of it. The Swami delighted with passages I have quoted him starts on it tomorrow. I have incorporated in the preface to the *Upanishads* Henry Airbubble's saying, 'I am a member of the Church of England but not a Christian'. That correspondence with the missionary is a masterpiece — the missionary's letters are exactly what he would have written.

The Swami returns to India on May 16 (having made the wisdom of India accessible [sic] for the first time to the general reader) and I start for London by sea on May 26.

If you bring my 'collected lyrics' to the Club I will write in it.

Yours,

W. B. Yeats

Yeats's search for contemporary 'prose of the first intensity'³² by which to illustrate the philosophical energy emerging in literature yielded only

^{31a} G. W. Stonier gave qualified praise to Turner's *Songs and Incantations* and described his poetical début as that of 'a Georgian Keats'. *New Statesman and Nation*, April 4, 1936.

³² Letter 4 (18.IV.36).

Huxley's *Those Barren Leaves* and Turner's *Blow for Balloons* (Dent, 1935). David Garnett had reviewed the latter, which is the first of Turner's three autobiographical novels, for the *New Statesman and Nation* of September 21, 1935, saying that though it was not a good book,

it has the qualities of imagination and wit which I most enjoy, and it expresses very many of my opinions better than I can express them myself. Indeed, I am ready to confess that that is probably the reason why Mr. Turner's book has so much delighted me.

Taking therefore his examples again chiefly from the poets — Eliot, Turner, Dorothy Wellesley, Herbert Read, Day Lewis, MacNeice, Auden, Laura Riding, Ezra Pound — Yeats admitted that 'urged by the most recent thought' modern poetry 'displayed in myths [...] the world emerging from the human mind'.³³ Unfortunately, however, many of them have renounced 'the sensuous tradition of the poets', by which he means that their poetry lacks the quality of song which is present even in the *Upanishads*, 'the oldest philosophical compositions of the world, compositions, not writings, for they were sung long before they were written down.'³⁴

Being too 'difficult', their poetry also lacks the 'vast sentiments and generalisations supported by tradition' to be found in Dante, Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley. These great popular poets, whom he described to Dorothy Wellesley by the image of a sort of Taillefer ('We stride ahead of the crowd, its swordsmen, its jugglers, looking to right and left'³⁵), were a different race from that of the young Left-Wing radicals. Turner, too, was free from narrow-minded, vulgar radicalism. Henry Airbubble, who stands for Turner's grandfather, is described as making 'a rule of never seeing missionaries'.³⁶ On being pressed for a personal interview, he informs the missionary 'that I am a member of the Church of England but not a Christian'.³⁷ Turner never sympathised with the literary Left-Wing movement of the nineteen-thirties. His attitude corresponded to that of Yeats who dissociated himself in the Introduction to the *Oxford Book*, and, more outspokenly, in his letters from that movement.³⁸

(To be concluded)

Geneva.

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³³ *The Ten Principal Upanishads*, Faber, 1937, p. 10.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Wade*, p. 853 (20.IV.36).

³⁶ *Blow for Balloons*, p. 102.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

³⁸ *Wellesley*, p. 81 (VII.36); *Wade*, p. 860 (13.VIII.36) and p. 875 (23.XII.36).

‘Faithful Realism’ :

Eugene O’Neill and the Problem of Style

If we survey the impressive series of plays from *Beyond the Horizon* (1920) to *Days without End* (1934), by which Eugene O’Neill became the first of American dramatists, we are struck by his extraordinary versatility, permitting him to move from one unexplored subject and from one dramatic style to another. Sooner or later, however, we are forced to face the question whether the artist who experimented with so many different styles ever reached complete mastery of any particular style. We are also bound to come up against the complaint, formulated succinctly by Joseph Wood Krutch in the following sentences: ‘Both as an intellectual and as an emotional conception *Mourning Becomes Electra* at least is in the true grand manner. To find in it any lack one must compare it with the very greatest works of dramatic literature, and to do that is to realize that the one thing conspicuously missing is language — words as thrilling as the action which accompanies them.’¹

We do not think that these strictures can be refuted as long as we base our judgment on the plays of O’Neill’s great experimental period only. They are hardly justified if we take his whole achievement, including the plays written and published after 1934, into account. In these last plays the dramatist perfected a style that can properly be called his own, and he found a valid solution of his language problem. Therefore they should be considered as the culmination of his work. The present article attempts some steps towards the revaluation of O’Neill rendered necessary by the publication of *The Iceman Cometh*,² *Long Day’s Journey into Night*,³ *A Moon for the Misbegotten*⁴ and *A Touch of the Poet*.⁵ It is known that these four plays do not represent the whole of his late production. In 1958 the still unpublished one-act play *Hughie* was produced at Stockholm, and another play of extraordinary length, *More Stately Mansions*, is still awaiting production, though even Karl Ragnar Gierow, the Swedish expert producer of O’Neill, doubts its adaptability to the stage. The two last mentioned works are fragments of one or, possibly, even two comprehensive cycles of plays the dramatist tried to write in the last phase of his creative life. The fascination exerted on him by the idea of composing in terms of a vast cycle is one of the basic facts for the student of his late work, since it seems to betray an affinity between his conception of man and an epical rather than a dramatic representation of his fate.

¹ *The American Drama since 1918*, London 1957, p. 119.

² Completed 1939, published 1946.

³ Completed 1941, published 1956.

⁴ Completed 1943, published 1953.

⁵ Completed 1943, published 1957.

Thus, the four published plays were written as by-products while O'Neill was obsessed by his cycle idea. But they were to become more important than the cycles. Their author considered *The Iceman Cometh* and *Long Day's Journey into Night* the best plays he had ever composed.⁶

If we inquire into the differences between O'Neill's experimental and his final period, we notice a change in his attitude towards the performance and the publication of his plays. As a glance at our list of composition and publication dates shows, he was no longer as eager to test his plays before his readers (or spectators) as he had formerly been. The main reason for this new attitude was not failing health, and most certainly not declining powers, but rather a new quality and direction in his creative activity itself. It made itself felt in the cycle idea, which prevented him from ever feeling that he had completed his most important plan. It also appeared in his new interest in autobiographical material. In his middle period, he had usually invented his plots, or based them on facts not directly connected with his own life; plays like *The Straw* and *Ah, Wilderness!*, that harmless forerunner of *Long Day's Journey into Night*, were exceptions. In fact, Barrett H. Clark reports that O'Neill told him (a few years before 1936): 'All the most dramatic episodes of my life I have so far kept out of my plays, and most of the things I have seen happen to other people. I've hardly begun to work up all this material, but I'm saving up a lot of it for one thing in particular, a cycle of plays I hope to do some day. There'll be nine separate plays, to be acted on nine successive nights; together they will form a sort of dramatic autobiography, something in the style of *War and Peace* or *Jean-Christophe*.'⁷ O'Neill was disappointed when, in 1926, he read the biographical sketch that opened the first version of Clark's book on him. He informed its author: 'When all is said and done — and this is, naturally, no conceivable fault of yours — the result of this first part is legend. It isn't really true. It isn't I. And the truth would make such a much more interesting — and incredible! — legend. That is what makes me melancholy. But I see no hope for this except some day to shame the devil myself, if I ever can muster the requisite interest

⁶ On March 27, 1941, he wrote to Barrett H. Clark: 'Regarding work, I've finished two plays outside the Cycle in the past two years, and I'm enthusiastic about them. Both will rank among the few very best things I've ever done, I know.' (Barrett H. Clark, *Eugene O'Neill: The Man and His Plays*, New York 1947, p. 145.) Cf. also *op. cit.* p. 147, where Clark quotes from a letter written 'in early September of 1943': 'Although I have done no writing lately, my record since Pearl Harbor is not as poor as it might be. I have finished, except for a final cutting, another non-Cycle play — *A Moon for the Misbegotten* — and rewritten the 1928 (*sic*) Cycle play — *A Touch of the Poet*, done some work off and on on another non-Cycle — *The Last Conquest* — When, in addition, I consider *The Iceman Cometh*, most of which was written after war started in '39, and *Long Day's Journey into Night*, written the following year — (these two plays give me greater satisfaction than any other two I've ever done) — and a one-act play, *Hughie*, one of a series of eight I want to do under the general title, *By Way of Obit*, I feel I've done pretty well in the four war years.'

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

— and nerve — simultaneously!’⁸ In his final plays he did muster the requisite interest and nerve, and yielded up the secrets he had so carefully hidden for many years. Both *The Iceman Cometh* and *Long Day’s Journey into Night* take place in the year 1912, the most critical year in O’Neill’s own life, when he almost lost himself in the aimless and dissolute ways into which he had slipped because, among other reasons, he was disgusted by his father’s easy and enervating career in the commercial theatre. Harry Hope’s cheap ginmill closely resembles a place frequented by O’Neill in New York at that time. This is how he referred to it later on: ‘In New York I lived at “Jimmy the Priest’s”, a waterfront dive, with a back room where you could sleep with your head on the table if you bought a schooner of beer.’⁹ Harry Hope’s customers and friends owe much to the companions of O’Neill’s despair in 1912. In *Long Day’s Journey into Night* we get even closer to his own most personal and most painful experience. Here, his parents, his brother, and his own former self are the prototypes of the four main characters, whose complicated relationships, constantly vacillating between love and hatred, are depicted with a fanatical passion for truth.¹⁰ No wonder that O’Neill hesitated before he made these plays known to the public, and even wished *Long Day’s Journey into Night* to remain unpublished until twenty-five years after his death.

In spite of all the differences between his middle and late period, his main attitudes and subjects remained the same. He always was a rebel against his father’s commercial theatre and everything it stood for, and also against the cheap official idealism and optimism as well as the underlying materialism and pragmatism he found far too influential in his country. He required different values: truth on the one hand, love, faith, beauty through artistic creation on the other. These fundamental desires proved to be hopelessly antagonistic. His passion for truth forced him to reject the traditional Catholic religion of his family; in fact, it made him suspect that love, faith, perhaps even beauty, perhaps all the creations of the imagination, were mere illusions, invented by man in order to render a miserable existence tolerable. Man in the closed circle of determining circumstances was, and remained, O’Neill’s great theme. He became a leader of modern drama because, as his experiments developed, the

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 7. One reason why O’Neill remained so reticent where his own earlier career was concerned appears in the following statement of his wife, Mrs. Carlotta Monterey O’Neill: ‘He will never tell the truth about himself, because in so doing he would have to tell the truth about others close to him and that would involve others!’ (*op. cit.*, p. 8.)

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁰ Cf. the first part of the dedication to Carlotta, prefixed to the printed text of this play, which runs: ‘DEAREST: I give you the original script of this play of old sorrow, written in tears and blood. A sadly inappropriate gift, it would seem, for a day celebrating happiness. But you will understand. I mean it as a tribute to your love and tenderness which gave me the faith in love that enabled me to face my dead at last and write this play — write it with deep pity and understanding and forgiveness for all the four haunted Tyrones.’ The day alluded to was their 12th wedding anniversary.

fascination of the inner, psychological mechanisms as inexorable forces ruling human fate grew on him.

If he did not change his characteristic attitudes and subjects on the threshold of his last period, where, then, is the source of the new intensity in his art? Why do we feel that now, at last, the playwright stopped experimenting, that he reached the sure touch and the finished style of a master? The main reason for this is that he realizes in a new, overwhelming way what human life is like if his purely 'scientific' conception of man is true: he shows, in *The Iceman Cometh*, in *Long Day's Journey into Night* and in *A Moon for the Misbegotten*, an inferno as full of monotonous tortures as Dante's, a waste land as desolate and hopeless as Eliot's. Its inhabitants protect themselves against the deadly touch of the truth by drugs and illusions, or steel themselves by cynicism and brutality if they are strong enough to live face to face with it. This world of horror is no longer the result of abstract thought and speculation; it is an ever-present shocking obsession, threatening to stifle the playwright's breath, becoming fearfully real in the nightmare catastrophes of the Second World War. And, strangely enough, the experience of a kind of life that is in reality death or worse than death — a notion formerly derided by O'Neill as a typical Puritan delusion — is now as basic in his own art as it is in T. S. Eliot's.

And the corresponding belief that there may be life in death? Are there no signs, however hidden, of the life-giving water in O'Neill's waste land? There certainly are. One such sign is the frequent recurrence of the motif of confession in the last plays. The climax of *The Iceman Cometh* is Hickey's confession, breaking out of him in a torrent of words in the last act of the play. The author does not tell us what good the confession and the acceptance of his punishment according to the law do to Hickey beyond releasing him from an intolerable inner tension. Also in *Long Day's Journey into Night* we witness numerous confessions by the main characters, and here they help to mitigate the feelings of hatred that divide the male members of the family in spite of everything they have in common. In *A Moon for the Misbegotten* all the consolation Josie Hogan can offer to James Tyrone, Jr., whom she loves although he is a lost soul beyond all human help, is the listening to the story of his guilty life and the certainty of her forgiveness and love. These gifts cannot save him from himself and from his guilt; their whole efficacy consists in rendering him capable of a few hours of dreamless sleep in Josie's arms. In this way her love becomes 'a moon for the misbegotten'. Although O'Neill carefully avoids giving the motif of confession its original religious significance, his extensive use of it is an important link with Eliot, the contemporary dramatist whose fascination by the same motif has a religious basis.

O'Neill's infernal world is mainly a world of men. Some of the female characters shine with a light that seems to emanate from the Catholic faith in the Virgin Mary as well as from the playwright's own happy life with

his third wife Carlotta, remembered by him in his touching dedication of *Long Day's Journey into Night*, the final section of which is as follows: 'These twelve years, Beloved One, have been a Journey into Light — into love. You know my gratitude. And my love!' This light is in Hickey's wife Evelyn, that inexplicable and isolated figure and victim of love in the ghastly realm of *The Iceman Cometh*. We discern its flickerings in Mary Tyrone, the mother in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, even while she is sinking back into her fatal drug addiction, losing contact with her husband and sons, who can hardly live without her love. It is strong again in Josie Hogan and also in Nora Melody and, showing a different colour, in her daughter Sara.

These characters prove that O'Neill has a knowledge of a kind of love that cannot be explained as a life-giving illusion; but they show, too, that his faith in the efficacy of love, in its power to change the world, is rudimentary.

There are also signs that he has his moments of faith in the other creations of the imagination, besides love. They appear in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, when Mary Tyrone remembers the Catholic faith of her youth, when her husband deplores the waste of the great artistic powers he possessed as a young actor, and when Edmund Tyrone confesses what his relations to the art of poetry have been. He, the representative of O'Neill's former self, does so in an impressive scene near the end of the play, when he is in his cups, of course. He has known a kind of mystical experience, for which he would like to find the perfect poetical equivalent. As T. S. Eliot knows of

the moment in the rose garden,
The moment in the arbour where the rain beat,
The moment in the draughty church at smokefall . . .

Edmund has his own moments of intuition, all of them connected with his past life on or at the sea. 'Here's one. When I was on the Squarehead square rigger, bound for Buenos Aires. Full moon in the Trades. The old hooker driving fourteen knots. I lay on the bowsprit, facing astern, with the water foaming into spume under me, the masts with every sail white in the moonlight, towering high above me. I became drunk with the beauty and singing rhythm of it, and for a moment I lost myself — actually lost my life. I was set free! I dissolved in the sea, became white sails and flying spray, became beauty and rhythm, became moonlight and the ship and the high dim-starred sky! I belonged, without past or future, within peace and unity and a wild joy, within something greater than my own life, or the life of Man, to Life itself! To God, if you want to put it that way.' Having recalled another similar event, he struggles hard to express its peculiar qualities:

Then the moment of ecstatic freedom came. The peace, the end of the quest, the last harbour, the joy of belonging to a fulfilment beyond men's lousy, pitiful, greedy fears and hopes and dreams! And several other times in my life, when I was swimming far

out, or lying alone on a beach, I have had the same experience. Became the sun, the hot sand, green seaweed anchored to a rock, swaying in the tide. Like a saint's vision of beatitude. Like the veil of things as they seem drawn back by an unseen hand. For a second you see — and seeing the secret, are the secret. For a second there is meaning! Then the hand lets the veil fall and you are alone, lost in the fog again, and you stumble on toward nowhere, for no good reason! (*He grins wryly.*) It was a great mistake, my being born a man, I would have been much more successful as a sea-gull or a fish. As it is, I will always be a stranger who never feels at home, who does not really want and is not really wanted, who can never belong, who must always be a little in love with death!¹¹

If we remember that the longing for a 'home', for a 'belonging', both of them not of this earth, is an ever-present motif in many of O'Neill's early, middle, and late plays, we recognize these sentences as an invaluable key to the understanding of his work. Because he passes as an exile through his existence on earth, full of longing for a home he has almost completely forgotten, there is so much despair in his best plays, and therefore the light in them is so uncertain and devoid of warmth.

Father Tyrone, no less drunk than his son, is deeply impressed by his confession. He exclaims: 'Yes, there's the makings of a poet in you all right.' With bitter self-mockery Edmund repeats the words: 'The *makings* of a poet', and continues: 'No, I'm afraid I'm like the guy who is always panhandling for a smoke. He hasn't even got the makings. He's got only the habit. I couldn't touch what I tried to tell you just now. I just stammered. That's the best I'll ever do. I mean, if I live. Well, it will be faithful realism, at least. Stammering is the native eloquence of us fog people.'

The speaker begins with a pun on 'makings', giving it the secondary, specifically American meaning of 'paper and tobacco for making a cigarette'.¹² And he goes on comparing his attitude towards poetry with the behaviour of a fellow who is always begging for a cigarette, because he has only the habit of smoking without the paper and tobacco necessary for making one. Evidently, Edmund strives here to say something which he finds very difficult to express. Smoking is a surprising and somewhat disappointing, because ill-fitting, simile for enjoying poetry, perhaps an instance of that kind of stammering to which Edmund finds himself condemned. It seems to imply that he loves to indulge in poetic moods, but lacks the gifts necessary for their transmutation into poetry. Here, we cannot help remembering O'Neill's own frequent use of quotations from Shakespeare, Byron, Keats, Baudelaire, Rossetti, Swinburne, Wilde, Dowson and Kipling, especially in his last plays. They never occur without a certain dramatic propriety; but they appear to be, at the same time, borrowings, by an author whose powers over language are limited, from happier writers. The sentence 'I couldn't touch what I tried to tell you just now' shows that Edmund does not confuse the 'poetic' outbreak

¹¹ *Long Day's Journey into Night*, London 1956, pp. 134 f.

¹² *A Dictionary of Americanisms*, ed. by M. M. Mathews, 1951, p. 1020 f.

of a moment ago with poetry. 'I just stammered. That's the best I'll ever do.' The following short remark: 'I mean, if I live' has a certain importance. Although it is not unmotivated in the dialogue before us, it indicates that O'Neill consciously avoided the danger of losing sight of Edmund's situation in the play in his endeavour to say something important concerning the whole of his own artistic achievement. What follows is, in fact, a commentary on the style of his work: 'Well, it will be faithful realism, at least. Stammering is the native eloquence of us fog people.' In the second of these weighty sentences the image of the fog, one of the leading symbols in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, is used. It helps to suggest that the poetic inability of which the dramatist is clearly conscious here is identical with the incapacity of deriving more from his moments of intuition than a feeling of estrangement from the world of men, an indefinite longing for another home, and an invincible hankering after death.

And the first sentence concerning 'faithful realism'? This appears to be an important piece of self-criticism. It offers a label for the style with which O'Neill began his dramatic career in the Glencairn and other one-act plays, to which he returned when he wrote some of the best works of his long and fertile experimental period, and which became definitely his own style in the years of his maturity and mastery. At first sight, it is no more than a conscientiously realistic prose style, depicting man through, and together with, his milieu. Of course, there is much more to it than this only. O'Neill indulges in a characteristic understatement because he longs for the power of transmutation and the intenser symbolical language of the great poets of the past. Evidently, he was aware of the difference between their poetic genius and the artistic intelligence and power of dramatic construction that had gone into the making of the allegorical, symbolistic, and expressionistic plays of his middle period.

We do not think that O'Neill's fame will mainly rest on those plays, but on the opposite kind, the style of which may loosely be termed 'faithful realism'. In the presence of his last plays it would be sheer perversity to follow him on his ways of self-criticism, and deplore that certain styles were beyond his reach. They prove convincingly that a master can change into creative possibilities the limitations imposed upon him by his inner condition and by his environment. The realism of these works leads to a full artistic triumph. It produces convincing characters, replete with life, nor does it oppose any resistance to the demands of the dramatic form. In fact, the playwright overcomes his leanings towards an epical presentation with complete success. Through his mature and subtle art of dialogue he transforms the description of characters and their environment into dramatic events. His figures come alive in a few simple situations and actions. The numerous backward glances into the past become part of the present action, because they culminate in those confessions which are among the most essential events in the plays.

Besides, his realism permits the strict economy of classical tragedy. We have pointed out the simplicity of O'Neill's plots. Each of the four plays

strictly observes the unity of place, and does so without any loss to the playwright's imaginative freedom. He knows how to accompany the visible scenes by numerous reported scenes with their own different places. His contrapuntal arrangement of events that are seen in the theatre and reported events, which become real in the theatre of the mind only, makes his realism a free and spacious style. The importance of this method appears most strikingly in the fact that two of the main characters in *The Iceman Cometh* and *A Touch of the Poet* — Evelyn and Simon — are never seen on the stage. It also permits him to observe the unity of time with perfect ease. *The Iceman Cometh* is the only one among the four plays to present a span of time longer than twenty-four hours, but it exceeds this limit by a few hours only. The time when O'Neill wrote straggling biographical plays like *Marco Millions* is definitely past.

Another relation with poetic tragedy appears in the surprising transparency for symbolical meanings that we discover in O'Neill's realism. The titles themselves have a symbolical quality — except *A Touch of the Poet* perhaps. The tiniest details in *The Iceman Cometh* are permeated by death imagery, and the fog and foghorn appear not only in the speeches in *Long Day's Journey into Night*: they are also seen, or heard, by the spectators. *A Touch of the Poet* could bear the title *The Thoroughbred Mare*, and would, then, betray its affinity with Ibsen's *Wild Duck* at once, thus pointing to the fact that O'Neill's late style is indebted to the Norwegian dramatist more than to Strindberg, whose influence was stronger on his earlier work.

Another proof that the playwright found home to his own style in the last plays, the only one he could make a great style, is in their language. He found a valid solution of the problem stressed by W. B. Yeats, when he wrote in praise of Douglas Hyde's Anglo-Irish idiom: 'It is the only good English spoken by any large number of Irish people to-day, and we must found good literature on a living speech.'¹³ He turned away for good from that problematical literary American language which had refused to come alive in some of his earlier works, and based his dialogue exclusively on the colloquial language of middle and low-class people, whose speech was frequently coloured by their European origin, and on the different forms of broken English used by the more recent immigrants. Here he found the directness, the vitality, the picturesque terms of abuse, the grotesque imagery he required in order to create speeches powerful enough to make us stop arguing about the question whether it was poetic or realistic drama he wrote. He now knew how to give his characters the exactly right, the only possible words. He was never more successful in this than in depicting people of his own Irish origin. When he wrote speeches for them, he could draw on the inexhaustible source of language that had fed the works of John Millington Synge, Lady Gregory, Sean O'Casey and many another writer of the dramatic revival in Ireland.

¹³ 'The Irish Dramatic Movement', 1902, in *Plays and Controversies*, 1924, p. 29.

O'Neill was one of the Tyrones himself, and he was connected in a special way with Larry Slade and Pat McGloin, with the Hogans and the Melody's. Among them, there existed no linguistic perplexities for him. The fact that he so clearly preferred Irish characters and the Anglo-Irish dialect when he came to write the plays of his maturity, is worth pondering, because its implications concern his own inner situation as well as that of his country in the first half of our century.

We cannot close this brief account of O'Neill's 'faithful realism' without remembering that he was, from the beginning of his career, an 'absolute' dramatist, i.e. one who does not merely create speeches, which producers and actors are then called upon to interpret in terms of the theatre, but complete situations, visualized as stage events, characters with their unmistakable gait, their gestures, their speeches, and their changing facial expression.¹⁴ This gift, so important in a playwright, stood him in good stead when he composed the final plays. The economical use of situations and actions we have stressed is possible because every element of this kind is highly charged with multiple meanings. The language is supplemented by impressive visual symbols: Hickey, being led away, helplessly asserting that he has never loved anything or anybody except Evelyn, the Evelyn he has murdered; Mary Tyrone, in her skyblue dressing-gown, gliding into the room where her husband and sons, reeking of whiskey, are quarrelling, making confessions, getting reconciled, and quarrelling again; Cornelius Melody, sitting on the floor with the head of the mare he has shot in his lap 'sobbing like a soul in hell' — a picture not seen on the stage, but impressed on the mind's eye by Cregan's report —; and Josie Hogan, in the cold moonlight and night air, protecting her lost friend from the furies during a few hours of dreamless sleep, 'a virgin who bears a dead child in the night, and at dawn is found still a virgin': these images we cannot easily forget, for they are compact symbols of everything developed in the actions and speeches of O'Neill's characters. We remember them as passionate visions of man in our time, as warning visions, demanding pity of us, but, above all, a decision.

Bern.

RUDOLF STAMM.

¹⁴ His being an 'absolute' dramatist may be one reason for the dissatisfaction with the actual theatre that came over O'Neill in his later years. Clark reports the following impatient outbreak: 'The play, as written, is the thing, and not the way actors garble it with their almost-always-alien personalities (even when the acting is fine work in itself).'

(*Op. cit.*, p. 144.)

The Quarrel About Cozzens

or

The Vagaries of Book Reviewing

Differences of opinion in the critical estimate of contemporary literature are so frequent that they are almost invariably taken for granted. 'A matter of taste' or 'lack of historical distance' are the most usual commentaries made on such occasions. Nobody seems to realize that an absence of consensus in these matters cannot but throw its fatal reflection on the whole work of modern criticism. Moreover few critics seem to worry about how critical standards in contemporary literature come into being, or if they do they never write about it. Yet there are highly instructive cases in modern literature — cases that lend themselves to apposite speculations on the whole problem.

James Gould Cozzens is a perfect instance. His novel *By Love Possessed*, published in August 1957 in U.S.A. and in April 1958 in England, started rapidly on the triumphant career of a best-seller. This fact does not in itself signify anything special. There have been best-sellers like *Peyton Place* of notoriously low quality from the point of view of almost every literary critic, and others that have by almost general consensus been considered masterpieces, like *The Old Man and the Sea*. Cozzens' novel, however, is distinguished from either group by the curious fact that outstanding critics have given diametrically opposed judgments about it. What I propose to do in these few pages is not to take sides with either of the two groups but to examine whether the case throws any special light on the problem of the critical approach to modern fiction and if so, how such contradictory statements may be understood. Elsewhere I have tried to explain some aspects of the complicated process through which, in our days of mass production, we arrive at information about new novels.¹ It will be sufficient to recall that in the relationship between author — agent — publisher — reviewer — (bookseller) — reading public the following three elements appear to play a decisive part:

(1) The degree of relative adjustment of the novel to the literary situation and to the issues of the moment.

¹ In an essay 'Zum Problem der Interpretation und Wertung zeitgenössischer Romanliteratur' published in *Sprache und Literatur Englands und Amerikas; Lehrgangsvorträge der Akademie Comburg* Bd. 3, Tübingen 1959. It includes a list of publications referring to the subject. Other relevant publications are: Henri Peyre, *Writers and their Critics. A Study of Misunderstanding*. Cornell University Press. Ithaca, N.Y., 1944. — C. V. Wedgwood (ed.), *The Author and the Public (Problems of Communication)*. London, 1957. — Lionel Trilling, *The Liberal Imagination*. London, 1951. — Walter Allen, *Reading a Novel*. London, 1956 (2). — Alice Payne Hackett, *Sixty Years of Best Sellers*. New York, 1957. — H. D. Duncan, *Language and Literature in Society*. Chicago, 1953. — J. D. Hart, *The Popular Book; a History of America's Literary Taste*. New York, 1950.

(2) The reputation of the writer, the publisher, the reviewing journal, and the critic.

(3) The contrast between the esoteric and the exoteric, i.e. the reaction of 'higher criticism' towards the reception of a novel by the 'middle and low-brows'.

The process of sifting is a curious blend of all kinds of mental activities in which genuine creative talent, ambition, money, opposition, snobbishness, conventions, laziness, vanity, personal idiosyncrasies seem to merge in a peculiar way. A predominantly descriptive (structural) analysis of a novel may largely avoid such traps, but as soon as critical evaluation is concerned, they will inevitably reappear. It will be well to keep this in mind whenever attempts at interpreting contemporary fiction are made.

It has been correctly pointed out that *By Love Possessed* is a novel constructed around a central consciousness embodied in Arthur Winner Jr., a lawyer in an American small town somewhere in the East. In accordance with the title practically all the events in the novel are in some way connected with the theme of love in its manifold aspects as a decisive force in the lives of the different characters. This has naturally been noticed by practically every critic. What has not generally been noticed is that the theme of love in almost every episode and shape it takes is put in juxtaposition with some other principle of human conduct, of which honesty, truth, and loyalty on the one hand, and social position on the other, seem to be the most important, though there are also some others. This can be clearly seen in the way in which the major events are grouped around three centres.

Arthur Winner, aged 54, is happily married to Clarissa, his second wife. There is a complete understanding between the two, both in mind and body. They are obviously to be taken as a perfect example of conjugal love. Yet there is just a hint of treachery, quickly suppressed by Arthur Winner when he receives the visit of a lady (Mrs. Pratt) ostensibly calling on him on behalf of a friend, but at the same time casting a net made of charity, religion, psychology, wealth, and sex. The incident, aptly and abruptly brought to an end by the appearance of a snake to be killed by Arthur, reminds him of his earlier treachery towards his business associate and friend Julius Penrose with whose rather unbalanced wife Marjorie he once carried on a brief but violent love affair. It further reminds him of how nearly he had, on the death of his first wife, succumbed to Marjorie's 'consolations'. In all these three cases the immediate temptation of the flesh is balanced against a sense of loyalty towards his wife, his friend, and towards the memory of his first wife. Twice the sense of loyalty conquers desire, but once it is defeated.

The second group of events occur around Arthur Winner's secretary Helen Detweiler and her brother Ralph and reveal the juxtapositions of love in a different light. Having lost her parents through an accident Helen devotes all her strength and sisterly love to the education of her

younger brother Ralph, who however turns out a good-for-nothing. He seduces the unattractive daughter of a butcher, who in her turn yields to him because she cannot otherwise satisfy her social ambition of being 'popular'. When Ralph is once refused what he considers his rights by habit he falls in with a girl of distinctly doubtful reputation only to discover that a charge of rape is brought against him. Arthur Winner manages to settle the affair, but Ralph makes off to New York after pilfering some money. To Helen this means the death-blow to all her hopes including her social prestige, and to everything that made life worth living, and she commits suicide. To Ralph 'love' is mere sexual amusement and as such overriding any considerations of responsibility, honesty, and even courage, though there is just a glimmer of hope that his experiences may shock him into a different attitude. To his sister love means devotion and sacrifice to such an absolute degree that its very exclusiveness must lead to disaster.

The third group of events is connected with Arthur Winner's office work, more especially with Noah Tuttle and Julius Penrose, his two partners. Noah Tuttle, the father of Arthur's first wife, an experienced lawyer, universally admired for his keen legal mind, enjoys a reputation of absolute integrity, though he seems to be getting a little gruff in his old days. In his capacity as trustee to various persons and institutions he appears to stick to such a radically conservative attitude that he actually manages to keep all his clients from making any changes in their financial arrangements. It is in the last phase of the story, after all the other events have unrolled themselves, that Julius Penrose explains to Arthur how Noah in the past thirteen years or so has actually embezzled a sum of two hundred thousand dollars and that he, Julius, has known about it all along. Arthur's immediate reaction is to follow the principles he has always believed in, truth and honesty, and to press for an audit — though legally he is not obliged to do so because the felony was committed before he became a partner. He realizes, however, that this would not only create a public scandal, but would also get an old man into prison, destroy every chance of protecting the interest of his clients, undermine public confidence, and make it impossible for Julius and himself to continue in their positions — without serving any useful purpose whatsoever to anyone concerned. On top of everything Arthur becomes aware that Julius has also known all about his (Arthur's) past liaison with Julius' wife Marjorie, and has never given the slightest sign. At this juncture Arthur's scale of values has to rearrange itself. Love in the shape of friendship remains and is enhanced by his admiration for the penetrating and stoic intelligence of Julius. Love of truth for its own sake is no longer an unchallenged guiding principle. More important appears now what might be called an acceptance of human weakness or a deeper awareness of the inextricable complexities of one's own motives of behaviour, a sense of tact towards the frailties of others, and a feeling of irony about moral certainties.

Apart from these three main groups of events there are a number of minor occurrences, all connected with the former and throwing light on the complex motives of conduct of the main characters or throwing the theme of love and social position into relief. There is the case of Caroline Dummer, who from a mixture of stupidity and despair kills her new-born baby and would actually prefer to go back to prison rather than face life on her own responsibility. There is the story of Mike McCarthy, who breaks away from small-town conventions and marries a dancer in a night club. There is Elmer Abbott, the organist, bravely struggling against his homosexual inclinations and narrowly escaping a trap laid by Arthur Winner's son Warren, who, in his turn, is killed in a flying accident during the war and in spite of his reckless and morally irresponsible conduct appears as a hero to the outer world.

The societal aspect plays an important part in the life and work of the Episcopalian clergyman Dr. Trowbridge, whose mother tries to postpone his marriage as long as possible but looks upon his engagement as a welcome sort of security. It further appears in the handling by Arthur Winner of the Jewish lawyer Woolf, who can be prevented from further investigations into Noah Tuttle's financial machinations by an invitation to a private party of the higher circles of Brocton society. It also decides the attitude of Jerry Brophy, the 'political' district attorney of Irish descent, who, contrary to general expectation, is willing to rule out the charge of rape against Ralph because of his impending promotion to a higher position with more social prestige. It essentially influences the decision of the successful lawyer Dave Weintraub to engage an inexperienced young man of good family from the Harvard Law School because it will demonstrate his connection with the top layers of Brocton society. It determines the unperturbed poise of the drunken Colonel and the sound behaviour of the negro servants.

From all this it becomes evident that the basic conception underlying the whole is far from being confined to the theme of love.² The question is rather whether the different fields are sufficiently related to each other and contribute to a sense of unity or to one of multifariousness. The answer can be given on the basis of a long conversation between Arthur and Julius at the end of the novel. In this conversation Arthur has to give in to the superior attitude of Julius who accepts a plurality of experiences even if it means physical and emotional suffering. In the smaller context of the lawyer's world Julius' idea must appear as pragmatic. But in the wider correlations of human existence it is dictated by a synthesis of love as *caritas* and of the need of a social order based on individual responsibility. The synthesis must needs be in the nature of a paradox, but it does cover and absorb all the major occurrences and characters in the novel.

² This aspect seems to have escaped Mr. Richard G. Stern in his review of the novel in the *Kenyon Review*, Winter 1958, p. 143.

This takes us to the question of characterization. Its technique is one of dialogue, behaviour and reflection through *one* consciousness (Arthur's). With very few exceptions the two dozen characters are all perfectly distinct and easily remembered in spite of the fact that apart from certain oddities they do not greatly differ in their language. Naturally Arthur has a more differentiated vocabulary than, say, Ralph, but Woolf does not speak very differently from Jerry Brophy nor Clarissa from Marjorie. It is through *what* they say and through their conduct in specific situations that we receive clear pictures of them. Even more important is the way in which Arthur's consciousness and imagination amplify these pictures. This applies especially to some of the women. But some of the men, too, are seen chiefly through Arthur's eyes, and a couple of figures, his first wife and his son Warren, appear exclusively in his recollection.

It is obvious that such a large canvas needs special handling with regard to narrative technique. The author has resource to a *time scheme* that permits him to relate events of the actual present and of the past alternately. The actual time that passes from the beginning to the end of the story is not more than two days, more exactly forty-nine hours, from 3 p.m. of Friday to 4 p.m. on Sunday. Roughly half of the events happen actually in those forty-nine hours, whilst the other half are recollections in Arthur's consciousness. The sequence of the events is, on the whole, based either on the principle of their increasing personal relevance to Arthur or of their increasing significance to the people of Brocton. The first few incidents — Aunt Maud's dissatisfaction with Noah Tuttle for not letting her speculate with her money, or Mr. Woolf's questions — appear at first quite harmless and their full significance is realized only at the end of the story. Similarly Ralph's refusal to go to college and his wish to get married are at first only a minor worry to Helen until all their sordid implications are gradually discovered. As the story proceeds each new incident or discovery seems to be more important than the one just past. The two occurrences of the farthest reaching consequence, Helen's suicide and Arthur's shock-like realization of Noah Tuttle's position and of Julius' attitude towards himself, take place at the very end of the story. These two events, moreover, divulge a further parallel because in both cases a consciousness becomes aware of a vital error in its estimate of another human being. The principle of gradation through time is thus used both for the creation of suspense as well as for the presentation of a fundamental issue.

The author obviously intends to stress the importance of time as being by combining several elements that appear to be on the border line between symbolism and *allegory*. The novel begins and ends in the house of Arthur's mother, a very old lady who, however, still takes an interest in the events of her home town. The house and the old lady are associated with the power of recollection, the importance of having roots, and the return to one's origins, especially in moments of crisis. In the house there

is an old French gilt clock which strikes the hour three at the very beginning and four at the very end of the book. Arthur listens to its sound. To the reader it emphasizes the curious paradox of a close outer similarity and proximity of two situations that inwardly are separated by the experience of an essential reshuffling of values. Moreover the clock is adorned with the relief of a shepherd watching a sleeping nymph and being aimed at by the arrow of a Cupid. The inscription to this 'romantic grouping so graceful and so absurd' reads *omnia vincit amor*. Although the allegory of love is quite straightforward it is also — from what we now know of the actual occurrences — full of irony, for there is little of a victory for love in the cases of Helen Detweiler, Caroline Dummer, or in Ralph's affairs but rather its tragedy or absurdity. In this way the imagery at the beginning and end of the novel is directly related not only to the theme of love but — though less distinctly so — also to that of 'belonging' as an accepted value and to the consciousness of time as existence, whilst a reference to the values of loyalty, honesty and truth cannot be immediately established.³

The other semi-allegorical touch is the appearance of the snake during the interview of Mrs. Pratt with Arthur. Arthur is immediately aware of the curious blend of motives behind Mrs. Pratt's call, particularly of her intentionally vague use of the word 'love' inclusively applied to express an act of charity as well as a means 'to ennoble the bump of bellies' (p. 387). At the moment when Arthur is appealed to to help Marjorie out of her misery and is simultaneously made to recall his earlier adulterous relationship with her, a degree of perceptible tension enters into the conversation. It reaches its height when Mrs. Pratt, in order to prove her full understanding of the situation, openly refers to her own sexual experience. The age-old emblem of temptation appears so suddenly that it produces a shock of uncontrollable fright in Mrs. Pratt, which in its turn brings Arthur to his senses. The fact that the appearance of the snake prevents temptation from scoring a victory seems at first sight a contradiction to the traditional myth but it is in keeping with the paradox of the central conception of the novel according to which the consciousness of one's feelings may be the opposite of one's intended responsibility towards an order of values.

The foregoing interpretation of some of the aspects of the novel has intentionally been done without any evaluating comments, and care has been taken to avoid words with clearly qualifying connotations. It is obvious that on the basis of what has been said both positive and negative

³ It is just possible that the change of time from three at the beginning to four at the end may have its origin in a psychoanalytical conception according to which 'quaternity' is a symbol of greater completeness than 'trinity' and usually appears as a mark of integration at the end of a successful analysis. The fact that the novel begins and ends in the house of Arthur's mother seems to confirm the archetypal implication. I am indebted to Dr Elisabeth Tschopp for having drawn my attention to this point.

judgments — though not without certain limitations — are still possible. The question is now in what way the contradictory reviews of the novel can be brought into line with our statements and what light they can throw on the practice of criticism exercised in our journals with regard to new novels.⁴

The first reviews that appeared in America between August and November 1957 were — with very few exceptions — unanimous in their high praise. It will be sufficient to recall that the *New York Times* refers to it as 'the finest and much the most intellectually stimulating American novel I have read in years...', the *Chicago Sunday Tribune* as 'one of the finest novels of the century'. The *Saturday Review* (August 24, 1957, p. 14 ff.) says 'its author has become the most mature, honest, painstaking and technically accomplished American novelist alive'. The *New Yorker* (August 24, 1957, p. 98 ff.) under the heading 'summa cum laude' concludes its review with the following words, 'Such is the power of Mr. Cozzens' masterpiece that life may never be the same for us'. In *Harper's Magazine* the editor-in-chief, John Fischer, wrote a leading article under the title 'Nomination for a Nobel Prize' and confirmed that 'if this does not stake out his claim to be one of the very few important novelists of our generation I don't know what would'.

When in April 1958 the book was published in England there were much fewer laudatory reviews and they were all confined to the daily press. The *Yorkshire Telegraph* (April 23, 1958) called Cozzens 'a profound thinker'. The *Evening Standard* (April 15, 1958) said the book was long, subtle, difficult, and in the Henry James tradition, and J. B. Priestley in *Reynold's News* (April 13, 1958) declared that he preferred it to anything 'by any of America's assorted Nobel Prize winners'.

Such views were flatly contradicted by the American quarterlies and some monthlies, and by a good many British journals of all ranks. One of the earliest negative reviews appeared over the signature of Martin Price in the *Yale Review* (Autumn 1957), but the real counterblasts came in winter 1957/58 and continued in England right into the summer of 1958. Thus Richard G. Stern reviewed the novel in the *Kenyon Review* (Winter 1958, vol. 20, No. 1, p. 140 ff.) under the heading 'A Perverse Fiction' and called it 'a bad book, a labored book and — God knows why — a popular book'. Dwight MacDonald in *Commentary* (January 1958, p. 36 ff.) gave his review the title 'By Cozzens Possessed', attacked its 'atrocious style', and thought it was 'a throw back to the palmiest days of 19th century rhetoric', as well as 'the latest episode in the Middle-Brow Counter-Revolution'. In the *Hudson Review* (Winter 1957/58, vol. 10, No. 4, p. 620 ff.) Benjamin De Mott pointed out that 'the book is

⁴ The following survey does not aim at anything like completeness. Several reviews by outstanding critics were not available in time to be included, e.g. Richard Ellman in the *Reporter* and Edward Weeks in the *Atlantic Monthly*. Edward Weeks has, on several occasions, discussed the problem of the successful book in principle.

no masterpiece — Cozzens is not a major writer, however considerable he looks when compared with the common herd'.

Equally negative were several English reviewers. Mention may be made of the *Times* (April 17, 1958), which called Mr. Cozzens a humourless 19th century schoolmaster with provincial ideas, of the *Daily Express* (April 12, 1958), which referred to the novel as ill-written, tasteless, and utterly without humour, tragedy or any sort of real emotion, of the *New Statesman* (April 19, 1958), which spoke of its 'bogus philosophy of life' and its 'constipated style', and finally of the *London Magazine* (July 1958, vol. 5, No. 7, p. 72), where Francis Wyndham refers to it as 'a heavy-handed and pretentious work' and an 'ill-digested amalgam of James and Faulkner'.

Extraordinary as this discrepancy of opinion may appear, the reasons given for it reveal even stranger aspects. First of all the two camps unexpectedly seem to agree on the quality of certain aspects but consider them of different importance in their evaluation. For instance almost all reviewers (with one notable exception) declare that the novel is well constructed. John Fischer in *Harper's Magazine* calls it 'the most tightly constructed of novels, with every chapter — indeed every paragraph — carved to interlock with every other. In the end it emerges as a work of classic symmetry — the last scene foreshadowed in the first, all parts in balance, all conflicts resolved'. Francis Wyndham in his otherwise negative review in the *London Magazine* says that 'its chief distinction is one which should really be taken for granted in an age when competition has raised the standard of professional efficiency: it is well, and elaborately, constructed ... the story ... is extremely well organised'.

This can only mean that one of the outstanding formal criteria of the quality of a novel (its structure) will not be taken into consideration for a positive verdict if the critic finds other reasons for his negative attitude.⁵ An interesting exception from the agreement on structure is offered by the *Kenyon Review*, which expresses the opinion that a novel organised as variations on a theme needs the support of another narrative method — otherwise the narrative would collapse or appear as an artificial, imposed form. This means that the reviewer obviously has a definite theory of narrative technique in his mind and is not willing to accept a book that does not conform to it. With such a method one would ultimately have to agree with those classicist critics who object to Shakespeare's plays for not being composed according to classical rules. Moreover there is another narrative method, the time scheme of which has already been pointed out.

Closely connected with the question of the narrative method is that of suspense. Although there is, on the whole, a certain agreement about the positive quality of the structure, one camp considers the book as exciting,

⁵ Close to the underlying structural problem comes the remark made by the *Times Literary Supplement* (April 25, 1958), which points out that although the novel is constructed 'with great ingenuity there is not the concealment which is the mark of genius'.

the other as boring. 'Our interest and excitement mount at first hour by hour and then literally minute by minute', says the *New Yorker*, whilst the *London Magazine* thinks the author 'resembles a bore whom nothing can interrupt ... taking ten minutes to say what could be expressed in one', and the *Yale Review* that there is little dramatic force in it.

There are three difficulties about this contradiction. The first is simply the psychological problem whether the feeling of excitement (or boredom) is one that can be ascertained objectively or whether we are inclined to a relativist point of view that leaves a decision to the reactions of the individual reader. If we accept the first assumption then one of the two camps must be right and the other wrong, provided they actually talk about the same thing. If we accept the second assumption we are forced to conclude that any emotional reaction towards a given structure is justified, which is not far from the official recognition of the reign of anarchy in matters of taste.

The second difficulty about excitement and boredom consists in the problem whether the two reactions have anything to do with the value of a novel at all. There are thousands of thrillers which fully satisfy the demand for excitement and no critic takes them seriously. There are dozens of epic masterpieces from Richardson to Dickens and from Melville to Joyce where no critic would apply the criterion of a lack of excitement for the purposes of a negative judgment. Again it is obvious that the criterion is not really relevant for the final decision but is simply a means used to support a more or less preconceived value judgment.

The third difficulty lies in the question whether the qualifications 'well-organised' and 'boring' do not naturally exclude each other with regard to a novel. If a novel is well organised the mere discovery of this structural quality, gradual as it must necessarily be, would seem to make for a certain amount of excitement in the discerning reader. The three difficulties plainly testify not only to the subjectivity of the judgments about suspense but also to a considerable lack of consistent critical thinking.

A further important point touched upon by most reviewers is the moral aspect of the novel. Here the two camps are fairly distinct in so far as the positive reviews make much more of this point than the negative ones. 'Like all really first-rate novels it is an exploration of moral responsibility', says *Harper's Magazine*, and the *Saturday Review*: 'Winner is the grandest moral vision in all Cozzens's work', whilst the *New Yorker* speaks of Cozzens' 'moral furiousness'. These statements are as such natural in view of what we attempted to say in our descriptive analysis of the book. The question is only whether an exploration of moral responsibility is automatically also a sign of a first-rate novel. This is obviously not the case, otherwise a great many totally forgotten novels of the 19th century would have to be included in this category. Again there is no logical connection between the value judgment and the critical principle, but only a one-way equation.

Otherwise the argumentation in favour of the power of the moral reasoning is definitely stronger than that of the negative views. It is remarkable that some of the most intelligent statements of that kind are made in the *Hudson Review*, which otherwise does not consider Cozzens a major writer: 'The hero has a strong sense of the fragility of the order his outer life represents', and 'it is possible for the reader not only to perceive but to care about the difference between order and its opposite'. The *New Yorker* declares, 'Convictions that a man of good will has spent a virtuous life-time acquiring are put to the test and found ... not wanting but not useful'. This, of course, is not a value judgment, but it leads to two further points which play a part in the evaluating process.⁶

The first is the well-known phenomenon of the reader's inclination to identify himself with certain characters in the novel. Again it is only the positive reviews which refer to this point. 'We will be nursing Arthur Winner's hurt, and ours, for a long while to come' is the conclusion drawn by the *New Yorker*; and *Harper's Magazine* explains that 'the ordinary reader can identify himself with the people of Brocton, as he never can with the characters of an Algren or a Mailer ... Never for a moment can you doubt these are real people, coping with real problems in the fumbling, unromantic way that all of us try to cope with our own'. Apart from the question of verisimilitude which seems to be an age-old bone of contention in the critical analysis of mimetic writing and cannot be further examined in this context, the crucial point here is that the possibility of the reader identifying himself with the characters of the book is definitely made a criterion for its good quality. There are several difficulties about this statement. On the whole the 'structuralists' among modern academic critics will probably scorn such a criterion because it is entirely outside aesthetic categories. Whether this point of view is justified in the face of the history of criticism need not be decided here. It will be sufficient to recall the examples of Tom Jones, Becky Sharp and Sir Willoughby Patterne to make the critical reader aware of the power of non-aesthetic categories.

Equally important is the fact that the editor of *Harper's Magazine* stresses the proximity of Cozzens' characters to the reality of American life as against those of other well-known contemporary novelists. It leads straight to a fundamental difference of opinion with regard to the present trends in American fiction, of which more at the end of this survey.

Now and then a reviewer pushes the moral problem in the direction of a definitely practical question. 'How is a man to act well in a society in which every right action immediately touches on, or is touched by, the invincible corruption of the majority?' asks the *New Yorker*. This is a neo-classist attitude *par excellence*, which attributes to good literature an immediate moral appeal and is apt to consider such an appeal as a criterion of good quality.

⁶ The *TLS* seems to agree with an English solicitor's view according to which the moral dilemma of Arthur Winner is not real at all.

But not all the reviewers agree on the nature of that appeal — though according to our own description there should be little doubt about the basic moral conceptions of the book. There are those who flatly deny that the novel has anything to offer for serious thought. 'Tenth rate philosophizing' says the *Kenyon Review*, 'a bogus philosophy of life' the *New Statesman*, 'noble platitudes' the *Yale Review*. It must, however, be stressed that these judgments are given without any further explanation, i.e. we are not informed *why* the philosophizing should be tenth-rate or bogus, apart from the fact that there are quite a few accepted masterpieces of fiction where the 'philosophy' is not especially high class: Richardson, Smollett, Dickens. In fact it is difficult to suppress a suspicion that these negative views are simply an overflow of the feelings of general disgust with the enthusiastic reception of the book. This seems to be confirmed by those otherwise sceptical views which testify to a kind of uncertainty in the perception of the basic intentions of the book. Thus the *Hudson Review* speaks of the irony in Cozzens' novel according to which his heroes often fail in their judgments, whereas the present novel 'advances beyond its own ironies'. The *Yale Review* complains that 'there is neither the purgation of laughter nor the force of renewed life', as if these two aspects were basically essential for any good novel irrespective of examples like *Middlemarch* or *Ulysses*. In fact these statements unintentionally reflect one of the major concerns of the novel: the presentation of the paradox of the inextricable complexities of right conduct.

An especial aspect of the moral problem appears in the verdict of the *Times* (April 17, 1958 and in the Weekly Edition of April 24) which calls Cozzens 'a humourless 19th century schoolmaster' — in its implications and in its intentions probably the most damning of all the negative judgments. Brilliant as the remark may seem at first sight it proves at least two thirds wrong. British readers are as notoriously at cross-purposes about what they consider humorous in the writings of American authors as American readers about British authors. There is, of course, no way of deciding absolutely what is humorous or not. The problem is not unlike that of excitement and boredom. There are, however, a number of passages in the novel which it would be difficult to interpret without resorting to the terms of comedy and humour. The behaviour of Mrs. Pratt and her whole long talk with Arthur, the girls in the dressing-room discussing the name and the engagement of their Episcopalian minister's fiancée (Hermione), Dr. Trowbridge exploding about the organist doing his carillon practice in the belfry — all these testify to a good-natured awareness of the collapse of certain patterns which, because they cannot be taken seriously by some of those concerned, do not produce a feeling of frustration but one of enjoyment through laughter.

If the expression 'humourless' is not justified, 'schoolmaster' is even less to the point. The use of the word schoolmaster in this connection can only mean that the reviewer wishes to convey the impression of Cozzens being didactic or even doctrinaire in his writing. It is difficult

to take this judgment seriously in view of the fact that another negative review (the *Yale Review*) complains of the very opposite viz. that the moral issue of the book is not made clear enough. This point has already been disposed of.

Even the attribute '19th century' is at least misleading. Of course if the problem of making decisions with regard to 'right conduct' is considered as antiquated, then the attribute is not entirely wrong. But in that case a good deal of generally accepted modern writing would have to be relegated to the previous century, including *A Fable*, *The Ides of March*, *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Moreover, important passages like the interrogation of Ralph, Arthur's reminiscences of his first marriage, of his son Warren, of his relationship with Marjorie, and the world of Elmer Abbot are absolutely unthinkable in any 19th century novel. Again it seems certain that the verdict of the reviewer in the *Times* was not so much dictated by the intention to give a correct if simplified view of the attitude of the author, as to deal the vogue of the book a devastating blow.

The question of the philosophical or moral aspect of the novel reappears in the statements made about its *style*. Here the confusion is not less considerable. To mention only a few of the most radically divergent judgments: 'The style is equally craftsmanlike. Every sentence has been hammered, filed and tested until it bears precisely the weight it was designed to carry, and does it with clarity and grace'. Thus John Fischer in *Harper's Magazine*; and the *Hudson Review*, otherwise more on the sceptical side, speaks of 'firmness of writing'. On the other hand the *Kenyon Review* says, 'This ambitious style, aiming perhaps at that of late James, succeeds in stifling what little life the book contains. No book could survive it', and *Commentary* speaks of its 'atrocious style'. Here the negative reviews are definitely better documented than the positive ones. Both the *Kenyon Review* and *Commentary* take the trouble to give examples for their objections: 'court-Latin syntax', 'Wardour Street diction', 'cultural displays', 'melodramatic', 'pointless inversion'. 'toujours le mot injuste'. The examples given are largely to the point. In fact here seems to be one of the authentic reasons for the furious attacks on the novel. It would also explain why the expression 'pretentious' occurred more than once in the negative reviews. The flaw seems serious, and to a considerable number of readers it must appear fatal. The curious point in this discussion is that — unbelievable as it may at first appear — weaknesses of style are not necessarily fatal to a work of fiction. From Dickens to Dreiser and from Melville to Meredith serious objections partly of the very kind just mentioned have been raised, and nevertheless the works in question have not only survived, but, in part at least, become classics. It goes without saying that if there are such faults in a work of fiction they must obviously be balanced by other qualities, and the question would only be whether Cozzens' novel reveals such qualities.

Our survey of opinions cannot be concluded without a reference to the way in which reviewers have discussed the career of the book and its

position in contemporary writing. In fact this discussion throws more light on the basic attitudes of the reviewers than almost any other argument they set forth. It is natural that almost all the reviewers mention the (commercial) success of the book and a good many refer to Cozzens' earlier work as well. But the way in which they do so already reflects their positive or negative attitude. Thus the *New Yorker* says that Cozzens 'has been a formidable writer for a long time now, quietly — indeed almost stealthily — extending his range and advancing from strength to strength', and it makes much of the fact that Cozzens seems to dislike personal publicity. So does the *Saturday Review*, which simultaneously calls him 'the most underprized American novelist'. This is amplified by *Harper's Magazine* which further points out that there are certain signs indicating a real success for the new novel.

In other words the positive reviews stress the fact that Cozzens has so far been unduly neglected, i.e. their favourable estimates of *By Love Possessed* lead to an attempt to reevaluate his earlier work in a positive way. The negative reviews proceed correspondingly. If they mention Cozzens' earlier work they refer to it as a relatively better achievement. The *Kenyon Review* moreover expresses the opinion that *By Love Possessed* may be the unfortunate result of 'that isolation which lack of serious criticism inflicts on serious writers', and thus admits that Cozzens has not been taken seriously enough.

One point that may have played a certain part in the decision of some critics is the reference to the author's wife as a highly efficient literary agent. It was, as a matter of mere information, mentioned by the *Saturday Review* and then used negatively by *Commentary* and by the London *Sunday Express* (April 13, 1958). It is just possible that the latter two may have been influenced by the suspicion that the spectacular success of the novel had somehow been engineered from behind the scenes. This would almost inevitably lead to a negative verdict on the book itself.

Perhaps the most revealing remarks are those referring to the present literary scene. The positive reviews try to find some explanation why Cozzens so far has not been fully recognised. The *Saturday Review* believes that 'his books have apparently proved too demanding for the casual reader and too lacking in stylistic innovation for the colleges', and that our age is 'largely given over to soft, ingroping, semi-poetic novels or to retreads by the aging masters'. John Fischer in *Harper's Magazine* is especially explicit on this point. 'The essential difference between Cozzens and his contemporaries lies in the character of his work. Here he is the complete nonconformist: a classic mind, operating in a romantic period.' He then points out the four main characteristics of the contemporary 'romantic' novel: exotic characters in revolt against society, portrayed in sentimental terms, appearing in stories with no firm plot structure and voicing their author's sentiments. The 'romantic' novel catches the interest of readers with uneventful lives, but it can never give a balanced picture of society as a whole. Moreover it tends to wear itself

out and perhaps has already reached a dead end. So 'Cozzens may, indeed, signal a turning of the tide'.

It would be difficult to refute the statements about the characteristic aspects of contemporary American fiction, although one might hesitate to use the term 'romantic' for it. It is also correct to say that Cozzens' work does not belong to this sort of fiction. But as soon as the question arises whether Cozzens' novel is an advance over it the problem becomes much more complex because it implies the evaluation of the present trend of fiction in general. *Harper's Magazine* and the *Saturday Review* are plainly impatient with the present state of fiction, and even the *Hudson Review* mentions that Cozzens offers 'an opportunity for the reader to lift himself briefly out of the slough of self-contempt into which the next new American novel he confronts will undoubtedly be determined to plunge him'. Seen in this perspective a resolute effort to present in a well organised story a set of fairly ordinary characters faced with the problem of love and the ordinary yet intricate decisions of every-day conduct will undoubtedly exercise its attraction.

It will, however, also provoke a sharply negative reaction in those critics who are apt to identify the presentation of middle-class life and moral problems with middle-brow taste. 'The latest episode in the Middle-Brow Counter Revolution' says *Commentary*. The statement refers precisely to the situation sketched by *Harper's Magazine*, but it is based on the idea that the highbrow is always right and the middle-brow always wrong, that Cozzens is riding on a middle-brow wave and that this wave should be stopped. It would lead too far to examine the origin and the connotations of the terms highbrow, middle-brow and low-brow as applied to literature,⁷ but it is obvious that in certain cases the terms are rather confusing. Dickens is presumably middle-brow and Meredith highbrow, but does that mean that Meredith is the better writer of the two? If the term had been in use in the Elizabethan age Ben Jonson would probably have considered Shakespeare a middle-brow and himself a highbrow. Even a critic like R. P. Blackmur, who certainly cannot be suspected of indulging in low tastes, has put the question whether perhaps 'the line of Galsworthy and Maugham ... of E. M. Forster's *Passage to India* rather than Joyce's *Ulysses* ... may turn out to have carried the true Cross'.⁸ So it does not seem likely that the distinction highbrow — middle-brow will really be very helpful in deciding about the quality of a contemporary novel. Yet the distinction does show that critics will not hesitate to use it for the purpose of negative criticism. There is an appeal to literary snobbishness in the assumption that no one wishes to be taken for a middle-brow.

Our survey should have made it clear that with one exception all the

⁷ It seems possible that the term 'middle-brow' was introduced into literary criticism by Q. D. Leavis in *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London, 1939).

⁸ R. P. Blackmur, *Anni Mirabiles 1921—1925; Reason in the Madness of Letters* (Washington, 1956, p. 41).

judgments passed on the novel are not based on any clearly definable and indisputable reasons, but that these reasons are brought into focus to support some preconceived likes and dislikes. The exception is found in the remarks on style, of which a sufficient number of negative examples have been given to prove certain weaknesses. But weaknesses in matters of style do not necessarily exclude a novel from eminence. Moreover those in favour of the book do not, on the whole, admit the weakness. Of the other arguments only one can be verified objectively, viz. the fact that the story is well organised. Although both camps seem, in general, to agree on this point, it is ignored as an argument by those who declare against the book. All the other arguments are either not verifiable (alleged lack of excitement and of humour) or refer almost entirely to non-aesthetic categories. Of these the moral aspect is clearly the most important for the positive reviewers, who are more explicit and plausible about it than the negative ones. The negative reviewers, moreover, seem to be essentially influenced by their inherent suspicion of a commercially successful book, and ultimately by their estimate of the nature of contemporary fiction which in its turn is, by both camps, partly seen in terms of literary factions and fashions, partly as a contrast between ('romantic') eccentricity and ('classic') restraint.

Zürich.

HEINRICH STRAUMANN.

Notes on Science, Philosophy and Criticism*

A survey of the relations between the main trends of contemporary criticism and of contemporary philosophy must begin with an exposition of the situation in each field separately. As criticism, in some of its aspects, seems to be the application of methods or ideas derived from philosophy, and as philosophy in its turn is largely influenced by scientific developments, especially in physics, I shall first call upon those physicists who are responsible for a change in the philosophical outlook.

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The enormous and unprecedented influence of the methods of physics on philosophy and aesthetics and the application of these methods to the study of literature incite the critics to minimize or overlook the danger of treating literature like a physical body. This influence is often unconscious among philosophers and critics, who may forget the original use of their tools. The fact that art is something else than an experiment regarding the physical world — with the possibility of a dualism — is

* Extract from a longer article.

too easily disposed of. A literal application of the methods of logical positivism would seem ridiculous, and yet the authority of these methods is so convincing that a young enthusiastic American scholar has tried the experiment as late as 1952; this gives rise to the following title: '*Aesthetics and the Problem of Meaning, The Application to Aesthetics of the Logical Positivists' Verifiability Criterion of Cognitive Meaning*, by George A. Carver, Jr. Class of 1950, Yale College, New Haven, Yale UP, 1952', and to the following wording :

- a. A sentence is cognitively meaningful if and only if it is in principle verifiable (or falsifiable).
- b. Verifiability involves showing a direct or specified indirect relation between the sentence in question and certain propositions of empirical science. (p. 80)
A proposition is meaningful if and only if it can be verified by experience.
- c. This conception of meaningfulness (outlined in *a* and *b*) is used to set up the construction rules for an empiricist language or language of science. (p. 81)
- d. This empiricist language or language of science (...) embraces all the cognitive parts of our supposedly 'nonscientific' languages. (p. 82)

Hindu wisdom, according to which truth has many ways, suggests both that a ridiculous opinion has its motives and that there are other opinions. To submit literature to the test of logical positivism is perhaps as useful as to approach literature from an idealistic point of view. There is scope for various tendencies.

A multifold reaction against the narrowness of logical positivism is making its way, particularly in America (against 'the American new realism'), where, though starting from the same point of departure — an interpretation of symbols — philosophy is led along other paths than in England. The reaction has a certain unity and, like the positivist interpretation, the inevitably dogmatic aspect of all the philosophical conjectures that depart, even slightly, from a literal enunciation of the facts of experience.

Where the positivists overlook the presence of the subject (of the mind) in the experimental event, the American rebels emphasize it. This divergence can be explained by the fact that the new realism, logical positivism and phenomenism belong to the intermediate position on our chart* of the three possibilities and are tempted by the two extremes. The severe rejection of idealism has provoked a scission among the philosophers inspired by physics. The dogmatic character of this reaction is evident in the following definition of the 'great tenet on which we are all now agreed': 'At the beginning of this century an American philosopher could declare: "We are all agreed in one great tenet, which is the entire foundation of philosophy itself: that explanation of the world which maintains that the only thing absolutely real is mind; that all material and all temporal existences take their being from consciousness (...) and that presence to consciousness constitutes their entire reality.'" (*Mind*, Vol. LXVI.

* not included here.

No. 261, January 1957, p. 111; a review by P. H. Nowell-Smith of *Criticism and Construction in the Philosophy of the American New Realism* by Lars Boman, Stockholm, 1955). This statement can be frankly placed in the first position; it shows that there is, within positivism, a germ of idealism.

Another American, José A. Bernadete, tries in 1958 to rehabilitate metaphysics and the notion of essences by means of an analysis of sound and colour.¹ The attacks are directed at the British tradition of empiricism² and at the right of applying logical analysis to ethics.³ The blows may even come from the other side, from the old guard of logical positivism; for example Bertrand Russell, in *What is Mind?*⁴ calls Ryle's concept of mind unscientific,⁵ and takes position against dualism: 'My own belief is that the distinction between what is mental and what is physical does not lie in any intrinsic character of either, but in the way in which we acquire knowledge of them.' *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. LV, no. 1, January 2, 1958, p. 12.

The frequent appearance of the dilemma dualism-monism in the course of the present discussion shows that the old philosophical antagonisms

¹ 'It is our present object to show that there are in fact analytic truths which are derived from a precise examination of experience, that these truths must be understood as *a posteriori* rather than *a priori*, and that they are material, rather than merely formal in their content.' *The Journal of Philosophy*, Vol. LV, No. 12: June 5, 1958; pp. 503-514: *The Analytic a posteriori and the Foundations of Metaphysics*, by José A. Bernadete, U. of Alabama, p. 503.

'That all propositions are either empirical and synthetic, or formal and analytic, might well appear to be case.' Bernadete, *opus cit.*, p. 504.

'Chromatics and sonics exhibit intelligible necessity, in common with the formal sciences; and, in common with the positive sciences, they are manifestly empirical. Such a science is metaphysics. Metaphysics is the posterior analytic of reality. Its object is to supply a posterior analytic of time and space, of motion and rest, of essence and existence, of being and non-being; and through the noetic investigation of these themes, it aspires to grasp, in some small measure, the invariants that preside over, and constitute, the eternal order.' Bernadete, *opus cit.*, p. 513.

'The sciences of color and sound oblige us to return to a doctrine of real essences.' Bernadete, *opus cit.*, p. 512.

² 'Like Hume after him, Locke confuses the order of substance with the order of intelligibility and even with the order of being as such.' Bernadete, *opus cit.*, p. 511-512.

³ *Moore and the indefinability of Good*, by Peter Glassen (the U. of Manitoba); ... 'Moore's contention is not so much mistaken as pointless.' *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol. LV no. 10: May 8, 1958, p. 430.

⁴ *What is Mind?* by Bertrand Russell. *Same*, Vol. LV, no. 1, January 2, 1958, p. 5-12.

⁵ 'One very general conclusion to which I have been led by reading Professor Ryle's book is that philosophy cannot be fruitful if divorced from empirical science.' *Same*, Vol. LV, no. 1, January 2, 1958, p. 12.

'Professor Ryle shares with the school that he adorns a passionate determination to give a linguistic form to the problems that arise. He says, for example, in regard to our perception of visual objects:

The questions, that is, are not questions of the para-mechanical form "How do we see robins?", but questions of the form, "How do we use such descriptions as 'he saw a robin'?"

This seems to me to involve dismissing important scientific knowledge in favour of verbal trivialities.' *Same*, Vol. LV, no. 1, January 2, 1958, p. 10.

are by no means alleviated by the progress of physics. Russell's monism is his 'own belief' and the same can be said of Ryle's denial of any identity between mind and matter. None of them can prove that he is more scientific; science gives no answer, but the philosopher active in every thinking man is forced to make his choice. The conclusion of a debate on the interpretation of sense-data⁶ is to postulate the necessity of philosophical interpretation and consequently the usefulness of errors.

The most elaborate contribution to dualism in recent years is *Facts and Faith, The Dual Nature of Reality*, by Reginald O. Kapp (O.U.P., 1955). Kapp's main argument in favour of dualism is that the mind can also be the source of order, that any order is imposed upon a chaotic and lawless physical world. These views are based upon an original interpretation of the evolution of physics: for Reginald O. Kapp, the laws of physics, far from proving the existence of a given order, are self-discoveries of the human mind, that is, pure invention. The inverse square law (the law of gravitation), for instance, 'could be predicted without an experiment' (p. 34). 'It is a statement about geometry' (p. 35). If the existence of order is the criterion for the presence of consciousness, then we can say that there are two entities: chaotic matter,⁷ which constitutes the physical world, and spirit, which manifests itself partly in the biological world.⁸

In Kapp's eyes, science is, like philosophy, endowed with a double ontological value as it participates both in the order-creating spirit and in the chaos of facts. But are the facts inside or outside science? Before Einstein, the question was not even asked. Kapp's dualism places science both within and between the two entities of mind and matter, and even postulates the existence of God without questioning whether God, like Ohm's law, is an invention. The last word on dualism is not to be found in Kapp's learned and suggestive contribution. Yet this book throws a fresh light on the generic assumption of contemporary philosophy: that the solid, law-abiding world of concrete matter is replaced by a coincidence of subtle and capricious events in the reality of which we, our minds and our instruments are involved in a way which gives rise to various interpretations.

⁶ 'Laboratory evidence renders untenable the doctrines of the primacy, authenticity, infallibility, and givenness of sense-presentations, and calls for an approach that takes full account of the inexpugnability of the interpretive ingredients in the phenomenal world.' *Same*, Vol. LV, no. 1, January 2, 1958, *Sense-datum Theory and Observational Fact: some Contributions of Psychology to Epistemology*, by Charles F. Wallraff (U. of Arizona), p. 32.

⁷ 'The very basis of physics has not been discovered but created by Western science; those laws that have proved of such inestimable value are all, like Ohm's law, not discoveries but inventions. If the rough untouched world of lifeless things does not present us with any order then the beautiful order manifest in the textbooks is a product of scientific methodology.' *Facts and Faith, The Dual Nature of Reality*, by Reginald O. Kapp, L., OUP, 1955, p. 35-36.

⁸ 'Matter is, by its nature, incapable of creating order. So only the random events can be attributed to the unaided action of matter on matter. When order is observed its cause must be some non-material influence.' Reginald O. Kapp, *opus cit.*, p. 56.

Existentialism and Literary Philosophy

The awareness that a world is disappearing is most acute among the existentialists. Even the most secure of entities, platonic ideas, must be thrown overboard and we are left with the anguish of existence on the verge of nothingness. Such is the dramatic entrance of existentialism, which throws its anguish on the stage, pours its disgust in the *romans-fleuves* and burns its powder in politics.

Existentialism did not stir the peace of labs and common rooms in England, but its wave invaded the whole post-war period. The mere fact of existence for a *résistant* like Sartre implied decision and responsibility, life was extremely precarious and the anxiety, more than a philosophical attitude, was an historical phenomenon. When the war was over, existentialism had become the most influential philosophy; it had its exponents in Sartre, Camus and Marcel, its founders in Heidegger, Husserl and Jaspers, its precursors in Kierkegaard, Pascal and St. Augustine: a triple trilogy. Today, after the tide and the excitement have subsided, a severe criticism sorts little of solid philosophical value, but the achievement is elsewhere, it is in literature.

Expressed in the form of the essay, the novel, the play and the poem, a philosophy acquires a richer, more lively and more direct language than the philosophy expressed in the form of 'analysis'. It is nearer to the common readers, its effect is stronger, but its validity depends not so much on the truth of its statements as on the adequacy of its manner of speaking. Such philosophy must be judged from aesthetic as well as philosophical standards: it is a 'literary philosophy'. The phenomenon is old: according to Meyerhoff,⁹ Kierkegaard, Schopenhauer, Schelling, Nietzsche and Bergson belong to this group,¹⁰ whereas Mach, Poincaré, Russell and Carnap may be called 'scientific philosophers'. The distinction between literary philosophy and philosophical literature remains vague, for there is no essential difference.¹¹

⁹ *Time in Literature*, by Hans Meyerhoff, U. of California Press, 1955.

¹⁰ 'Aber es darf mit Sicherheit angenommen werden, wenn auch der Beweis dafür hier nicht erbracht werden kann, dass derartige Bezüge in beinahe jedem Falle sehr deutlich von der Literatur bis zur Metaphysik und von dieser bis zur Physik und zur Logik laufen.'

'Es gibt keine grosse Metaphysik, der nicht eine bestimmte Art literarische Prosa ebenso angehört, wie ihr eine singuläre Art von Logik und Physik entspricht.' Max Bense, *Literaturmetaphysik. — Der Schriftsteller in der technischen Welt*, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, Stuttgart 1950, p. 94.

¹¹ 'In France, philosophy has always been primarily a literary rather than a scientific discipline; and contemporary French existentialists go back not only to literary philosophers like Kierkegaard, Nietzsche, and Heidegger, but to the poets and writers themselves: Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Tolstoi, Dostoevski, Kafka, Faulkner, etc. Moreover, what is a "literary" and what is a "philosophical" form of expression is often indistinguishable. Thus Tolstoi's *Death of Ivan Ilyitch* may be read as a legitimate philosophical treatise. Kafka may be hailed as an exponent of both atheistic existentialism and dialectical theology. The novels and plays of Sartre, Marcel and Camus are as genuine, or authentic, an expression of their "metaphysics" as their official philosophical texts and essays.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 141,

One of the most salient features of literary philosophy and philosophical literature is the element of revolt. Whatever they may revolt against, their explosive force is interpreted as a menace to established dogmas and institutions. The very existence and nature of literature postulates a sufficient degree of creative freedom and bids defiance to the supposedly existing world.¹² The fact that literature exists, contains a negation of the world. With the existentialists, this negation becomes hostility to an absurd world for which they feel nausea.

It is no longer tenable to reject a philosophy — least of all a literary philosophy — on the ground that it is subjective. The subject cannot be dissociated from the new notion of reality. The views of the existentialists coincide in certain points with those of the logical positivists: both denounce idealism with its postulation of essences, and both consider the world as in a way unintelligible. Now, if we admit that the subject — and consequently the mind or the intellect — is part of reality, the belief (for it is a belief) in unintelligibility is both a contradiction and a failure. If you pose, like Hume, Comte, Russell and Ryle, the existence of a world of objects independent of intellectual representation, you deny the possibility of observing and affirming that world, and if you pose, like the existentialists, the impenetrable opacity of an absurd world, you negate the very existence and freedom which you are looking for. Like all philosophical contradictions, these are mere paradoxes: in all statements *about* a world — even in those of the would-be objective — there is a subjective element. As soon as you pose a world, that world has some root in you. As soon as you write about that world, you create it.¹³ The literary character of existentialism produces another dilemma: either the world is made transparent and logical or you negate it altogether, for there is no literature without intelligibility, and so it happens that the mere act of saying a thing, of posing an object and of describing the world may be a proof against the existence of the thing, the object and the world, for the act of describing, writing or stating is as real as the things described, written or stated.¹⁴ The importance of the way of saying things is recognized by the best critics of literature; in philosophy, however, attention is drawn to the things said (the statements, ideas, theories, etc.), as if these things were not man-made.

¹² 'People who read for personal comfort are often disappointed by these nonmoral implications of literature; others who wish to reform man and society have turned into enemies and distorters of art. As a matter of fact, great literature (at least in its secular manifestations) is a salutary antidote against morality, a welcome relief from the pervasive, powerful, and constant pressure of moral systems upon human lives.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 136.

¹³ 'The manifold of experience, its unique sensuous and emotional colors, tones and values often assume the shape and "reality" they have only by virtue of the shape they are given in the literary expression.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 128.

¹⁴ 'Thus by seizing upon a "true" feeling and by rendering it "truly" in the unique literary expression, the poetic work often brings into life and consciousness what we may have felt and thought without "knowing" it.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 129.

One may deplore that existentialism has debased philosophy by its emotional, subjective and impure utterances, but one listens to what it says, for it speaks in some of its works with a human, though discordant voice.¹⁵ Philosophers cannot avoid being influenced by and reacting to literature, which both is and says; they may find in it the reality and at the same time the statement about reality: it is the test tube of a reality with human ingredients plus flowers and a smile. One may overlook the smile and take literature as a source of information,¹⁶ for the philosophical ore is in the rich soil of literature.¹⁷ The fact that literature is something (and is about some things) cannot be stressed enough, and what it is may corroborate (or infirm or have little to do with) what it says.¹⁸ The whole man tries to find expression — to exist — in literature and imposes, upon a world which he supposes and partly invents, an order which exists in his mind. Literature does not like cutting the strings of its creatures: neither self nor matter can be successfully posed as independent and self-sufficient entities.

St. Gall.

RAYMOND TSCHUMI.

The English Linguistic Invasion of Switzerland

In the last lecture, entitled 'Gallizismen und Anglizismen im heutigen Deutsch', that he prepared for the Berner Sprachverein (Bernese Language Association), the late Professor Albert Debrunner pointed out that the German language is particularly susceptible to foreign influences. In that lecture Debrunner was deliberately concentrating upon the more subtle linguistic influences, i.e. syntactical and idiomatic constructions, on modern German (e.g. *alle von uns* < *all of us*, for *wir alle*; in 1947 for *im Jahre*

¹⁵ 'We recognize what we are by re-cognizing ourselves and others in the literary portrait.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁶ 'Thus when we praise literature as a source of knowledge and a great teacher, we may mean that the literary statement, though confined to a unique case of fiction, is a clue, key, or model — almost in the nature of a hypothesis — which, in conjunction with other observations and other sources of information, may be used as the basis for formulating abstract concepts and drawing general inferences.' H. Meyerhoff, *opus cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁷ 'Sofern Poesie oder Prosa sich thematisch oder formal als Einheit demonstrieren, rekapitulieren sie die Einheit der Welt, einen systematischen Gesichtspunkt, die metaphysische Seinsthematik. Diese Einheit wird erzählt. Der Roman erzählt eine Geschichte, eine beliebige, diese Geschichte ist ein Weltstück, ein ontologisches Detail.' M. Bense, *opus cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁸ (Gabriel Marcel) 'has introduced a new philosophical category, *presence*, which is lacking in life and to be found in story'. *The Sleeping Beauty*, by Ralph Harper, with a Foreword by M. C. D'Arcy, S.J., London, Harvill Press, 1955, p. 29.

1947; *jemanden treffen* for the more correct *sich mit jemandem treffen*, etc.), and he did not go into the question of the influx of English words into the vocabulary.

In June, 1958, an article signed F. G. appeared in the *Berner Tagblatt*, deploring the fact that the German used in Switzerland had now reached an 'all-time low', to use the American term ('*Deutsche Sprachgeltung in der Schweiz auf dem Tiefpunkt*'). The writer complains of the use of foreign words in connection with the fashions, industry, sport, art, and in the wider circles of business, trade, and commerce. He condemns the use by firms in Switzerland of English and French words and phrases in their advertisements.

Stimulated by the above two works, I decided to study the problem of the incidence of what are, at least apparently, English words in the texts of newspapers and periodicals published in the German-speaking part of Switzerland. I hope it may be of some interest to such as do not read Swiss newspapers day by day to see which English words have been introduced into those newspapers. My list cannot hope to be complete, as I have been collecting examples only for a little over a year, and then only casually, not in any systematic way. The material covers leading and other articles, serial stories (often translated from American or English works) and advertisements.

In its original form this article ran to over thirty pages on account of the examples, numerous but necessary, given to demonstrate the German use of the English words. In its present greatly condensed form, these examples have had to be omitted, or, where it seemed essential to give one or more to make the German usage clear, they have had to be drastically cut. The loan-words given in the following pages are only such as may be found over and over again, and of which I have in my possession a fairly large number of examples. In brackets I have added the German equivalent where necessary. This latter word is still usually used side by side with the English loan-word. It is usually the shorter or more convenient word that is most frequently used, e.g. *Team* is more often found than *Mannschaft*.

It is often hardly possible to distinguish whether a foreign loan-word has come in from British or from American English, or whether in some cases the word is not of French origin, since the internationalization of political and cultural relations, of the press, of economic life, and of various other spheres of modern life tends to veil the true source of many loan-words. Frequently I have been forced to conclude from its context of situation, or its spelling, or its pronunciation, that a word has been borrowed from English rather than from French. Some of the English words borrowed into the German written in Swiss newspapers were, of course, originally also loan-words from the French, a fact which again somewhat tends to confuse the issue.

That it should be possible for writers to introduce foreign (in this case English) words at all, may be explained by the Swiss interest in foreign

affairs, their ability to learn foreign languages, the high level of their education, and the influence of British and American films, wireless, gramophone records, etc., as also by the introduction of British and American goods together with their trade-names, e.g. *Formfit*, *Airfresh*, *Heropic-Spray*, *Lavendo-Spray*, etc.

It also seems necessary to take into account the familiarity that writer and reader may be assumed to have with the English language. Thus we may find an English word first introduced with or without inverted commas, accompanied with an explanation, definition, or literal translation, e.g. 'Das Wort "Disengagement", das "Loslösung, Ablösung" bedeutet und mit dem man alle Vorschläge charakterisiert, die auf eine beidseitige Zurücknahme der Hauptstreitkräfte von West und Ost zielen, ... ist auf einmal "salonfähig" geworden, nachdem es lange als Hobby einiger Aussenseiter und Besserwisser galt'; ... or: 'Niemand spricht von Beschwichtigung (alias Appeasement) und niemand greift zum Regenschirm. Es war nicht die von US-Präsident Eisenhower einst geforderte Politik des roll-back, des Zurückwerfens, der Sowjetmachthaber ..., sondern die alte Politik der Eindämmung ... Containment nannte das ein für diese Politik mitverantwortlicher Amerikaner'; ... or similarly: 'Amerika macht erfolgreiche Propaganda für die "Togetherness", das Beisammensein, das "Familienleben" ...'; and: 'Dafür müssen Sie dann freilich auch, wenn Sie ein "Date", eine Verabredung abgemacht haben, den ganzen Abend mit dem betreffenden Herrn tanzen'.

Occasionally the loan-word may be set in inverted commas still, but given without any translation or explanation, which suggests that the word is sufficiently familiar to the reader not to require any further explanation, though it is still felt to be a loan-word; or the word may be used without the inverted commas and without definition, but still exhibit the English inflexional suffixes, which mark it as non-German; finally the loan-word may be found used with the German inflexional endings and in hybrid compounds, so that it has obviously come to be felt as an integral part of the language. Another possibility is that the *sound* of the English word is used, while the spelling is made to conform to the German rules of orthography, e.g. *Skore* and *skoren* (score), *Rezession* (recession, increased unemployment), and similarly *Steher-rennen* from *Stayer-race*. There are, of course, also a number of loan-translations in common use. The loan-word often exists side by side with its German equivalent, and may be used principally for the sake of stylistic variation in press articles, but sometimes the loan-word assumes a meaning that is either more restricted or wider than its original connotation. Often a word borrowed first from one special sphere, e.g. sport, later spreads to other spheres (where it might possibly not be used in English).

As is often the case with loan-words, the name may arrive together with the article, idea or concept that is introduced from abroad, and for which no satisfactory word exists in the German language. A writer (or translator) is then forced either to use the English word itself, or to find

or make up a convenient German equivalent, possibly by a semantic shift or an extension of meaning of a word or words already existing in the German language, or to give a literal loan-translation. Hence many of these loan-words will be found in connection with sport, the world of entertainment, fashions, economic, political and cultural relations, wireless and television, the film world, air transport, etc. The increasing use of the English language, both in its British and in its American form, as an international language is obviously one of the principal reasons for the influx of English words into daily life abroad. Another reason is the (often hurried) translation of press articles, serial stories, etc., from one language into the other, whereby the translator may have no time to search in his mother-tongue (in this case German) for the correct word, if there is one, so that he frequently makes use of the foreign word itself, or merely gives it a German appearance by slightly altering the spelling.

Many of the obviously English words used in Switzerland are old guests, although some of them have not yet found their way into the dictionaries, e.g. *boiler* (hot water cistern), *lift* (Germ. Fahrstuhl), *catcher* (butterfly-net!), *spleen* (a form of arrogance generally attributed to the old type of English visitor to Switzerland), etc. It also seems likely that such words as *Bluff*, *Trick*, *Folklore*, *Slum*, *Clan* (often used in a pejorative sense), *just*, *prompt*, etc., were originally borrowed from English.

From the social and ethical spheres we find the words *Lord* and *Lady* (as titles), as well as *gentleman* and *lady* (as opposed to *Herr* and *Dame*), e.g. 'Nach dem Sieg des australisch/französischen Doppels erklärte nämlich die Mutter der Französin: "Dieser Rose spielt wirklich kein schlechtes Tennis, aber ein Gentleman ist er nicht, schnappte er doch meiner Tochter sämtliche Bälle weg".' *Ladylike* and *GentlemanEinstellung* have also been found, as well as the phrases 'a Gentlemen's Agreement' and the headline 'Gentleman-Zigeuner auf englischen Strassen'.

Girl has recently been introduced and has become very popular. The German word *Mädchen* is not its exact equivalent, since *Girl* is now taken to mean a modern young girl in her teens, e.g. 'Vor nicht allzulanger Zeit schickte einer meiner Kollegen ein Mädchen heim, ... Nach einer Stunde kehrte das Girl zurück mit einem Brief seines Vaters ...'; '... das schlanke Yankee girl ...'; '... Mädchen im Girl-Alter ...'; 'Reizend für die jungen Girls ...'; (Headline in a daily paper): 'Neger-Girl greift nach der Wimbledon-Krone. Ein Symptom des Vormarsches der farbigen Sportler ist die Qualifikation des amerikanischen Neger-Girls, Althea Gibson ...'; 'Duffle-Coats — was Girls besonders lieben'. A large department store has recently opened what it calls a *Girls' Shop*, where *Girl-Bekleidung* may be bought. Other combinations are *cowgirl*, *Sex-Girl*, *die Roxy-Girls aus Schweden*, etc.

Boy (Germ. Knabe, Junge) is quite often found, but not as the exact masculine counterpart of *Girl*. Its use is limited rather to the other connotation of *boy*, i.e. servant, e.g. (from a serial story the background of which is a hotel in Switzerland): 'Der grosse Theatermann musste

feststellen, dass sein Name auf den Jungen keinerlei Eindruck machte, ... Der Boy ging artig einen halben Schritt hinter dem Gast durch die Räume.' (In the rest of the text the page is referred to as *Junge*.) In connection with the visit of a group of American newspaper-boys to Switzerland *die US-Zeitungsboys* was used beside *die amerikanischen Zeitungsjungen*. Other uses are: *Liftboy*, *Servier-boy* (tea-trolley), *Dampf-Boy* (steam-iron gadget).

Baby (Germ. Kleinkind, Säugling) is used in preference to the French form *bébé* today, e.g. 'Ihre Mutter war gestorben, als Charlotte noch ein Baby war, ...'; 'Vor ihm stand ... ein kleiner, flott gekleideter Mann mit dem Teint eines Babys, ...'; 'Miss Krim ... betrachtete mein Bankkonto als ihr Baby,'; 'Das Löwenbaby ... Ein Leopardenvbaby ...'. As an extension of this *Baby* we also find the American-English *Babysitter* (also *Babysitterin*). A further extension is the *Hundesitter* — a man who takes a group of other people's dogs out for long daily walks! *Baby* may also be used to indicate a small-size article (i.e. typewriter or piano, etc.).

Nurse is frequently used for English *nursemaid*, *children's nurse*. *Teenager* is another word from America that has recently become very popular, and a book was published not long ago entitled *Teenager-Fibel*. *Youngster* has been found in connection with the junior team of a football club, and *Junior* for the young son of the family seems to have been borrowed from the American use of this word.

Farm, *Farmer*, etc. have also come to stay, as referring to something not felt to be identical with 'Bauernhof' and 'Bauer'. Chickens or eggs may be advertised as 'farmfrisch'. In an article on agriculture the phrase 'Kleingeflügel-Farmer' was used, and the sentence: '... wenn der Bauer geistig zum blossen Konsumenten städtischer Formen wird, sinkt er zum Kleinfarmer herab'. Children's play-suits are commonly known as *Farmerlis*.

Gangster (*Gangstertum*, *Supergangster*, etc.) is another importation from America. *Globetrotter* (*Globetrotterin* and *Globetrottere*) are no longer unusual today. *Rowdy* (*Strassenrowdy*, i.e. roadhog and *Rowdium*) with the plural form *Rowdies*, is much used in connection with sport (especially ice-hockey) and road-traffic. *Manager* (Germ. Direktor), with the compound *Managerkrankheit* is very popular today, e.g. Paul Delouvrier, 'Typ eines Managers der vergeistigten französischen Wesensart, ...'; '... eine Minderheit ... von Funktionären und Managern, ...' etc. Even (*to*) *manage* has been found, e.g. 'So managte er das auf ganz natürliche Weise, ohne jede Schwierigkeit'. *Boss* is another word that has crept into the newspapers, and seems often to replace *chef*, e.g. 'Der eigentliche Boss der Familientruppe war ohne Zweifel die Mutter ...'; '... und fuhr ins warme, lichtdurchflutete Büro, wo man Boss war'. *Selfmademan* is another much-used importation, e.g. '... als der erfolgreiche Selfmademan, ...'. *Dandy* (for which there are various German equivalents, such as *Geck*, *Stutzer*, has quite frequently been found, e.g. 'Obschon er offensichtlich ein Dandy ist und ein Paar frischgebügelte weisse Flanell-

hosen trägt...'. *Star* has been introduced from the film world in the first place, together with *Starlet*, *Startum*, *Starallüren*, etc. It may be used in other connections than films and entertainment shows, e.g. 'Odette ist eine dunkle, schlanke, zarte Französin, die während des zweiten Weltkrieges zu den Stars des alliierten Geheimdienstes zählte'. *Snob* (with *Snobbismus*, *snobbistisch*, etc.) is now an accepted part of the German vocabulary, as is also the *Call-girl*.

It is of interest to note that Queen Elizabeth of England is frequently, if not usually, referred to as 'die Queen', whereas other reigning queens are always called 'die Königin'. Another conception that is referred to by its English name is *Commonwealth*, as opposed to *Gemeinwohl*, which is its German equivalent.

The following are some of the more usually encountered loan-words: *Flirt/flirten*: Obviously the word might equally well have been borrowed from French, but the following interesting example, in which the pronunciation seems to have been known but not the correct spelling, suggests rather the English pronunciation; it is taken from the women's page of a weekly paper: 'Dahinter sind vielleicht die echt amerikanischen Büros, wo die becadillacten Sekretärinnen arbeiten, resp. mit ihrem Chef fleurten'. Otherwise the spelling is *Flirt*, e.g. 'Eben deshalb gerade, weil es ein charmanter Flirt war, ...'. 'Flirten ist eine Kunst...'. 'Der Teufel soll Sie holen, Alabanez, wenn Sie weiterhin mit dieser Dame wie ein Gigolo flirten!' *Tip* (Germ. Wink), e.g. 'Einige gute Tips für die Flugreise, ...'. 'ein gutes halbes hundert "Skitips"'. Besides 'Winke für Automobilisten' we find 'Tips für den Winterbetrieb', 'Tips für Reisende nach der Deutschen Bundesrepublik und Westberlin'. 'Unter dem Mantel der Verschwiegenheit geben wir Ihnen diesen Tip: bei uns finden Sie erstklassige Popeline- und Gabardine-Mäntel schon für Fr. 49.— ...'. 'Ich gebe Dir diesen Tip aus einem Erlebnis heraus: ...'. Besides this meaning of *tip*, there is 1) the verb *tippen* in connection with the Sport-Toto, e.g. 'Manche Experten tippen, dass die "Young England"-Spieler ... vorstossen werden ...'; '... obwohl einige Geheimtips angekündigt werden'. 'Ich tippe auf ...' 2) *tippen* = to type, *Tippfräulein* = typist. *Job* (Germ. Stelle, Anstellung) e.g. 'Nun, Miss Downes hat ihre Gründe, diesen Job (i.e. as schoolteacher on Tristan da Cunha) für besonders erstrebenswert zu halten'. (From an advertisement) 'Job sucht Student, PW-Ausweis'.

In connection with buildings we find *Bungalow*, *Dining-room*, *Living-room*. *Tea-Room* has long become nationalised, but other rooms are found, esp. in restaurants, e.g. *Pearl Room*, *Timber Room*, beside *Kristall-Raum* and *Rosen-Zimmer* in a new Restaurant. *Bar* (*Stehbar*, *Hausbar*, *Barchef*, *Barman(n)*, *Bardame*, *Barmaid*, etc.) have also come in from abroad, together with the names of the various drinks served, e.g. whiskey, Gin Fizz, Fancy and Soft Drinks, etc., e.g. 'Gewöhnlich sei er der Mittelpunkt einer fröhlichen Gruppe an der Bar gewesen, habe für Gott und die Welt Drinks bestellt, ...'. A poster for a certain brand of Gin shows a young lady in evening dress raising her glass in a *toast* (another loan-word,

in both its senses!) and the words printed beside her are 'Gin-Gin!' This I take to be a variant of the popular 'Cheerio-chin-chin!' *Cocktail* (*Cocktail-party*, *Cocktailkleid*, etc.) are now commonly used, e.g. 'Mein Sextett mag wie ein Cocktail zusammengemixt sein, aber es ist ein schweizerisches Orchester ...'; cf. also *Film-cocktail*, *Molotow-Cocktail*, etc. *Mixen* is used for the mixing of cocktails, but may now also be found in other connections instead of *mischen*, e.g. '(sie) mixt das Beefsteak Tartare, ...', where *mixen* is obviously felt to mean *to prepare the ingredients*. Similarly: 'Rubeloffensive, gemixt mit Friedensoffensive, ...' *Mixer*, *Mixbecher*, *gemixt*, are also found. Certain foodstuffs are commonly called by their English names, e.g. *Sandwich*, *Toast*, *Pudding* (as apart from the French form *pouding*), 'Ein Weihnachtspudding aus dem Burenkrieg ...'; *Christmas Turkey* (instead of Truthahn or Trute), *Roastbeef*, *Special Turkey-Sandwich*, etc. The names of the various meals are frequently found in their English form, e.g. 'Du weisst, Deine Tante wartet nicht gern mit dem Dinner ...'; 'Das Ertönen des Dinner-Gongs wurde ... begrüsst ...'; 'Kennen Sie den Suppen-Lunch?' 'Ich hatte gerade im Klub des Philadelphia-Kunstvereins geluncht ...'. 'Bis zum 18. Jahrhundert assen die Engländer ihr breakfast auch erst am späten Vormittag ...'. *Week-end* is used side by side with *Wochenende*, e.g. 'Beglückendes Weekend bei den "Hanny's Dutch Sisters"'. 'Haben Sie Kodak-Filme fürs Weekend besorgt?' A *Weekend* was once even advertised for sale — a week-end house being meant. *Trip* is now much used for Ausflug, Reise, e.g. 'Die gemeinsame Reise in die Türkei ... wird nur beiläufig und als Vergnügungstrip erwähnt ...'; 'Am wohlthuendsten werden die einsamen Erdölsucher den Helikopterverkehr empfinden, der sie zu regelmässigen Trips in die nächstgrössere Stadt fliegen wird'. 'Dasselbe lässt sich leider nicht von Grindelwald sagen, das von seinem Trip nach Zürich unerwartet keinen einzigen Zähler mit ins Gletscherdorf brachte ...'.

From the sphere of entertainment we find: *Interview/interviewen*, *non-stop* (programm, Music-Hall, non-stop-Mantelprobe, etc.), *Rock'n'Roll*, *Be-bop* (and the adjective *boppig*), *Boogie-woogie*, *Negro Songs and Spirituals*, *fox-trot*, *one-step*, etc., *Jazz* (most of the jazz bands choose such names as *Strompers*, *Strutters*, *Riverboat Band*, *The Tremble Kids*, etc.), *Blues*, *Jam-Session*, *Band* (Germ. Kapelle), *Band Leader*, *Drums*, *Drummer*, *Fan*, *Music-Hall*, *Step-tanz*, *Step-exzentrik*, *Wild-Westfilme*, *Gag*, *Show*, e.g. 'die kostspieligste Unterhaltungs-Show ...'; 'mit einem Schuss gekonnten Show-Betriebes'; 'nach der Pause trat nämlich der Showcharakter immer mehr in den Vordergrund', etc., also *Showladies*; *Musical* or *Musikal*, whereby a *Musikal-Schau* may be presumed to be a loan-translation of *Musical Show*, just as the *Londoner Motor-Schau* is undoubtedly a loan-translation of the London Motor Show, since such automobile exhibitions are otherwise here known as Automobil Salons. The word *Song* is used as a genre quite distinct from *Lied*, just as *Lieder* are distinct from *songs* in English, e.g. 'Die Schallplatte dieses Songs habe ich schon beinahe zuschandengespielt.' Some of these *Songs* are called

Hits, though *Schlager* is still more often used. *Sketch*, a genre that is now very popular, e.g. '... die reichlich eingestreuten Sketches vor dem Vorhang ...'. *Strip-tease* seems to have come to stay, and one may read of a *Striptease-Star*. *Dancing* is used in the sense of a place where one may dance (i.e. dance hall), or the entertainment itself, e.g. *Freinacht-Dancing*, as opposed to *Thé-dansant*, *Soirée-Dansante*. *Speaker* is used apparently for *conférencier*, e.g. 'Im Programm der Abteilung figurieren weitere Verbesserungen im Rennbetrieb und die Durchführung eines zweiten Journalisten- und Speakerkurses'. 'Die charmante Speakerin ... kündigt in bunter Abwechslung folgende Nummern an ...'. *Story*, *Thriller*, *Happy-end*, are now common, *Story* being used quite differently from *Geschichte* e.g. 'An dieser Stelle der Story ... nimmt der Streifen vorübergehend thrillerartige Züge an, rollt alsdann jedoch ... wacker einem häuslichen Happy-end entgegen'; '... (er)glaubte ... an die Wahrheit der Story, ...'; 'die doppelspurige Mordstory ...'; 'Die Story ist insofern originell ...'; 'im Rahmen der prächtigen Story ...'; 'Die Story vom wilden Polenprinzen Sigismund ...'; '... die Story von den Bunkermenschen'. 'Der Background ist ebenso packend wie die richtig kinohafte Story ...'; 'Ich glaube, die Story ist erfunden. Eine ähnliche Story geht bis ins Jahr 1900 zurück, als Torhüter Charles Williams ... einen Auskick ebenfalls ohne Zwischenstation im Sunderland-Tor placierte'; 'Der Stories-Beflissenheit einer internationalen Presseagentur verdanken wir die Kenntnis von jenem ... Schäferhund ...'. *Sex* obviously has a very different connotation from the German word *Geschlecht*, e.g. 'Ein gefährliches Spiel um Sex und Spionage'. 'Eine Sex-Bombe'. 'Königin des Sex-Appeals', etc. *Cartoon*, e.g. '... sonst könnten sich nicht verschiedene Verlage mit Fleiss bemühen, die Cartoons der Welpresse zu sammeln ...'. *Thriller*, e.g. 'Die Abschiedsszene Bettys wiegt ... hundert grosse Thrillerszenen auf'. The German word, which is less used today, is *Reisser*. *Amusement* might equally well have come from French, but the context of situation often seems to suggest rather that England is the country of origin, e.g. (from review of an English film) '... der alle die rothaarigen Phasen mit mehr oder minder Amusement mitmacht'. 'Die Beispiele zeigen zur Genüge, welcher Art das Amusement war, das geboten wurde'. *Bestseller* is a word commonly met with in connection with the book trade, e.g. '... dass heuer zum erstenmal seit Jahren kein Bestseller aus dem heimatlichen Rennen ... hervorging ...'; '... das rasante, kurzlebige Tempo der ebenso törichten wie ungesunden Bestsellermanie'. *Colt*, *Revolver*, *Browning* etc. are now the common property of both languages. *Giggeln*: e.g. 'Die Nonnen giggelten ...' (beside *kichern*). *High Fidelity*, *Live-Sendung*, *Edition* (beside *Ausgabe*), *Budget*, *Travellers' Checks*, *Remake* ('... der neue Film ist ein Remake'), *Do-it-yourself* (Abteilung der Stadt-Drogerie ...), *Fading* (wireless), *Pick-up* (gramophone), *Humbug*, *Novelty*, *Quiz* and *Quiz-master*, *Lobbyist*, *Home*, *Couch*, *Mood-music* (*Business*), *Clown*, etc., have been found more or less often.

From various spheres of modern life we get: *Park(platz)*, *parkieren* or *parken*, *Test*, *testen* (as opposed to *prüfen*, *ausprobieren*, *Versuch*, etc.) e.g. 'Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten und zahlreiche Tests haben eindeutig bewiesen ...'; (Headline) 'Ein negativer Test — War Heuss' Staatsbesuch in London verfrüht?' 'Es wird nicht das erstemal sein, dass das Radio diesen Versuch unternimmt, mit Hilfe von Testfragen ein Brautpaar zu eruieren, ...'; 'Nur wenn der Test erfolglos wäre, kostet Sie das 20 Franken'. 'Lassen Sie zunächst einmal die Empfangsverhältnisse durch einen unserer Fernsehtechiker bei Ihnen zu Hause testen'. 'So werden zurzeit in der Schweiz weitere Typen ausländischer Düsenflugzeuge geprüft und auf ihre spezielle Eignung für unsere Verhältnisse getestet'. 'Meist sind es einseitig, auf bestimmte "moderne" Tests eingedrillte Prüfer'. In psychiatry various tests are employed, e.g. Rorschach-Test, Baum-Test, etc. A dancing-establishment advertised classes to prepare dancers for the Bronze-Medal-Tests. The expressions *Test-Serie* (of atomic weapons, rockets, etc.), *Test-Pilot*, *Testfahrer*, are commonly found today. *Party* is much in use nowadays, e.g. 'Ein Party-Gebäck mit Kaffee ...'; '... das "Rosen-Zimmer", das für Privatparties reserviert ist'; '... Denn er liebte es, Parties zu geben ...'; 'Die "Tricheurs" an einer Party'. 'Die Jugend ist richtig gezeichnet, auch wenn vielleicht das Ausmass der dargestellten Parties als etwas zu gross empfunden wird'. 'Diese "Freiheit" zeigt sich vor allem auch in der völlig ungehemmten, ... in den "wilden" Parties'. 'Eine Emmentaler Käsespezialität für Mahlzeiten, Parties und Pic-nic'. 'Pferdeschlitten zu entsprechenden Tailing-Parties stehen zur Verfügung!'

New conceptions and professions make new appellations necessary, and these are often introduced from the country of origin, e.g. '(ich suche) einen versierten, ideenreichen *Public-Relations Spezialisten*'. '... Auch das Gebiet der *Human Relations* innerhalb des Betriebes ist zu betreuen ...'. 'Das Unternehmen bietet angemessene Salarierung ... und angenehmes *Team-work*'. 'Wir suchen für die Schweiz für unser Unternehmen in Bern einen jüngeren *Sales Promotion Man*'. 'Schweizerische *Public Relations* Gesellschaft'. 'Public Relations auf den Schienen'. 'Staat und Public Relations'. '... eine Anzahl Damen (werden ausgebildet) für Public-Relations, ...'. In connection with the air line services the words *Hostess* and *Steward(ess)* have been introduced, e.g. 'Die Welt braucht Hostessen'. 'Hostessen der World-Relations versehen den offiziellen Hostess-Dienst am Schweizer-Pavillon an der Weltausstellung'. 'Die Groundhostess hat Ihren Flug ausgerufen ...'; '... 3-monatigen Ausgangskurs für Hostessen, Stewardessen, ...'. We also find frequent references to *Jet* (Düsenflugzeug), *Clipper Service*, *Economy Class*, *Ground Service*, *Run-up*, *Cockpit-besatzung*, etc. The introduction of Beauty Parlours has brought such terms as *Make-up*, *Peeling*, *beauty-sleep*, etc. We also find *Finishing-School* used in the sense of a school of deportment and mannequin training. In connection with road-making and building the following words have been introduced with the vehicle in question: *Bull-dozer* (often spelt *Bulldozer*), *Grader*, (*Gross*)-*dumper* and *Payhauler*, *Caterpillard* (sic)-

Trax, *Jeep*, *Traktor* (from *tractor*?), and a *Car* is English *charabanc* or motor-coach. From the world of business in all its forms we get: *Slogan*, *City* (now used for the central, shopping district of a town), *Trust*, *Run*, e.g. 'Run und Ruhe auf dem Büchermarkt'. 'Der weihnachtliche Run auf Literature, ..'; *Boom*, e.g. 'Als der Erdöl-Boom begann, ..'; *Dumping*, *Self-Service*, *Pipeline*, (now nearly always used rather than Rohrleitung); *fifty-fifty*, e.g. 'Wir machen fifty-fifty, einverstanden?' *Grapefruit* (in place of the French pamplemousse), pronounced, however, [grapfrwi:], and *Navels-Orangen* are advertised for sale, an evident misunderstanding of the word *navel-oranges* or *navels* (for which the German word is Nabel). Other words found, relating principally to various phenomena in recent times are: *Austerity*, *Automation*, *Goodwill*, and many other terms, including the now very popular *Publicity*, e.g. 'Der Oberst wird dafür besorgt sein, dass es dem Soldaten und Lastwagenchauffeur nicht an Publicity mangelt'. 'Erfolg ohne Publicity'. '... die Wäsche des Publicityrummels ...'. 'E. P. kann auch uniformiert der Publicity nicht entrinnen'. 'Hagelstange machte keine Publicitywürdigen Bekanntschaften, ...'; '... dank der .. in Amerika ohnehin sehr gross geschriebenen Publicity'. Similarly: *Round-table* (Konferenz): 'Averoff hatte mit ... Spaak Besprechungen über die vorgeschlagene Roundtable-Konferenz über Zypern geführt'. 'Ein Sprecher erklärte, es bestünden immer noch Schwierigkeiten in bezug auf die Zusammensetzung der Roundtable-Konferenz'. Also *Hearing*, e.g. 'Das Gericht wird am 15. Oktober zusammenzutreten, um eine Hearing über diese Angelegenheit abzuhalten'.

The world of fashions has introduced the names of various garments, materials, styles, and trade terms, e.g. *Pyjama(s)* (not the American form *Pajamas*), *Trainer* (English Track Suit), *Pullover*, *Golfer* (a sort of cardigan), *Sweater*, *Lumber* (lumber jacket in England), *Smoking* (dinner jacket), *Cutaway*, *Autocoat*, (it is interesting to note that the German word for coat, Mantel, is used for a different garment), e.g. from an advertisement: 'Die interessantesten Mäntel und Coats'. *Coats*, like *Duffle* (or *Duffel*)-*Coats* are about three-quarter length, while a *Mantel* is full-length. Today one may read of *Kinder-Duffles*, or just *Duffles*. Other garments are: *Girlmantel*, *Blazer-Mantel*, and the lining may be of *Teddy* (i.e. teddy-bear material), *Trenchcoat*, *Twin-Set*, often made of *Lambswool* and advertised as *fully-fashioned*. Today the *Twin-set* is often called just *Set*, though this word is also used for a set of small table-mats, etc. *Hausdress* (in England housefrocks, housecoat, or housegown!), *Slacks*, *Jeans*, *Shorts*, *Slip*, *Wollshawl*, *Cape*, are also found. For gentlemen we find the 'typischen Business-Anzug', and there are *Trends* in fashion as in other spheres. Materials and colours are sometimes given in English, e.g. *charcoal*, *pink*, etc., and *Tweed*, *Worsted*, *West-of-England* *Tuch*, *Cheviots*, *Tartan-Smoking*, etc. Raincoats may be *reversible* or *reversibel*. *Dress* is used in connection with sport, e.g. '... in die rund 1000 Klubspiele im Dress der Grasshoppers, ..'; also *Campingdresses*, and *Hausdress*.

The sphere from which by far the largest number of loan-words and loan-translations come is undoubtedly that of sport. Lack of space makes it impossible to do more than merely list such terms here. First we have the names of those games that originated in England: *Tennis, Handball, Basketball, Netball, Golf* (Miniatur Golf), and, as loan translations, *Fussball, Eishockey*. Many teams (a word which has produced innumerable compounds in many spheres besides sport) choose English names, e.g. *Young Boys, Young Sprinters, Grasshoppers*, etc. From Tennis we have *Game, (Long)set, Volley, Lob, Service, Singles, Doubles, Mixed* (or *Mixte*). From boxing: *Boxsport, Boxer, Boxmeeting, K. O. = Knockout, Uppercut, Bantamgewicht, Weltergewicht, (Federgewicht is a loan-translation)*. Horse-racing has provided: *Steeplechase, Jury, Trophy, Jockey, Paddock, Order* (Befehl vom Besitzer), *Speed*, etc. Football, Icehockey, Basketball, and other forms of sport have introduced *Pass, Passing(s), Fight, Fighter, Cupfighter, Hometeam, Awayteam, Alwaysieg*, etc. *Trainer, Training, trainieren, trainiert*, with innumerable extensions or compounds, such as *Trainingslager, Spieler-Trainer, Konditionstraining*, etc. *Manager, Hatrick, Leader, Leaderposition, Leaderemblem*, etc. *Tackling, tackeln, getackelt, Foul, foulén, gefoult, fair, unfair, Fairness, Penaltyfoul, Foulpenalty, Penalty, Stockfoul, Attacke, Powerplay, Bodycheck, Runner-up, Speedway, Kick, kicken, Torauskick, Hands* (a singular), *Front, Behind, Ref* (Schiedsrichter, 'der Unparteiische'), *Break, Comeback, Out(linie), Outeinwurf, Goal* (Tor), *Goalie, Keeper, Stopper, Bully, Coach, Curling, Curler, Ends, Rink, Dribbeln, Camping, Scooter, Sprinter, Spurt, Endspurt, spurten, Corner* (Ecke), *Transfer, Handicap, handicapiert, Final* (match), *Sparringpartner, Open(rennen), allround, Offside, Derby* (for almost any kind of race or match, e.g. 'Internationales Fairplay Derby auf der Lenzerheide'), *Partner, Tandem, Cross* (cross country), *Punch, punchkräftig, Linesman* (or Linienrichter), *Goalgetter, Forward, Skeleton, Bob, der Run* (Piste), *Crew*; in swimming: *Crawl and Butterfly; Stock-Car* (Rennen and Club), *Club* (Klub), *Court* (i.e. tennis-court), *Supporter, Boykott, Trials, Block, blockieren, Time*, (e.g. '... und kurz vor Time muss Andersson für einen Foulcheck an die Bande'), *Pace*, (e.g. 'die Pace an der Spitze'), *Backhand* (in Handball), *boxen* (in the sense of hitting a ball with the fist), *Half* (e.g. '... der englische Fussball-Half'), *Match*, to be *in Form* and in *Topform*, *Start, starten, Stop, stoppen* (also in the sense of noting time with a stop-watch), *Meeting, Team* (Mannschaft) with innumerable compounds, e.g. *Teamwork, Teamgeist, Gipfelteam* (on the Himalayas), *Reportage-Team*, etc.; to be *fit* (with inflexional forms such as *fite, fiter, fiten*).

A few adjectives might also be mentioned: *fair, fit*, (see above), *dezent, rezent, respektabel*, e.g. 'Trotz seinem weiten und vornehmen Bekanntenkreis waren seine wirklichen Freunde meistens arme, demütige und oft nicht einmal respektable Leute' (undoubtedly in the English sense of *respectable*), *brutal* ('eine brutale Niederlage' at tennis!), *akzeptabel* (e.g. 'So akzeptabel sie sind, ihr Spiel bleibt an der Oberfläche ...', cp. '... dass die Abmel-

dungen nicht akzeptiert werden können'), *komfortable*, e.g. 'Man machte sich auf einen komfortablen Lehrer-Sieg gefasst, ..'; 'Kinderschwester gesucht ... für einjähriges, gesundes, einziges Knäblein in komfortables Landhaus ...'; (the spelling with *m* before the *f* suggests an English rather than a French origin here), *selektiv*, *attraktiv*, etc. Most of the above might have come from French, but undoubtedly from English are *smart* and *clever*: e.g. 'Stanley Matthews ist smart. Englands Rekord-Nationalspieler Stanley Matthews ... ist nicht nur auf dem Spielfeld gewitzt und smart, sondern er ist auch tüchtiger Geschäftsmann ...'; 'Ein smarter Bursche, erst 32jährig, von Beruf Koch, verheiratet und Vater von vier Kindern'. 'Als smarter Geschäftsmann hat er daraus klingende Münze zu schlagen verstanden, ...'; and: 'Weltergewicht: Dieser Kampf zwischen Schweizer Meister Max Meier (Winterthur) und dem clevern Elze (K) war Boxsport in Reinkultur'. 'Mir ist die Sache zu heiss, ich traue mir das nicht zu, aber du bist ein cleverer Bursche. Du schaffst das, Pedro!' '... das Ganze ist eine Farce, von einem cleveren Hauptmann ersonnen.' Also *fashionable* e.g. '(das Hemdkleid) das auch zuletzt gleichzeitig mit dem runden Strohhut Mitte der zwanziger Jahre fashionable war'.

Apart from the above-mentioned words and compounds, the papers are full of loan-translations (e.g. *Gipfel-Konferenz* from summit conference, *Taschenbuch* from Pocket Book, *Schrittmacher* from pace-maker, *Aussen-seiter* from outsider, etc.), common phrases such as *last (but) not least*, *Grand Old Man* (mostly referring to Winston Churchill), 'Zwei der "Big Three" im Wankdorf', *Big Business*, and, from an advertisement for Cognac, 'Stock "84", 10 years old, enthält alle Glut, Kraft und Bekömmlichkeit auserlesener italienischer Weine...'; also words that might equally well have come from French, e.g. *eliminieren*, *Kondition*, *Limite*, *limitieren*, *Qualifikation*, *Relegation*, *Differenz*, *Komplett*, *Engagement*, *Reporter*, *Konzeption*, *Intervention*, *annullieren*, *Aktion*, *Ventilation*, *Champion*, etc.

I hope the above pages of examples will make it clear to such as are interested in the spread of the English language abroad, and in the susceptibility of the German language to accepting loan-words, borrowed nowadays largely from English, to what extent English words and phrases are used in the newspapers and periodicals of the German-speaking part of Switzerland.

Bern.

BRITTA M. CHARLESTON.

The Icicle in English Dialects

We have no difficulty in identifying Aelfric's *ises zicel* 'stiria, stillicidia' with StE *icicle*, the word having undergone very little change since the 10th century. The formal stability of the word¹ combined with the fact that neither Old English nor the modern literary language offer any alternative terms to *zicel*² and *icicle* would seem to make the notion unlikely to prove rewarding geographically. This is probably true for the Eastern United States, as the icicle does not figure in LANE or in Kurath's *Word Geography*. In the English dialects, however, we meet with a different situation. The answers to number VII 6.11 of the Questionnaire ('In winter when water freezes, what can you sometimes see hanging down from the spouts?') collected by the fieldworkers of the Linguistic Atlas of England (LAE) from a large part of the country³ reveal the existence of a considerable variety of dialect terms for the icicle.

The accompanying map presents the material for northern England. This area stands apart with its lexical pattern, the only connecting link with the Midlands being the StE word *icicle*. The North has four word types, which constitute four more or less clearly defined areas: *icicle* in La. south of the Lune and in the WR of Y. west and south of the Wharfe, *ice-candle* in the ER and in Lindsey, *ice-shockle* and related forms in a wide belt extending from coast to coast (Cu., We., La. north of the Lune, southern Nhb., Du., NR of Y. with a strip of the WR), and *tankle* in the northern half of Nhb. The two northernmost types are not confined to England: *tankle* and *ice-shockle* reach across the Border into Scotland.

It will be noticed that there is no clear-cut boundary between the areas of *icicle* and *ice-shockle*; they overlap in a border zone of considerable

¹ On the Continent we are faced with a bewildering variety of forms, ranging from OS *gikilla*, EFris. *itsil*, MHG *ichel von ise* (= OE *zicel*), LG *is-jekel*, -*jökel*, MLG *jokel*, *isjokele*, MG *jochele* to LG *ishekel*, OHG *hichela*, MG *ishacheln*, MD *kekel(e)*, *kikele*, LG *iskiaekel*, MG *eiskachel*.

² The meaning of OE *zicel(a)*, *zicele* is not entirely restricted to that of present-day *icicle*: when opposed to *liz zicela* must be taken to mean 'ice' (*þær synd ... tosomne zemenczed se þrosmiza liz and se þrece zicela* Be Domes Dæge 191); *zicel-stān* 'chrysellus, a piece of ice, hailstone' and *zicel-gebland* 'a hailstorm' demand the sense of 'ice, a fragment of ice'; *ziceliz* renders 'glacialis'. *zicel* is an l-diminutive of **jeka-* 'ice' (cf. ON *jaki* 'piece of ice' and OIr. *aig* 'ice'); a parallel formation is DialE *icelet* 'icicle'. In the compound meaning 'icicle' the first member is still variable: poetic texts have *cyle-zicel* and *hrim-zicel*.

³ The fieldwork is finished in the North, in the Midlands and in some southern counties; Cornwall and Devon, as well as a large south-eastern region embracing Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Essex, Middlesex, London, Berkshire, Surrey, Kent and Sussex, were not yet covered by the survey at the time when I collected my material (summer 1958), and in Dorset, Wiltshire, Hampshire and Buckinghamshire the fieldwork was still awaiting completion. — My thanks are due to Professor H. Orton, Leeds, who kindly gave me the use of the recordings for the Midlands and the South. I am further indebted to Professor A. McIntosh and to Mr. Trevor Hill, M.A. for putting the postal material of the Linguistic Survey of Scotland (LSS), which also covers Nhb. and Cu., at my disposal. A great obligation I owe to Dr. H. H. Meier, who copied the LSS material for me.

depth. The rivalling terms are not on an equal footing in this transition area: our map shows clearly that *icicle* is spreading north and gaining ground at the expense of *ice-shockle*. The southern fringe of the *-shockle* area is already badly frayed; *icicle* has forced its way up the Vale of York into Cleveland, a normally conservative region, it appears at the head of Wensleydale and in Furness, and bids fair to oust *-shockle* in Westmorland. The fact that *icicle* is cropping up at isolated spots in the *-shockle* area (Nh.b. 5, Cu. 2) shows that besides the push from the south there is also the direct influence of StE at any point to be reckoned with, which tends to break up dialect areas from inside. *icicle* is also expanding into the *ice-candle* domain of northern Lincs.

A comparison of the distribution data for *ice-shockle* given by EDD with our map shows that in spite of the inroads of *icicle* the word has stood its ground surprisingly well in recent times. With the exception of Cheshire, for which Wright has one source, and possibly parts of La. and the WR (where Wright's information is vague) the 19th century area of *-shockle* still seems to be largely intact (the Northants authority quoted in EDD is strongly suspect).

If *icicle* is the StE word this does not necessarily mean that it is not also a genuine dialect term. We have no reason to doubt its authenticity in the southern parts of La. and the WR, especially in view of the forms showing the dialectal development of [kl] to [tl]. It is true that *icittle* is only recorded from a small part of the district where this sound-change occurs, but the absence of [tl]-forms does not stamp *icicle* as spurious dialect, because the change is somewhat sporadic, particularly in non-initial position. It has not affected *-shockle* at all (cf. also *eckle* Y. 29). The curious metathesized form *icelick* (Swaby, Li. 6) also seems to indicate that *icicle* cannot be a recent loan from StE.

icicle holds practically complete sway over all the counties south of the charted area down to the Thames. The uniformity of so large a portion of the country must to some extent be due to the levelling influence of StE, but again evidence of distinctively dialectal developments is not lacking: a sprinkling of *icittle* in Ch., Db., Nt., an isolated *ice-eckle* in Nt. and Lei., *ice-ackle* in Ox., Brk. and Ha., *ishicle* [ʌʃɪkl] at Shipdham, Nf., and uncompounded *ickle* at Bamford, Db. In this region *icicle* has no serious rival, the alternative terms *dagger* and *snipe* (when the bird is hung up its long bill is not unlike an icicle) having only limited local currency: *dagger* occurs once in South Li. and Wo. (according to EDD also in Northants and Glo.), *snipe* twice in Northants (EDD also registers it for Lei.).

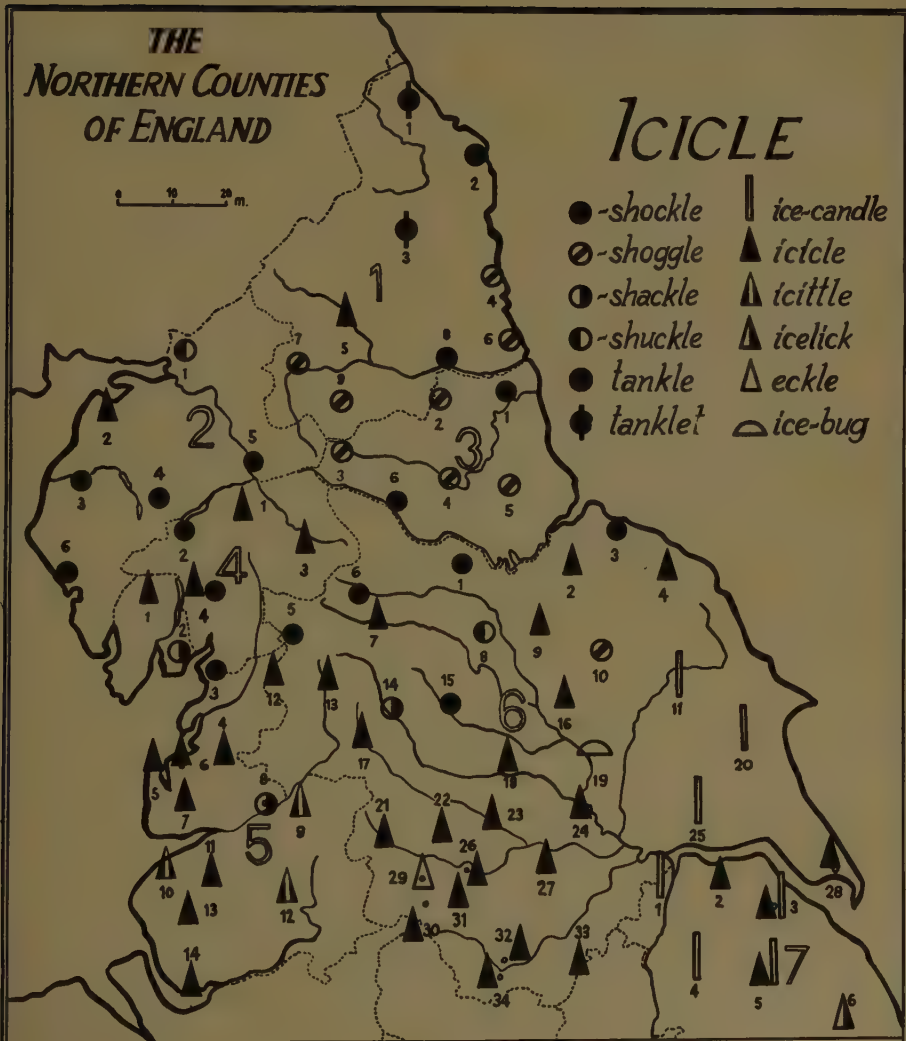
In the South we strike a richer vein again: in So. *clinker*, *clinker-bell* and *conker-bell* dispute the field with *icicle* (according to EDD *clinker-bell* is also found in Wilts and Devon, *conker-bell*, *-bill* also in Devon and Co.). The *clinker* area further covers parts of Dorset; in the east of this county *ice-candle* is used. Wilts equally has two types: *icelet* (in EDD also reported from Hants and Scotland) and *daglet* (acc. to EDD also in Hants, Northants and Norfolk). All the pilot recordings made in Ess., Mx., London, Sr. and Kent brought *icicle*.

THE
NORTHERN COUNTIES
OF ENGLAND

0 10 20 m.

ICICLE

- | | |
|------------|--------------|
| ● -shockle | ┆ ice-candle |
| ⊙ -shoggle | ▲ icicle |
| ⊙ -shackle | ▲ icittle |
| ⊙ -shuckle | ▲ icelick |
| ● tankle | △ eckle |
| ● tanklet | ◐ ice-bug |



It must be recalled that of all the terms current in the modern dialects the only one on record since the OE period is *icicle*. The other words must have been coined or introduced into the language at a later stage. One type of name probably does not have a long history: the figurative use of the words *dagger*, *candle* and *snipe*. Metaphors like these may spring up anywhere, but only the most telling ones have a chance of surviving and gaining wider currency. *snipe* for an icicle seems rather far-fetched, *dagger* and *candle* on the other hand suggest themselves readily; *dagger* has a Scottish counterpart in *ice-dirk* (EDD), with *ice-candle* compare *icy caunle* Fife, *frosty caundle* Shetland (LSS), Swiss German *is-cherze* and Icel. *grýlukerti*, *tröllakerti*. Of the three words the only one to have acquired some geographical importance in the sense of 'icicle' is *candle*. The derivatives *daglet* and *icelet* are doubtless older than the metaphors just mentioned, but the suffix *-let* shows that they cannot be of great age. *daglet*, though probably a diminutive of *dagger* (cf. AFr. *dague*) and thus also a metaphor, has entirely cast off its original meaning.

The south-western words *clinker*, *clinker-bell*, *conker-bell* must belong to an early stratum of the language. We take *conker-* to be a distortion of *clinker*. EDD lists quite a number of further corruptions: *kinker* (apparently a mixture of *clinker* and *conker*) for Dorset and *cocker-bell*, *cockle-bell*, *cock-bell* for Co. and Devon; *cock-bell* is also found in Kent (first in 1645), where it has a side-form *cog-bell* (since 1736). The rich formal development of this group is a sure sign of its age. The *clinker* owes its name to the sharp 'clinking' sound produced when an icicle breaks. The acoustic naming motive is seen operating again in the *-bell* compounds (cf. also EDD *icy-bell*, Devon).

From the early appearance of *cock-bell* in Kent we might infer the existence of *cock* as an old name of the icicle; *conker-* and *cocker-* could then be accounted for as crosses of *clinker* and *cock*, but until the full Atlas material for the South is available this must remain a matter of conjecture.

The history of the main words of the North, *tankle* and *ice-shockle*, deserves to be treated in some detail; *icicle* will also come in for some comment. On the face of it there seems to be no connection whatever between the three words; yet *icicle* and *ice-shockle* are intimately related. It is worth noting, too, that *tankle*, *-shockle* and *icicle* have a phonetic feature in common: the final cluster [kl]. In *-shockle* and *icicle* it is old, *tankle* may have adopted it from these in the place of earlier [gl] (but see below).

The Northumbrian *tankle* area of our map once formed the southern tip of an extensive Scottish *tangle/tankle* area, of which, however, a large part is now in an advanced state of disintegration. While *tangle* is still the dominant term in north-eastern Scotland from Moray to Fife, it has been practically superseded by *icicle* in the counties between the Forth and the Border, so that *tankle* in Nhb. is now cut off. The diminutive *tanklet* is an English formation. Scattered remnants of *tangle*

are found in Dunbarton, Stirling, in the Lothians, in Wigtown and Roxburgh. The presence of another set of relics in southern Scotland, an odd *-shockle*, *-shuckle*, *-shuggle* in Dumfries, Roxb., East- and Mid-Lothian, Lanark and Renfrew, is suggestive and provides the key to the linguistic happenings which led to the present situation: *-shockle* spread into Scotland from Cumberland and penetrated the homogeneous *tangle* area of the Southern Lowlands. The clash between the two terms brought about an uncertainty in usage: both *tangle* and *-shockle* were known in the same district and the speakers vacillated between the two. This state of uncertainty proved injurious to both competitors: it favoured the intrusion of the neutral StE word *icicle*, which was resorted to as a way out of the dilemma and in the end supplanted the old dialect terms.

A compact word area comprising south-eastern Scotland and the adjacent part of Nhb. is found on map 1 (p. 113) of the *Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects* by A. McIntosh; according to the LAE material the distribution of *crit* 'the smallest and weakest pig of the litter' in Nhb. coincides with that of *tankle*.

tangle seems to elude the etymologist's grasp. OED thinks of *tangle* 'seaweed' or 'a tangled condition' or of 'a vague combination of the two' or of 'some association with *dangle*'. These suggestions must be discarded in the search for the *origin* of the word. Associations with the words mentioned cannot be denied, but they are secondary. — Icel. **isdöngull*⁴ can hardly be taken into consideration as a source of *tangle*, though phonetically the derivation would be satisfactory (d unvoiced after s; *isdöngull* is not actually recorded, but can be inferred from *klakadöngull*: *klakadröngull*: *isdröngull*), nor is Icel. *isstöngull* (also *klaka-*, *froststöngull*, *stöngull*), which would smoothly fit **ice-(s)tangle*, a convincing basis: Norw. only has *isdrangle* and *isstrangle*; *döngull* and *stöngull* may be modern formations. Also these derivations turn on the presence of *is-*, which is conspicuously missing in Scottish *tangle*. We must then look further afield.

The form *tankle*, so far mentioned only as Northumbrian, also occurs in Perth, though mixed with *tangle*; the explanation suggested for Nhb. [kl] can hardly be applied here, because *-shockle* stops short at the Forth and *icicle* is only just beginning to intrude. No matter what view we take of Nhb. *tankle*, we have to consider the existence of an old doublet with [kl] alongside *tangle*. It might even be argued that *tankle* was the only original form and *tangle* a later variant. A connection with the imitative verb *tankle* (cf. *tinkle* and *tang*, OED) is unlikely in spite of southern *clinker* and the *tinkle-tankle* 'icicle' supplied by the LSS correspondent of Tritlington, Nhb. This reduplicated form is a result of the contact with the phonetically similar words given above. For a convincing etymology of *tangle/tankle* we have to turn to the Continental and Scand. names of the icicle from a root **ta(n)g-/ta(n)k-* 'point, pointed thing': Germ. *eiszangel*, *eiszachel* (if not = *-zagel* 'tail'), *eiszackl*, *eiszacken* (cf. also *eiszinken*), Swed. *istagg*, *istäckla* (SAOB). Related words are also found in English: *tack*, *tag*, Dial. *tang* 'prong of a fork, spike of a knife' (*tag* and *tang* probably from Scand.).

The distinctively dialectal forms of the word *icicle* are listed above. In the North *eckle* may be a reflex of ON *jökull* (see below) or, as probably

⁴ For the Icel. and Norw. terms I am indebted to the collections of Dr. O. Bandle, Zürich.

ice-eckle in Lei. and Nt., a corruption of (*ice*)*ickle* (cf. *ice-ackle* in Ox., Brk., Ha.). The solitary Norfolk form *ishikle* puts us in mind of W. Drummond's *yce-sheekles* (*The Shadow of the Judgement* 199). In theory there is nothing to prevent OE **isizicel* from developing into [i:ʃikəl] (cf. the history of *-shockle* below), but the isolation of the two forms calls such a derivation in question. There is far greater likelihood in the assumption that *ishickle* is a freak and Drummond's *yce-sheekle* a blend of *icicle* and *ice-shockle*.

The characteristic term of the North of England is *ice-shockle*/-*shoggle*. The two forms have a fairly well-marked distribution, the variant *-shoggle* (cf. *iggle* for *ickle* in Lei. and Wa., EDD) being limited to Northumberland and Durham. On the southern edge of its territory *-shockle* occasionally appears in the corrupt forms *-shackle* (5.2, 5.8, 6.14)⁵ and *-shuckle* (6.8, also 2.1, and Scotland).⁶

ice-shockle is ultimately identical with *icicle*. Clearly the evidence of the modern forms cannot warrant such an equation. The key to the puzzle is supplied by ME *iseyokels* (1378, PPlowman B XVII 227) and a *zokyll* 'stiria ..' (1500, Hortus Vocabulorum), which represent the word *icicle* in its Scandinavian garb. Beyond all doubt ME (*is*)*zokel* is a loan from Norwegian (*is*)*jøkul* = ON *jøkull*⁷ (< **ekula*- < **jekula*-.: the initial [j] of OE *zicel* does not correspond to that of *jøkull*!). ME *zo* for ON *jø*, however, is unusual and probably restricted to initial position; normally ON *jø* appears as *e* in ME, cf. ME and DialE *ket* < ON *kjöt* 'meat', ME *terne*, DialE *tarn* < ON *tjörn* 'pond'. The *zo* may be a sign of late borrowing and thus of the long survival of Scandinavian in the North of England. Possibly *jøkull* was taken over into English twice: as *ekel* at an early stage (cf. *eckle* on the map and the spellings *ysekele*, *isechele*, *izekylle* in OED; see above for a different view of the *e*-forms) and as *zokel* at a later period. ME *isezekille* (Cath. Angl.) is a cross of *ekel* and *zokel*. The *zo*-form is the direct ancestor of *ice-shockle*: [sj] in *iszokel* developed into [ʃ] at an early date.

The spelling with *sh-* emerges at the end of the 15th c. (c 1480 *ice-schoklis* in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, l. 160). All the instances of *ice-shockle* recorded between the 16th and the 18th c. are Scots: 1513 *ise schokkyllis* Douglas, *Eneados* IV.V 142 (v.rr. *ische schoklis*, *ise schokillis*), VII. Prol. 62 *ische schouchlis* (v.rr. *isch schoklis*, *yse schokkillis*), ?1630 *ice-shockles* Drummond, loc. cit. (v.rr. *yce-sheekles*), 1724 *iceshogles* Ramsay (first occurrence of the *g*-form). All these quotations except the last are from DOST.

⁵ *ice-shackle* is also recorded by H. Orton, *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (index) and J. Wright, *Windhill Grammar* (index) for Byer's Green and Windhill, and earlier by W. Carr, *The Dialect of Craven* (1828) for another part of the WR.

⁶ In Gosforth, Cu. a squatter heard *ice-shuckle* (N. Young, *Phonology of the Dialect of Gosforth*, unpublished B.A. thesis Leeds 1950) against the Atlas fieldworker's [aɪʃʊkl].

⁷ Björkman's doubts on that score are unfounded (*Scand. Loanwords*, p. 293, note 4). The distribution of *-shockle* on our map is sure proof of its Scand. origin. The presence of *jo*-forms on the Continent is not yet satisfactorily accounted for. The remote possibility of an OE **zeocel* < **jecula*- developing into ME *zokel* through shift of stress on the diphthong is ruled out by the fact that *-eoc-* would be subject to smoothing in Anglian.

SND lists *ice-shoggle* / *-shockle* for Kirkcudbright, Selkirk, Edinburgh and Lanark (18th and 19th c.). It is doubtful whether the modern *eeshogel* given for Perth represents the genuine dialect. The 36 answers collected by the LSS in Perth show no trace of it.

From the 15th c. the change of [sj] to [ʃ] is well evidenced (Luick § 784.2 and note 2, 785.2, 786.2, Horn-Lehnert p. 1080-1094);⁸ it can be observed whenever the group [sj] arises (for its modern manifestation cf. [bleʃju] 'bless you', [ðɪʃjə:] 'this year'). Possibly it set in earlier: the place-name *Shunner Howe* (1252 *Shonerhom*, from ON *Sjónarhaugr*, EPNS vol. V, *North Riding of Yorks*, p. 130) seems to be a 13th c. witness for it. There are no early examples of the change occurring in native words, though rising i-diphthongs were developed in some dialects. In the Northants place-name *Bozeat* [bouzət] the group [zj] (>[ʒ]) originated in the compound (*Bose-gate* 'Bosa's gate', EPNS vol. X, *Northamptonshire*, p. 189), as did [sj] in *iceshockle*.

We would expect *iszokel* to yield modern [aɪʃpɒkl]. This form has only been heard in Gosforth, Cu. (2.6); everywhere else the fieldworkers noted [ʃ]. The restitution of the *s* shows that our word is still felt to be a compound with *ice*. We must, however, consider the following point: even the best-trained ear will often not be able to distinguish between the pronunciations [aɪʃpɒkl] and [aɪsʃpɒkl] with certainty. To find out whether an informant intended [aɪs-] or not one might have to ask him to 'spell' the word, the distinction pertaining to the phonological rather than to the phonetic plane. We need not wonder then that there is evidence of [ɛɪʃpɒkl] occurring in an area where the LAE recordings only have [ɛɪsʃ-]. Some spellings in the LSS material reveal the presence of the form in southern Nhb.: *I-shockle*, *Ishockle* (South Wellfield, Earsdon), *I-shoggle* (Haltwhistle, Slaggyford, Allendale), *eyshoggle* (Allenheads). The connection with *ice* must be lost in these cases.

jokull is a West Norse form, and the distribution of *ice-shockle* in England tallies roughly with what is known to be the extent of the Norwegian settlement (cf. E. Dieth, 'Hips. A Geographical Contribution to the "she" Puzzle', *English Studies* 36 (1955), p. 215). At the moment the material concerning the spread of West Norse words in English dialects is still scanty. Though Dieth's two items (*shoop* 'hip' and *lea* 'scythe') are not specifically West Norse their distribution is strikingly similar to that of *ice-shockle* — with one significant difference: the West Norse word does not reach into the East Riding where there are only few traces of Norwegian settlement. Durham and Northumberland lie outside the strongly Scandinavianized region (see Dieth's maps!): the secondary form *-shoggle* delimits the area of the secondary spread of the word.

Zürich.

EDWARD KOLB.

⁸ Flasdieck, 'Die Entstehung des engl. Phonems [ʃ]', *Anglia* 76 (1958), p. 339 ff., does not deal with it, though he mentions [ʃ] in *miss you* p. 340 and 385.

Notes and News

Aspects of Kingship in 'Sir Gawain and the Green Knight'

The story of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (GGK) does not exhaust itself in the delineation of an individual's progress to personal salvation. Sir Gawain as an individual is clearly set in social surroundings that stand in active relationship to his character and his doings. The social, or even political, significance of the tale is most prominent in the first part of the poem, later on it rather looms in the background, but the reader is never allowed to lose sight of it, and from the beginning it definitely determines the atmosphere of the narrative. The presence of such a political element, linked to the use of the descent-into-Hell motif, might, by the way, suggest an influence of Dante that goes far beyond the linguistic kinship between the *Divine Comedy* and GGK put tentatively forward by Gerould.¹

If Gawain is to be considered within a certain social structure, it is in particular King Arthur he must be related to. Baughan² is doubtless right in singling out the two as figures that in their mental attitudes are clearly juxtaposed by the poet. The character of King Arthur as it appears in GGK has so far attracted little attention, although on closer examination it reveals traits that are somewhat unusual for the English Arthurian romances. Arthur — so the poet informs us — is of rather a restless nature both physically and mentally. He is youthful and boyish ('childgered'), he is loath to lie or to sit still, his young blood and his wild brain drive him on, he is desirous of mortal combat and thus willing to make his life dependent on the whims of Fortune.³ Now all that may be excused in a young king, though it hardly speaks of a realisation of his royal responsibilities. The impression of an immature ruler is, however, deepened by further sidelights on Arthur's disposition. In line 492 the poet mentions that Arthur likes to hear boasts and vaunting words, and that his knights are in this respect similar to their lord. As long as the Green Knight is standing in the hall they are reluctant to speak out and even more reluctant to act. We feel that the intruder is fully justified in abusing them as 'beardless children'.⁴ Arthur is not only ready to throw his own life to the vicissitudes of adventurous combat, he has only scant hesitation in sacrificing his knights to the higher glory of his court and of himself, in other words, to his pride. When Gawain departs on his perilous journey even the boastful knights feel that something is amiss. They protest that Gawain should have been made a duke, a leader of men, instead of being sent to an ignominious death. In their opinion the whole affair should have been handled more prudently, because now Sir Gawain

¹ Gordon Hall Gerould: *The Gawain-Poet and Dante: A Conjecture*. PMLA, March 1936.

² Denver Ewing Baughan: *The Role of Morgan Le Fay in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. *A Journal of English Literary History*, December 1950.

³ GGK, ed. Tolkien and Gordon: 85-98.

⁴ GGK, 280.

will be beheaded for the King's foolish pride. Their verdict on such a king is unequivocal enough:

Who knew ever any kyng such counsel to take
As knyȝtez in cavelaciounȝ of Crystmasse gommeȝ.⁵

To the medieval mind each of these singularities of character must have presented an indictment of the severest order. The poet, let it be noted, does not crowd the incriminating features into a single passage of overwhelming satirical intent as e.g. Langland might have done. The courtly nature of his work expresses itself in the manner in which he skilfully inserts a few lines here and some more there to attain a cumulative effect which is in its way not less powerful than a furious onslaught.

Let us first consider Arthur's willingness to send his knight into a fight with seemingly unsurmountable odds. At the time when GKG was presumably written mortal combats had certainly sunk into disrepute. Already in the 12th century the church had taken a firm stand against tournaments in the Lateran Council of 1179, and had formally prohibited those forms of combat that aimed at the total destruction of the opponent. That those pronouncements had been effective can be ascertained through literary sources. In the poem that has been thematically linked with GKG 'The Anturs of Arther' we encounter an almost identical situation: Gawain is ready to fight the challenger, but notices how the King reacts to that offer:

'I leve wele', quod the kinge, 'this lates ar lyȝte,
But I wold notte for no lordship se thi life lorne'⁶

In the Knight's Tale a similar note is struck when Chaucer voices what is expected of a good king under such circumstances. Theseus, to whom Chaucer has given the part of the ideal king, the attributes of a wise distributor of justice and mercy, is concerned lest the tournament between Palamon and Arcite and their men become too dangerous, and he consequently issues prohibitive regulations that render deadly fighting-tactics impossible. The reaction of the people on hearing that decree seems to denote how highly such a considerate attitude on the King's part was esteemed by all and sundry:

The voys of peple touchede the hevene,
So loude cride they with murie stevene,
'God save swich a lord, that is so good,
He wilneth no destruccion of blood!'⁷

We have further heard that King Arthur was 'boyish', subject to the wild urge of his brain. Whatever concession a modern reader might make to the exuberant individuality of a young king, people in the Middle Ages

⁵ GKG, 682-83.

⁶ The Anturs of Arther, ed. J. Robson: Three Early English Metrical Romances, London 1842, p. 17.

⁷ Chaucer, ed. F. N. Robinson: *The Knight's Tale*, 2561 ff.

would certainly never have granted them to a ruler. To the medieval mind the bond of mutual interdependence that united a king and his subjects was so close that the digressions of each reflected on the merits of the other. In that vast compendium of the pitfalls the high and mighty are heir to, the *Policraticus*, John of Salisbury asserts again and again that the offences of the subjects detract from the merits of the good prince, and vice versa that the sins of those in high places give to the subjects an excuse for and an example of transgression. Thus the prince is made just by the blamelessness of the people, and the blamelessness of the prince checks popular excess.⁸ It is therefore not surprising to hear that the knights in GJK take after their master in their boyish boastfulness and instability. 'For the king ... the first thing is that he should be a grown man of strong character', insists E. M. W. Tillyard in his book on Shakespeare's history plays. The poem by the Duke of Somerset which he quotes may provide an appropriate comment on what is said about King Arthur in GJK:

True is the text which we in Scripture read,
Ve terrae illi cuius rex est puer:
Woe to the land whereof a child is head,
Whether child or childish, the case one is sure:
Where kings be young we daily see in ure
The people, aweless, wanting one to dread,
Lead their lives lawless by weakness of the head.⁹

But the most far-reaching reproach levelled against Arthur by the Gawain-poet is that of being proud. He sacrifices Gawain to his pride, to his desire for vain-glory. With such a conception GJK comes within the scope of one of the most popular medieval themes. In the same way as 'superbia' was often denounced as the source of all evil the proud king was unanimously pilloried as the source of all corruption for the state. A proud king, no matter how he had come to the throne, whether legally or as a usurper, was considered a tyrant. And to a tyrant, such is the radical solution of John of Salisbury, the people definitely owe no allegiance, they are even justified in killing him.¹⁰ That such an opinion still held true when approximately GJK was composed is manifest in Salutati's treatise on the tyrant. It must be admitted that in *De Tyranno* Salutati treads more cautiously than John of Salisbury as far as the killing of a king is concerned, but nevertheless he has no doubt that a kingship that has degenerated into tyranny through 'superbia' brings about the ruin of the state and is consequently to be abolished. John of Salisbury does not tire of reiterating that a proud king disturbs the divine order of things, and thus challenges God personally. And God accepts that challenge, he sets Himself against the proud and overthrows them mercilessly. The

⁸ John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, Book VI, chapter 29.

⁹ E. M. W. Tillyard: *Shakespeare's History Plays*, p. 85.

¹⁰ John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, Book VIII, chapter 17.

proud king has lost the insight into the mechanism of a well-regulated universe, and therefore no longer submits himself to Divine Providence. He rides on the wheel of Fortune, glorying in prosperity, and inevitably becomes Fortune's fool. Not realising that Fortune, too, is subordinate to Divine Providence he mistakes the servant for the master, and is caught unawares when the outward appearance of things changes. Let us remember that Arthur, too, is a great believer in Fortune: he likes to engage in combat solely trusting to his luck.

Considering the practical importance which the idea of kingship had for the welfare of the medieval state the intense preoccupation of philosophers and poets alike with that theme is hardly surprising. What appeared as a detailed definition of kingship in the writings of the philosophers emerged poetically as the medieval concept of tragedy. The proud king sets himself against God, and — as God accepts the challenge — is destined to fall. In Chaucer's words:

Tragediës noon oother maner thyng
Ne kan in syngyng crie ne biwaille
But that Fortune alwey wole assaille
With unwar strook the regnes that been proude.¹¹

Of course the author of GGK had no intention of writing a tragedy. As we have pointed out before, he was obviously no fierce reformer, no indefatigable proclaimer of human wickedness and folly and subsequent punishment, but he was a humanist who wanted to deliver a warning, and did so on a high intellectual and artistic level. From the beginning his courtly tone makes it clear that the proud king he depicts is not headed for destruction, but his characterisation of Arthur and his household makes it equally clear that the king with his behaviour almost asks for a wholesome lesson. According to the Gawain-poet's other works we must assume that the sin of pride and its consequences were of the deepest concern to him. In *Purity* pride is among the leading themes that are used to illustrate the results of uncleanness in any form. It is of utmost significance that in GGK the poet makes almost literal use of the most outstanding example of sinful pride that he had employed in *Purity*. The medieval canon of the historic personages who could be cited for having been punished for pride was fairly consistent, and among the most favoured 'de casibus' stories were doubtless those of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. In *Purity* the poet deals in elaborate description with the feast of Belshazzar, the writing on the wall and the destruction of the king. This story automatically yields a second example of sinful pride, because Daniel's exposition of the writing on the wall is preceded by the narration of what befell Nebuchadnezzar. Presumably it was the intensity of those two identical cases of the father and of the son that endeared the story of Belshazzar to medieval writers.

¹¹ Chaucer: *The Monk's Tale*, 2761 ff.

It must be emphasized that Belshazzar was not only referred to as a historical figure, but he stood — according to the allegorical exegesis of the Bible — for certain ever-present aspects of human behaviour. Belshazzar is a symbol of the proud and mighty of this world who are insatiable in their desire for more riches, more power and more glory:

Balthasar qui interpretatur devorans divitias, significat mundi divites et potentes, qui non cessant divitias devorare et accumulare, nec tamen ab eis satiantur, quia venter impiorum insatiabilis. Isti sunt reges Babylonis, quia regunt mundum ubi non est nisi confusio. Isti quotidie obsidentur a rege Persarum, id est, a diabolo, qui est rex super omnes filios superbiae.¹²

Berchorius goes on to say that those proud ones who live in prosperity will inevitably be visited by a warning.

Within the context of the allegorical meaning of the whole Belshazzar story the feast itself is of particular symbolic import. Corresponding to the medieval exegetical habit of attributing to a given thing two different meanings, one good, one bad, a feast, too, can be made to represent opposite moral values. In the typical fashion of the humanist John of Salisbury takes e.g. two episodes of the Aeneis to express the concept of the two feasts: the banquet of Dido represents the feast of the flesh, the banquet of Evander is the true feast of the good Christian.¹³ In a similar manner the homiletic writer Raoul de Houdenc makes effective use of the two feasts. The exact juxtaposition of the incidents in his two parallel poems also extends to the role of the two meals. Both in *Le Songe d'Enfer* and in *Le Songe de Paradis* the wandering dreamer partakes of a meal whose dishes are minutely allegorised according to the moral quality they stand for. In Biblical exegesis the two feasts are represented by the feast of Belshazzar and the feasts of the faithful (of the birds in the Apocalypse).¹⁴ It must be borne in mind that 'concupiscence of the flesh', which was metaphorically denoted by the feast of Belshazzar, was by no means confined to sexual indulgence. 'Concupiscentia' in theological terminology was a collective noun for all kinds of spiritual perversions, for human corruption in general.

In view of the definite and well-known connotation that surrounded the feast of Belshazzar the literal correspondence between the feast in *Purity* and King Arthur's celebration in GGK can hardly be considered coincidental. We would give the poet little credit indeed, if we assumed that he did not on purpose employ the same wording in two different poems in order to establish an associative connection between the two passages. The expressions in GGK are reminiscent of the expressions in *Purity*, because King Arthur's celebration bears spiritual resemblance to Belshazzar's feast. What has been alluded to in the characterisation of Arthur is substantiated by this pointer to the story of the king of

¹² Berchorius: *Reductorium morale super totam bibiam*, p. 178.

¹³ John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, Book VIII, chapter 6.

¹⁴ Glossa ordinaria: *Apoc. Joannis*, 19, 17: omnibus avibus: omnibus fidelibus qui agiles et leves sunt in promotione bonorum operum. *Patrologia*, 114, 744.

Babylon and its implications. King Arthur's court is also full of corruption, made primarily possible by the King's deviation from the path of a responsible ruler. Anyone reading or hearing this part of the poem and noticing the unequivocal hints will at once be alert to what is due to happen. Like Belshazzar King Arthur will, in the course of the celebrations, receive some divine warning, the hand of God will give a sign that the King is being tested and that he is found wanting.¹⁵

Basel.

HANS SCHNYDER.

Elizabethan Convention and Psychological Realism in the Dream and Last Soliloquy of 'Richard III'

Before the decisive battle on Bosworth Field Richard is visited in his sleep by the ghosts of his victims, who bid him despair and die. After the ghosts have disappeared, Richard wakes up and speaks his last soliloquy (V,3,118-206). This soliloquy is fairly unanimously praised as a masterpiece of psychological insight that has no equal in Shakespeare's early work, but the numerous eulogies are hardly ever meant to include the last three lines of the soliloquy:

Methought the souls of all that I had murdered
Came to my tent, and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

'These lines stand with so little propriety at the end of this speech that I cannot but suspect them to be misplaced', such was Samuel Johnson's opinion, and more than one modern editor agrees with him. Others, however, hesitate to go quite so far. The main points of the problem connected with the end of the soliloquy are most clearly stated in Wolfgang Clemen's *Kommentar*: 'Hatte der Monolog bis hierher einen inneren Erlebnisgang wiedergegeben und ein echtes Mit-Sich-Selbst-Reden und -Rechten dargestellt, so bedeuten die letzten drei Zeilen ... eine Distanzierung von dem Traumerlebnis, dessen Inhalt nur kurz resümiert wird.'¹ This kind of objective summing-up from the outside, Clemen continues, is typical of the pre-Shakespearean soliloquy, and as such a sudden switch from a more realistic to a more conventional manner of presentation is by no means unique in *Richard III*, it can hardly be regarded as a sufficient reason for placing these three lines in a different context where they are not needed.

¹⁵ The above pages form part of chapter 3 in a forthcoming study of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

¹ *Kommentar zu Shakespeare's Richard III*, Göttingen 1957, p. 304.

Thus we are left with the explanation of individual imagination and Elizabethan convention disconnected but juxtaposed. It is the most plausible explanation offered, but one hesitates all the same to accept it too easily since it means — strictly speaking — the breakdown of interpretation, — historically justified, it is true, but nevertheless the *ultima ratio* of Shakespeare criticism. Before falling back on it one would at least like to know *why* in each individual case the convention suddenly gets the upper hand. And in the case of Richard's last soliloquy this question seems all the more pertinent since it appears to be the most flagrant example of such a break. It can hardly be fitted within the frame of other transitions to conventional utterance in this drama. Brakenbury's choric comment on sleeping Clarence (I,4,76 ff.), which can be pointed to as another case in point, seems hardly problematic. Brakenbury's comment may move on a more conventional, archaic level, but it stands by itself, it neither disturbs the imaginative unity of the scene nor is it heterogeneous in itself. But here we seem to be confronted with a sudden break within the soliloquy, and this at the very point where Shakespeare is said to succeed in leaving not only the conventional, but even his own early means of expression far behind him.

Let us look more closely at the last three lines and test even the apparently most simple assumption made with regard to them. Do they sum up the dream? What did the dream contain? The ghosts and only the ghosts as is often implied and sometimes explicitly asserted?² It is not easy to reconcile such interpretations with the last words of the last ghost, addressed to Richard before he leaves him:

Dream on, dream on, of bloody deeds and death:
Fainting, despair; despairing, yield thy breath!

Buckingham's ghost commands Richard to go on dreaming after he has left him, and he also fixes the contents of his dream: to-morrow's bloody deeds, hardly past ones, since among them he is to faint and yield his breath. And these words are immediately made good by what follows. We see how Buckingham's order takes effect, how Richard has moved into a second dream in which the ghosts no longer figure, a dream of to-morrow's fighting and death. We know that Richard's dreams are very vivid, that he disturbed his wife's sleep with them. Now we hear him speaking in his dream. He is in the middle of the battle. 'He dreams ... that "white Surrey" has been killed under him':³ 'Give me another horse!' He is wounded, in danger of fainting with loss of blood: 'Bind up my wounds!' Then he meets his death, yielding his breath in an agonizing cry: 'Have mercy, Jesu!' But on the point of experiencing

² e.g. Palmer, John: *Political Characters of Shakespeare*, London 1945, p. 112 f.; Clemen: *Kommentar*, p. 110, 'Richards Traum enthält nur die Anklage der Toten'.

³ John Dover Wilson (ed.): *Richard III*, Cambridge 1954, p. 248.

death, he wakes up — as is usually the case in dreams when some overwhelming horror becomes inescapable — and with his cry still on his lips and in his ears he immediately reacts against it: 'Soft, I did but dream'.

So Richard's dream appears to consist of two parts: a first part in which the ghosts figure, and a second part in which Richard fights and meets his death in to-morrow's battle. The two parts are quite differently presented and the first will take much longer in reading and on the stage; but nevertheless they are quite distinct. When Richard wakes, he wakes from the dream of battle and death, not from the vision of the ghosts, and we cannot conclude that the ghosts are immediately present to his waking consciousness. Earlier in the drama Clarence had described his waking from a similarly terrible dream:

Such hideous cries that with the very noise
I trembling waked, and for a season after
Could not believe but that I was in hell,
Such terrible impression made my dream.

(I, 4, 60 ff.)

Like Richard, Clarence had a dream which consisted of two parts, and like Richard he died in one part and was haunted by the ghosts of his victims in the other. When he wakes he is only aware of the second dream. If Shakespeare had to dramatize Clarence's dream-narrative in a scene beginning with Clarence's waking up, we should see Clarence waking as if still in hell and then hear him working his way backwards to the first part of the dream.

May not this be what is happening in Richard's last soliloquy in an almost identical situation? First of all there is nothing in the text to prove that Richard is thinking of the ghosts before he mentions them at the very end of his soliloquy. His first words after realizing that he had only been dreaming: 'O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!' are quite general and can refer to the cause of fearful dreams of all kinds, perhaps more particularly to his fear of some judgment after death, which had pierced his soul in his last cry to Jesus. Where he uses more definite terms he does not allude to ghosts in or outside dreams, but only to real bodily dangers similar to those met in a battle: 'Is there a murderer here? No.'

After that Richard proceeds to a rapid, somewhat elliptic logical analysis under which his apparently recaptured assurance begins to crumble and his personality to split up. And under the pressure of this new development he moves from logical analysis to proliferating imagery and personification, which steadily increases in vehemence and intensity:

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,
And every tongue brings in a several tale,
And every tale condemns me for a villain.
Perjury, perjury, in the high'st degree;
Murder, stern murder, in the direst degree;
All several sins, all used in each degree,
Throng to the bar, crying all 'Guilty! guilty!'

To sum up the development of the waking soliloquy: first Richard takes stock of outside appearances in order to calm himself; after that he turns to himself and analyzes himself; upon closer inspection this self appears divided and from one part of it imaginary figures begin to rise, all opposed to Richard, all condemning him. But even now these figures are still inside his imagination, mere projections. In the next two lines, however, they become outside realities:

I shall despair. There is no creature loves me;
And if I die, no soul will pity me.

After moving away from the second part of his dream he has reached the substance of the first part of it, repeating not only the words 'Despair, die', but also the situation, his being alone among pitiless souls. Following the movement of the soliloquy it is quite natural that Richard should then consciously recall the first part of his dream and sum up the rest of its main facts. Neither is it surprising that the words recalling it should be spoken in a comparatively calm and objective tone. After the previous agitation the two remaining lines before the summing-up had introduced the tone of reflective resignation:

Nay, wherefore should they, since that I myself
Find in myself no pity to myself?

Then the last three lines are spoken after a pause of realization, but they are not isolated, since not only the ambiguous key-word 'soul' is taken up, but also the emphatic 'all' and 'every' which figured so prominently in the previous lines and which are absent in Richmond's contrasting account of his dream.

In spite of all this, doubts regarding the 'propriety', the imaginative adequacy of the last three lines remain. It is true, the summing-up of the first dream occurs in the soliloquy where we would expect it according to the requirements of psychological realism. Richard's guilty mind conjures up a host of accusing figures which can easily merge with the memory of the first dream. But in spite of the plausible sequence and some inner links we can hardly say that the last three lines 'merge' with the rest of the soliloquy. The transition still seems somewhat uneasy.

But should we think this merely the result of some inexplicable lapse? May this apparent lapse not be influenced or caused by the peculiar nature of the dream which is to be recaptured? A first indication of such a peculiarity is the fact that the first dream does need an explicit reference, for if we had not Richard's words for it in the last three lines, we should have no way of knowing whether Richard ever saw the ghosts coming to his tent or not. In other words: the 'ghosts' are not very plausible, self-explanatory dream-figures.

Shakespeare uses many ghosts and many dreams in the course of his work, but this is the only time that he makes simultaneous use of 'ghosts', i.e. bodies representing unreal figures, and a dreamer to whom

these figures somehow appear. At first the relation of the 'ghosts' to Richard's consciousness is fairly simple. They appear while he sleeps and cast a kind of malevolent spell or curse which is to work on Richard next day in the battle. After the appearance of the first few ghosts we cannot be certain that he is dreaming, he might simply be subjected to some spell in his sleep. On the other hand there is no indication either that he is *not* dreaming. The first few ghosts have what might be called a 'neutral reality': taken by themselves they might be completely outside Richard's sleeping consciousness or completely inside his dream. If the ghosts kept up this kind of speech to the very end, Richard could immediately wake up and speak the questionable lines:

Methought the souls of all that I had murdered
Came to my tent, and every one did threat
To-morrow's vengeance on the head of Richard.

We should then have a perfectly logical and consistent dream-scene, conventional from beginning to end. The 'ghosts' would be figures inside a dream with no pretence at psychological realism. But with the appearance of the princes' ghosts this changes. Shakespeare seems to become, as it were, dream-conscious:

Dream on thy cousins smothered in the Tower!

The dead are now both images inside the dream and also outside agents conjuring up and influencing the dream. Anne seems to refer to a similar outside agency:

Anne . . Now fills thy sleep with perturbations.

And in the end Buckingham becomes most clearly an outside figure ordering Richard to dream on after he has left him. So the whole dream proceeds in three different stages of reality. First, the dead are completely inside the dream, as ghosts coming to the tent. The dream is completely visualized on the stage (conventional stage). Then, the dead are both outside agents, as ghosts coming to the tent, and inside images that are no longer completely visible to us (semi-realistic stage). In the third stage the ghosts disappear and the dream is only revealed by the reactions of the dreamer (realistic stage). Of course this is too schematic, for the later development is inherent in the beginning. Sometimes the order: 'Think...!' is expressly linked up with 'To-morrow':

To-morrow in the battle think on me!

It is thus an order *within* the dream. But at other times it might almost as well refer to the present moment and thus be taken as an order *about* the dream, so that 'Think on...!' may very easily turn into 'Dream on...!'

Thus from the beginning the ghosts are not very firmly fixed within the dream. Moreover, the value of the bodily appearance of the ghosts as impressively frightening dream-images is negligible from the beginning.

They never allude to their appearance. And the force of their curse or spell is less due to some ghostly magic than to a psychological reality. Richard's weakness and death in the battle are to be the result of his remembering the sins of the past :

Think how thou stabbest me in my prime of youth
At Tewkesbury, despair therefore, and die !

Think on the Tower and me, despair and die !
etc.

The remembrance of sins is invoked. So even within the presented dream the invisible inside forces are seen as effective, not the long conventional procession of ghostly figures as such. Consequently Shakespeare has no difficulty in working his way back in the soliloquy till he has reached the psychological essentials of the original dream: the rising of the sins of the past and Richard's spiritual isolation. What was also part of the original dream, the conventional ghostly procession, has disappeared in the melting process of imagination. Only after the intense imaginative process has come to an end, Shakespeare adds what has dropped out: the 'summing-up' of the dream. But since the summing-up refers only to the conventional shell, since Shakespeare may be interested in the ghostly figures as effective stage-business or as bad omens in the story, but not as the living stuff that dreams are made on, the whole conception reverts to the level of the conventional, the lines fall comparatively flat and appear somehow disconnected. Still, there is no complete break, for — as pointed out before — the last lines emerge in a natural sequence and their objective tone is led up to by the sobering down of the previous verses.

From the entrance of the first ghost to the end of the soliloquy we follow a kind of gliding, curving movement. From the purely conventional aspect of the first dream we move to a more and more realistic presentation, which culminates in the second dream and Richard's waking up. From the subsequent realistically rapid and broken critical analysis we are led back to a towering structure of rhetorical parallels, which contains the substance of the first dream, and from there to the outward conventional shape of it.

The force that dissolves the dominant pattern of the scene, the formalized parallel succession of contrasts, is Shakespeare's interest in the workings of Richard's mind. But this force has been in conflict with the conventional pattern from the very beginning of the drama. In Richard's first soliloquy we find a movement which is quite analogous to the one traced here, though it is on a smaller scale. A formal succession of stanzaic parallels and exactly balanced euphuistic contrasts is in danger of dissolving when Richard begins to speak of his own situation. The sentence which seems to begin as the second half of a balanced antithesis, assumes a torrential energy of its own, turns almost into an anacoluthon, and only after Richard has left the merely negative antithetical description of himself behind him

and has reached the real ugly picture of the pariah lurking in the depths and dregs of his consciousness, only then the balanced logical contrast is taken up again with an obvious effort. But to trace in detail this analogous though more subdued movement in which convention merges into realism and realism suddenly turns back into convention, would lead to considerations beyond the limits of this essay.

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RICHARD GERBER.

Blushful Wine and Winking Bubbles — or Keats's Nightingale Revisited

Had I ventured to choose as an alternative title, or even as a sub-title, to this digressive note something like 'A Few Suggestive Links in Keats's Sensuous Imagery', this would have been dangerously stained with a very un-Keatsian pedantic solemnity (though perhaps quite in keeping with the serious scholarly standard that readers of a learned periodical are entitled to expect). So I thought it better to use some of the poet's own words, at the risk of appearing cryptic, rather than woefully betray from the very first with massive appellation the dance of iridescent bubbles in the twilight realm of Poesy.

Yet, after all, my title is less fanciful than it may seem for the image involved shows at its simplest one of the main features characteristic of Keats's poetic style and conception in the *Ode to a Nightingale*:

O for a beaker full of the warm South,
Full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene,
With beaded bubbles winking at the brim,
And purple-stained mouth.

It is clear that though the poet here explicitly refers to a single object only, a cup full of wine, he succeeds in suggesting at the same time a fleeting vision of the happy drinker himself. And this he does very subtly. The word 'blushful', used to convey the rich red glow of the wine, immediately carries with it the image of a flushing face. If it were the only word of its kind, we might say that the poet merely personifies the wine — which he does of course to a certain extent. But it is the first in a closely knit trio of words. When Keats further uses the verb 'winking' with reference to the bubbles, we take it naturally as a synonym of 'twinkling'; yet again our mind briefly catches a glimpse of a human face — this time with impish eyes gleefully inviting you to partake of the blissful nectar.¹ And

¹ The original draft, by the way, had the reading 'cluster'd bubbles', and I suppose that when Keats corrected it into 'beaded bubbles' he did it not only for the sake of alliteration but also because 'beaded' was more in keeping with the eye image ('bright beady eyes

when we come to the third term in the gradation, the 'purple-stained mouth' applied to the brim of the beaker, the twin image is complete.² Together with the personified beaker (no possible slip here, for the cup *is* the lip) flashes a face with glowing cheeks, winking eyes and purple-stained lips, the face of a festive drinker revelling in the true Hippocrene — an alluring Bacchic Invitation to the Wine! And yet these words were merely descriptive of the cup itself.

The simultaneous vision of two different and complementary images fused together by the poet's touch (a powerful alchemy) recurs again and again in the Ode, and there more often perhaps than in any other great poem of Keats. Now it looks particularly apposite, since it may be ultimately connected with the poet's yearning impulse to identify himself with the Nightingale — more completely at least than with any figure on the frieze of the Grecian Urn.

When first mentioned at the end of the introductory stanza, the bird itself, we remember, is called a Dryad, and is therefore compared to 'a nymph whose life is that of the tree she inhabits'. Whether this really means that 'it has entered into the essence of nature',³ I shall not venture to decide. But what cannot be denied is the remarkable fact that to the close association of the bird with the trees (the plot itself has turned melodious) corresponds a set of distinct but inseparably united images: the green colour of the leaves and the contrasting darkness of their shade.

The twin image first appears immediately after the poet has called the bird 'light-winged Dryad of the trees', and in one single line referring to the melodious plot:

Of beechen green, and shadows numberless.

No doubt the linkage of green leaves with shade may seem conventional enough and occurs elsewhere in Keats's poetry without any special significance.⁴ Its recurrence, in various forms, in most of the stanzas of the Ode, however, probably goes beyond the usual expression of the poet's 'leafy luxury'.⁵

...'). 'Cluster'd' actually clashed with it. On the other hand Keats did not seem to be entirely satisfied with the word 'cluster'd' itself since he erased it in line 37 of the autograph manuscript, without however substituting anything else for it. See H. W. Garrod, *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1958), pp. 257-258; E. de Selincourt, *The Poems of John Keats*, 7th reprint (London, 1954), p. 474.

² In a note to his translation of the poem, A. Laffay pertinently remarks that '*Purple-stained mouth*, grammaticalement, se rattache à la coupe. N'empêche que Keats peut songer aussi aux traces sur les lèvres du buveur. On n'a pas toutefois assez pris garde au mot "winking": c'est bien la coupe elle-même qui devient une sorte de Silène ivre au regard clignotant.' *Keats, Poèmes Choisis* (Paris, 1952), p. 345.

³ E. R. Wasserman, *The Finer Tone* (Baltimore, 1953), p. 186.

⁴ See, for instance, the description of the Island of Delos in *Hyperion* (III, 24-27) in which we find 'green', 'beech', and 'shade' associated in the same sentence (Garrod, p. 301).

⁵ See Keats's sonnet dedicated to Leigh Hunt, line 13 (Garrod, p. 2) and for some interesting comments on that curious phrase, E. C. Pettet, *On the Poetry of Keats* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 50 ff.

Thus, in the second stanza, the draught of vintage that has long been cooled in darkness ('in the deep-delved earth') tastes of 'Flora and the country green'. The poet's wish to escape the miseries of the world, which links the second and third stanzas together, is likewise expressed in a way that again implies another variation of the twin image. He longs to forget what the Nightingale has never known 'among the leaves', and ardently wishes to fade away with the bird 'into the forest dim'. Green is not mentioned, nor is darkness; but green is necessarily suggested by 'forest' and 'leaves', and darkness by 'dim' (possibly perhaps even by 'fade' and 'dissolve', considering the context).

On the viewless wings of Poesy, the poet has now succeeded in flying to the Nightingale. What wine and its rosy deed could not do, the magic of the shaping spirit of imagination has achieved (albeit for a fleeting while only). Tender is the night. But the darkness is not absolute: some glimmer is faintly blown from heaven 'through verdurous glooms'. Thus green and shade are again closely coupled in the fourth stanza.

In what may well be 'the expression of a luxurious death-wish', the rapturous 'dream of enjoying ... the pain-ending "ease" of death combined with the exquisite sensuous joys of living',⁶ the poet — not unlike his own sleeping Adonis smothered with flowers and leaves in an incense-filled arbour⁷ — feels embowered in the greenest and most fragrant of nooks. Now in this famous evocation of mid-May's flowery vegetation in the fifth stanza, our twin image finds perhaps its most arresting expression. For in the very midst of his imagined bower — a pure symphony in green — with its boughs, grass, thickets and fruit-trees wild, the poet finds himself in what he calls 'embalmed darkness'.

Though we had better avoid the temptation of playing with symbols as certain critics juggle with Eternity, the reappearance of the twin image in the last stanza would indeed seem to suggest that the uncleavable coupling of green vegetation with shade and darkness stands in some poetic relationship with the vision of life and death. For in that concluding stanza the wandering voice of the bird that was not born for death fades past the nearby meadows, to be ultimately

buried deep
In the next valley-glades.

In this striking passage the significance of the twin image is stressed by its combination with a contrasting upward and downward movement, the fading voice rising a last time over the still stream, up the hill-side, and then sinking deep into the valley-glades. The opposition between an upward and a downward movement, which is so frequent throughout the poem — suffice it to recall the contrast between, say, the sinking Lethe-wards and the ascending flight on Poesy's wings — is likewise connected

⁶ Pettet, pp. 266, 268.

⁷ *Endymion*, II, 387-427 (Garrod, pp. 108-109); Pettet, pp. 51, 267-268.

with a yearning for a life released from mortality and with an enticing death-wish.

Finally, the lure of death and the longing for immortality (the two poles of the poet's aspirations) thus symbolized both in the twin images of green leaves and dark shades and in the twin movements of rising up and sinking down, lead us to the core of the poem. Aesthetically at least, the duality had to remain beyond any resolution, just as the nightingale's song was simultaneously both a full-throated ecstasy and a plaintive anthem.

Indeed, far from being inconsistent,⁸ the conclusion of the poem brings this brief and dense work of art to a fine finish. For it could not end otherwise than with a question-mark. If the poet's frenzy was but a waking dream (a mere daydream), then the intimation of immortality was but a trick of fancy, and a transparent one at that⁹ — nothingness in death the sole reality.¹⁰ If it was a vision, then there is some such thing as immortality — the immortality of song, or 'poesy', for one — and the bird who led to that vision was not born for death indeed. But the poet does not actually know, however deep his 'longing for something that is not transient and mortal'¹¹ — hence the plaintive note in the last stanza. He may have felt it was a vision, and the bird immortal, but the music fled and the voice lay buried, and so it might as well have been a waking dream. Who knows?

Such a keen and throbbing expression of two opposite but in a sense complementary aspects of a poetic insight into the unsolved mystery of human fate — call it the 'result of the oxymoronic ontology within which [the poet] thinks'¹² or call it, more simply perhaps, what you will — accounts for much of the pathetic beauty of the poem.

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⁸ For a typical statement of that well-known stricture we may quote the following sentence: 'The description of the nightingale's song as a "plaintive anthem" in the final stanza contradicts, and jars ever so slightly upon, the earlier indications of its happiness and ecstasy' (S. C. Chew, *The Nineteenth Century and After* [New York, 1948], p. 1249). For a refutation of this view and a defence of the structure of the poem, see J. Spens, 'A Study of Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale"', *RES*, III N.S. (1952), 234-243.

⁹ 'Adieu! the fancy cannot cheat so well

As she is fam'd to do, deceiving elf.' (73-74).

As in many other passages in Keats, fancy is of course here 'equivalent to imagination or the works of imagination' and must not be taken in its Coleridgean sense. See G. Yost, 'A Source and Interpretation of Keats's *Minos*', *JEGP*, LVII (1958), 228.

¹⁰ 'To thy high requiem become a sod. (60)

¹¹ Pettet, p. 275.

¹² Wasserman, p. 180.

American Literary Landmarks in Switzerland

Switzerland's attraction for the American writer was not uniform in kind, however steady, through the decades and centuries, it has been. There was a time when snow-clad mountain peaks were preferably admired from afar, as symbols of a higher reality, a world unattainable in this life and reserved for the next, while deep gorges and frowning precipices were objects of fear and dread rather than welcome means of procuring the enjoyable shudder that shook one out of the flat level of ordinary life and opened up vistas of a perilous but fuller existence beyond. As modern life became not only more comfortable but safer, as mechanical appliances of all sorts, many of them of American origin, pushed the frontiers of danger and destruction farther and farther away from the normal center of existence, *vivere pericolosamente* became for many a goal of endeavor and in its mild form of an Alpine experience something that became attainable to ever larger crowds of ordinary folk. The great shake-up of European humanity caused by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars coincided with a development that had been quietly going on since the middle of the 18th century, and the change in taste from a harmonious classicism to a dramatic and pleasantly terrifying 'sublime' met and guided the restlessness and the travel-urge that spread all over Europe's middle classes during the Romantic age. The Mecca on which this mass-movement converged from every quarter was the Alps.

However, for the Americans, who had plenty of other forms of wildness, if not snow-capped Alps, about them, there was another and higher attraction in this, the oldest of the European Republics. During the reign of absolutism in most of the European states during the 17th and 18th centuries, one nation had always stood out as the significant exception in political government. The Swiss in their mountain valleys became proverbial for the conception of a peaceful, happy and successful republican government far from the corrupt world of the courts and the large cities. When Napoleon invaded the harmless little country in 1797 there was an outcry of horrified protest at the desecration of what was widely regarded as the sanctuary of the highest values of humanity only recently proclaimed with fervid rhetoric by the greatest of its sons, Jean Jacques Rousseau. American Yankees with very little of Rousseau's fervor in them, could loop upon the ancient republic with particular interest, since they were, at the time, attempting on a large scale in a new Continent what the Swiss had achieved in a small way after many centuries of struggle in the old. The abstractions of governmental theory, however, could be conveniently studied from books and other reports and needed no observation on the spot. In the wide field of American travel literature in the 19th century, the specific character of the Swiss republican State receives comparatively little notice and with one exception, a very notable one, the American literary travellers joined their European colleagues in restricting their attention almost entirely to the landscape.

The vogue of the Swiss landscape, like most other human relationships, has its history. The vague idealities of the earlier generations, the dreams of a golden age, of a pure and beautiful life in a pure and beautiful landscape, came to a head in the nostalgic pen-pictures of his own early home that Rousseau gave to a culturally tired world in the latter half of the 18th century. Byron's verses in *Childe Harold* had reinforced this highly emotional attitude and it was not remarkable that the early enthusiasts of Swiss landscape congregated about Geneva and Lake Lemman. From Fenimore Cooper and N. P. Willis, both of them travellers with a purpose, in the 30's and 40's to William and Henry James, W. D. Howells and Mark Twain in the 60's and 70's, they all paid their tribute to what is still regarded by many as the grandest and, at the same time, sweetest landscape in the world. Willis, to be sure, only had time for a day's trip on the steamer up to Lausanne and back to Geneva, and an eye only for a few anecdotal oddities by the way, before he went on to Paris. But Cooper, by far the most serious of the early travellers, spent weeks at Vevey, travelling up and down the lake and seeing many other things besides the landscape. His observations and reflections were set down systematically in his travel-book on Switzerland in 1836 and were largely incorporated in his novel on a Swiss theme published in 1833, *The Headsman of Berne*. A generation later Henry James, with his brother William, was put to school at Geneva and began an acquaintance with Switzerland that was renewed again and again and lasted all his life. Geneva is the scene of at least one of his better-known short-stories, 'The Pension Beaurepas', and it is at Vevey that the European career of Daisy Miller begins. While in James's stories the landscape becomes part of the design in his narrative carpet, a kind of repetitious course for the travelled public who were his readers, in Mark Twain the beauties of Lake Lemman rather tended to arouse his patriotic jealousy and bring out the qualities of the Rocky Mountains and of California into stronger relief. Howells, on the other hand, at least once had little cause to join the other tourists in the usual pious enthusiasm over the Lake of Geneva, for when he arrived at Vevey in the late summer of 1890 it was enclosed in rain and mist which lasted practically the whole six weeks he was there. Watching the peasants in the market place and the coopers over their wine-casks was small consolation for the loss of the sunlit lake and the mountains!

The second main area for American travelling in Switzerland in the 19th century was the Bernese Oberland. It had not received Rousseau's accolade, though Byron's *Manfred* had given it a weighty literary halo, and the far more strenuous travelling it demanded in those days of row-boats, sailing barges, post-chaises and diligences made it a more forbidding playground than Geneva. Still, Berne as the administrative center of the Confederation was the 'capital' of the country, and Cooper made straight for it when he entered Switzerland in 1828. He settled himself in a patrician mansion called La Lorraine, still standing on the outskirts of the old town (it is about to receive a commemorative tablet these days),

and from there went off on systematic expeditions in the country in all directions. Much the greater part of the material he made use of in his book on Switzerland was gathered during this summer and in spite of the very formidable language-barrier that the Alemannic dialect offers and that has always made the northern and eastern parts of the country humanly more difficult of access than the West, he succeeded remarkably well in gaining contact with the people and drawing valid conclusions. No other American traveller of literary pretensions has come so close to the heart of Swiss life as he did, though as the century progressed and travelling became easier, cheaper and more general, practically every American writer paid his tribute to the now canonical beauty of the country. Only a few years after Cooper the young Longfellow, on his second trip to Europe and deeply saddened by the death of his young wife, found at Interlaken the first dawn of a new happiness with Frances Appleton whom he married some years later, while on the eve of the Civil War the youthful Henry Adams, bored by life in Dresden, came to Thun to join his sister on the way to Italy. A second visit to Switzerland brought him to Lucerne many years later, whence he was called back by political events at home, while half a century earlier George Bancroft, the most brilliant youthful prodigy of that generation of New Englanders, spent enough time in Switzerland on his way from Paris to Rome to study Swiss schools.

Lucerne and its lake, with the surrounding 'Forest Cantons', where the Confederation was first formed in the 13th century and where the Swiss national legend of William Tell is located, came comparatively late into the realm of the American literary tourist. Although for commercial purposes it had been for centuries the main artery of traffic across the Central Alps into Italy, it did not lead directly to the snow-capped giants like Mont Blanc and the Jungfrau, and its approaches did not offer the idyllic richness that Lake Lemman could show. It was not till the building of the St. Gotthard railway opened the region completely that Lucerne became the main center of Swiss tourist traffic for Central and Northern Europe. So it was only the thorough-going American traveller that was to be met with here in the earlier years, and it was again Fenimore Cooper who, in 1828, crossed Lake Zug and climbed the Rigi and rowed up Lake Lucerne on a brilliant Föhn day and got caught in the inevitable storm on the Urner Lake. He had come to study at first hand the absolute democracy of the Central Cantons with a view to his own *American Democrat*, but was not, on the whole, helped very much. The Cantons were too small for comparison with America. Mark Twain, carried on the wave of German ascendancy two generations later, gave the Lucerne region much greater prominence in his *Tramp Abroad* than earlier travellers had done and spent some time at Hertenstein, where a tablet adorns the house that he and his family lived in. James Russell Lowell, on two extended sojourns in Germany and Italy in the 50's, at least passed through the region, while Edith Wharton with her French and Italian

proclivities, has shown no particular interest in it. In our own day the poet H. D. (Hilda Doolittle) made Lucerne her permanent home.

The last Alpine region to be opened to American travellers was the high upland of the Grisons in the easternmost part of the country, remote and unspoilt at a time when 'tourism' was a booming industry in the West and only frequented by wealthy aristocrats from Central Europe till the opening of the Rhetian mountain-railroad in 1890 made it accessible to a more popular traffic. The Engadine, now recognized as one of the rarest gems of Swiss landscape, whose pure, cool air among the snows of the Bernina peaks is still associated with memories of Nietzsche, has no place of importance in the annals of travelling American men of letters. Those that may have been there have left no trace of their visit, though Cooper again was the pioneer among them. He travelled up the Rhine valley from Chur to Disentis and across the Oberalp Pass to Andermatt. Just as he, also as a rarity in his days, had passed up the Rhine through Schaffhausen to Lake Constance and across the Canton of Appenzell to Zurich.

The Swiss cities, during the 19th century, could not compete, either in size, wealth or cultural interest with the great European centers and were distinctly of minor importance beside the Alpine scenery. But this changed as the rage for scenery subsided, as other continents became attractive as fields of travel and when the long period of European peace was followed by almost incessant upheaval and its concomitant of material and moral destruction. Switzerland became the island of almost intact civilization it is today, and Zurich as well as Geneva were the centers of the European spirit so fervently desired by the Western world. While Geneva is the seat of countless international organizations of all sorts, the intellectual life of Europe is attracted by the theatres, the music and the various art galleries as well as by the University and the Federal School of Technology, at Zurich. It was here that Einstein began his career as a scholar and an academic teacher and it is here that American literary men of recent times like Thornton Wilder have occasionally lectured; while Robinson Jeffers, as a medical student at the University, here laid the foundation for the philosophy that has found such a devastating expression in his poetry.

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The Expanded Form of the Verb and Intonation

I

The expanded form of the verb (EF) presents a knotty problem to the student of English. It seems to transgress all the limits set to it by grammarians and to crop up in the most unlikely places. A distinction which affects the majority of sentences containing a verb is bound to be very complex. All other syntactical alternatives are of more limited range; this one alone is practically omnipresent. To find a parallel one has to turn from locutional to elocutional means of expression. What comes to mind is the falling or rising intonation-turn (nuclear glide). The two alternatives bear indeed a certain resemblance. It is the purpose of this article to examine these analogies, which may throw a new light on at least some of the intricacies of the EF.¹ — Let it be said at the outset that there is no direct relation between the two means of expression. Though the EF is very often linked with emotional tone-patterns, it is immaterial whether these are of the falling or of the rising type.

The simple form of the verb (SF) regards a phenomenon as an event or a fact, as something habitual or of general validity. It is therefore appropriate for sober, matter-of-fact utterances of a static nature. The EF, on the other hand, points to or represents a phenomenon as an activity or a process. It would seem that often it is also the bearer of the feelings engendered by this more dynamic way of looking at things. It is certainly less apt to be emotionally neutral.² — Likewise the utterance with a falling intonation-turn (F) can be considered as the neutral form. Factual, conclusive statements have this intonation. The rising turn (R), whose basic function is to suggest a continuation, more easily becomes the bearer of various emotional connotations.³

Here the parallel seems to end. For how is a comparison between two so completely different means of expression to be pursued any further? The EF can be studied historically. It was introduced into Old English under the influence of Latin. In the Middle English period, when the prefixes *a-* and *ge-* either disappeared or lost their original meaning, it assumed a grammatical function, distinguishing two aspects of the verb. In spite of the great progress made by the EF since that time, the distinction is still the same. — The melodic alternative, on the other hand, which in the written language remains unexpressed, was not apt to be made use of by grammar. It has therefore preserved a considerable degree of freedom.

¹ The most detailed and perspicacious study of the subject is that by Anna G. Hatcher. Hatcher limits her investigation to verbs expressing single present occurrence, i.e. to a relatively small portion of the wide field. Even so the problem is extremely complex.

² For this definition of the difference between the EF and the SF I am indebted to Bodelsen (221-22). I do not agree with him though, when he tries to explain every EF by *action* as contrasted with *fact*. See footnote 12.

³ The same holds good of the fall-rise, which can be considered as a variant of the rise. It is, however, not taken into account in this article.

In the field of intonation we are faced with tendencies rather than with a system. There is e.g. a tendency to use R on the unfinished part of a sentence, but F is by no means excluded. There is a tendency to use F with questions beginning with an interrogative word and a strong tendency to intone yes-or-no questions with R — no more. In one field, it is true, the form of the nuclear glide assumes a distinctive function, namely when a high rise turns into questions utterances whose grammatical form is not interrogative ('Sugar? You 'know him?). But apart from this, R is free to express the most varied stylistic and emotional shades, which have sprung from its basic function of non-conclusiveness.

If the present-day incidence of the EF could be accounted for solely by aspect, it would indeed be pointless to make this study. Distinctions like *I smoke (am smoking)* or *When he came home, I prepared (was preparing) supper* require no further comment. The same applies to utterances like *John was seeing (= accompanying) him to the garden gate* or *I was just being polite (= showing politeness)*. But there is obviously a domain where the basic function of the EF has been overshadowed or even eclipsed by other considerations. Here a comparison with intonation is appropriate.

II

Let us first consider intonation, i.e. intonation-turn R, which can be compared to the EF. There is a large field where its basic function is clearly felt. Not only first parts of sentences belong here (*In the morning* ...) but also grammatically complete sentences whose rising nuclear glide points to a subsequent, often contrasting statement (*In the morning I work*, ...).⁴ Outside this field the basic function is apt to translate itself into modal connotations. Although they all spring from the notion of non-conclusiveness, they express various attitudes. Here are some examples:

- 1a Where is Jack? *He's at home.*
- 1b Why has Jack gone out again? *He's at home.*
- 2a (To somebody shy who hesitates) *Come on.*
- 2b (To somebody obstinate who will not budge) *Come on.*
- 3a I couldn't get Turkish cigarettes. *It doesn't matter.*
- 3b I'm awfully sorry to have broken that cup. *It doesn't matter.*

Why is it that the rising turn, instead of the fall normally expected with statements, makes the utterance sound casual or guarded in the case of 1a, protesting or contradictory with 1b? Why does the rise on the imperative connote solicitude or encouragement with 2a, impatience or vexation in the case of 2b? And why is 3a a casual rejoinder, while 3b conveys a note of assuagement? It is because the alternative F/R divides into two groups utterances whose patterns of intonation can otherwise be very different. Firstly the rising or falling nuclear turn can be low or high, wide or narrow, strongly stressed or weakly stressed. Secondly the intonation of what precedes the turn is far from uniform. It can be

⁴ R with yes-or-no questions is not considered here.

high or low pitched, ascending or descending — to mention only the chief variants. It follows that the direction of the intonation-turn is no more than one element of a pattern, and it is the pattern as a whole that conveys the emotional connotation. In Example 1 the pitch range of the nuclear turn is an important factor: With 1a the rise starts low and rises only slightly, with 1b it starts low, too, but is apt to rise fairly high.⁵ In Example 2 there is a similar difference, and, in addition, an increase of stress in the case of b. In Example 3 the turns are not perceptibly different; but what precedes them is on a low pitch level with a, on a descending scale with b.

There is another component element. Voice quality underlines the above melodic distinctions. Although in principle voice quality is independent of tone-patterns and dynamic stress, it is apt to be severe or even gruff with 1b and 2b, sympathetic with 2a and 3b, non-committal with 1a and 3a. It is true that these tendencies are often crossed by other factors. When a common phrase is habitually pronounced with a certain tone-pattern, it becomes a cliché, and the corresponding voice quality is weakened or disappears altogether. Patterns conveying politeness, friendliness, etc. (2a, 3b) often undergo this change. An instance in point are farewells and similar phrases: 'Good ,morning; 'good ,night; 'all ,right; 'very ,well. Here F, which has not become a cliché, may sound abrupt, or, if emphasized, even threatening: Good "morning; "all "right; "very "well.

The melodic devices expressing emotion can also be added to those utterances whose nuclear rise clearly points to a continuation; but they are used more sparingly. The tone-pattern here expresses mainly expected continuation and only in the second place emotion. This is understandable. In utterances of a certain length, which are divided into two or more tone-groups, the intellectual element generally predominates. The same holds good of complete sentences pointing to a subsequent contrasting statement.

III

The EF has retained its syntactical function of pointing to an activity, a process, rather than to a fact, in a wide field. Examples were mentioned at the end of Section I. Here its operation is almost as independent of intonation as that of the definite article in *I like (the) children*, or of the tense in *I was (have been) in France for six months*. No matter how we intone *He is playing chess* and *He plays chess*, *He is being silly* and *He is silly* — and we can intone them in many ways — the two utterances are perfectly distinct. Outside this field, which cannot, of course, be marked off precisely, the basic function of the EF is often blurred or even overruled by emotional connotations. These are expressed by intonation. The more aspect is supplanted by mood, the less does the EF retain its independence: it becomes an element of a pattern. As this pattern is composed of both locutional and elocutional elements, it exists —

⁵ It was not possible to indicate this difference with the means at the printer's disposal.

strictly speaking — only in the spoken language. Here there is no priority of rank: a certain frame of mind brings about, simultaneously, the EF and an emotional intonation. In the written language, where only the locutional element of the pattern finds expression, intonation has to be supplemented mentally; in reading aloud this mental process is actualized. Here the function of the EF can be compared to that of a reagent: though not itself expressing emotion, it calls forth an emotional intonation.⁶

The parallelism between the two means of expression here under discussion can also be observed with their emotional connotations.

1. Where the EF points to something that goes on and on, or occurs again and again, it often elicits a tone of protest, censure, irritation (a). If the occurrence is of a pleasant nature, the intonation tends to express elation, enthusiasm (b).⁷

- a) *You're always dropping your gloves.*
She's always seeing apparitions.
I've been telling you for the last ten minutes
You've been listening to tales.
Who has been meddling with my typewriter?
- b) *She has been having the most wonderful offers.*
He is always saying striking things.

In the following examples aspect has been completely, or almost completely, eclipsed by mood.

Have you been asking her to run away with you?
Have you been wounding him?
Will you be holding your tongue?
Do be watching where you drive.

J. (to A., who has taken away J.'s cigarette case): *I wish to goodness you had let me know. I was very nearly offering a large reward.* (Wilde: *The Importance of Being Earnest.*)

Even verbs that normally reject it, occasionally appear in the EF.

Office-boy (to boss, who is scolding him for inattention): *I saw something out of the window.* Boss: *You had no business to be seeing anything out there.*

*I love it; I'm just loving it.*⁸

*What are you doing? Are you out of your senses to be accepting this man?*⁹

⁶ It has been pointed out before that the EF does not by itself express emotion. Erades (No. 5) says that it suggests the feelings, Davies (8) that it implies them. It is evidently the written language that these authors have in view. Cf. Dietrich 116-17, who gives further references.

⁷ Curme describes the part played by the locutional and the elocutional element in expressing emotion as follows: 'By reason of its concrete meaning and of the emphasis or peculiar tone often associated with it, the progressive form often expresses joy or sorrow, pleasure or displeasure' (374).

⁸ This use of *to be loving* cannot be compared to that in sentences like (What are you doing to that dog?) *I'm only loving him*, where aspect is predominant (to love = to fondle), so that an emotional tone-pattern is not essential, no more essential than in *I'm only stroking him*. In the sentence above, on the other hand, the emotional tone-pattern — and voice quality — cannot be dispensed with; it is as essential as in sentences containing intensive *to do* (*I do love it*). *I'm just loving him* with the intonation of *I'm just reading it* is inconceivable.

⁹ This sentence — from *Pride and Prejudice* — is quoted by Deutschbein (85), who lists it under 'intensive Aktionsart'. It would be correcter to speak of intensive mood.

If the contents of the sentence do not suggest special emotion, the tone can be quite matter-of fact. Aspect is foremost here.

I've been listening to the band for a while.
I've been thinking about it a good deal.
What have you been giving? (to previous maids)

2. The EF, which points to a process rather than to its result, the naked fact, is often felt to be less abrupt, more polite and regardful than the SF.

I am expecting you to
You seemed to be agreeing.

Cecily (to Canon Chasuble): *Miss Prism has just been complaining of a slight headache.*
 (Wilde: *The Importance . . .*)

Dolly (hesitating to broach the subject): *My dear, Mr. Grooster was asking about your divorce.* (Priestley: *Duet in Floodlight.*)

Formulas of leave-taking and similar courteous remarks belong here.

We must be getting back.
Look, Freddie, I think we ought to be getting along.
Let's be going. (Bunyan)
I shall be seeing you to-morrow.

Polite questions are often in the EF, especially in the future. Servants frequently use these forms.

Will you be wanting this again to-night?
Will you be wanting me for anything more?
Will you be needing anything else?
*Shall I be disturbing you if I do the windows now?*¹⁰
Will you be coming to the garden-party?
*Were you wishing to see Mr. Blackburn?*¹¹

With certain common verbs the EF has been used so frequently that it now expresses neither the progressive aspect nor of necessity calls forth an emotional tone-pattern. There is little to choose between

<i>I hope</i>	and	<i>I'm hoping . . .</i>
<i>I wonder if</i>		<i>I'm wondering if</i>
<i>I don't blame you.</i>		<i>I'm not blaming you.</i> ¹²

¹⁰ Quoted by Jespersen IV 13.5 (5), who speaks of 'modest inquiry'.

¹¹ The tendency to use the EF of the future is greatly favoured by the desire to avoid misunderstanding. In the simple tense *shall* and *will* are not completely divested of their original meanings, while in the EF they are pure auxiliaries.

Shall I sit at the high table? (= Do you want me to . . .)

Shall I be sitting at the high table? (= Has it been planned that . . .)

Will you shut the door? (= Please shut the door.)

Will you be shutting the door? (= Are you going to shut . . .)

Cf. Poutsma 325-26; Erades No. 36.

¹² Bodelsen sees a difference of aspect even with these pairs of current phrases: *I'm hoping he will come with us* (action). *I hope he will come with us* (statement of fact) (224). This is a somewhat forced interpretation. There is at most a difference of mood between the two forms. As Hatcher says, the EF makes the sentence 'more warmly felt, more personal, more spontaneous'. (272)

In the perfect the EF has come to be the prevailing form with many verbs.

*I've been wondering if
What have you been saying?*

In the past, too, there are a few clichés of this sort.

*As I was saying ...
As I was telling you ...*

* * *

In both connotations dealt with in Section III the EF is still progressing. The Irish are to the fore, followed by the Americans. Moreover, new grammatical forms seem to be coming into use. One may soon hear sentences like *The house has been being built*.¹³ — It is not easy to answer the question whether there is a similar trend with the rising intonation-turn. We have not enough evidence of the intonation of past epochs. However, one definite statement can be made: Within the last quarter of a century or so R has become quite common on questions beginning with an interrogative word. This expresses greater regardfulness, a more sympathetic attitude towards the interlocutor (*'Where did you meet him?'*), i.e. a frame of mind similar to that which is responsible for the lavish present-day use of the EF treated in Section III 2.¹⁴

Basle.

MARIA SCHUBIGER.

¹³ One of Dennis's students was heard to say: *'That drive has been being laid all winter'*. (865)

¹⁴ References:

Bodelsen C. A. *The Expanded Tenses in Modern English*. Englische Studien LXXI (1936/37) 220-38.

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Recent English Influence on German Meanings

In present-day German one can observe numerous cases of change of meaning in a nascent state. A new meaning, differing from the established usage, is on its way towards becoming a habit, still, perhaps, less frequent than the old one, still widely felt to be the exception rather than the rule, and still considered a downright mistake by the more conscientious or traditional users of the language. An example is *penetrant*, established meaning: 'penetrating', now occasionally used (in conversation and in middle- or low-brow newspapers) in the sense of 'obstinate(ly)'; e.g. *Er blieb penetrant auf der falschen Strassenseite*, 'he remained obstinately on the wrong side of the road'.

On looking at a collection of such cases, it appears that *penetrant*, for which no foreign model can be found, is quite the exception. In the great majority of instances, the semantic change is very probably due to English influence, since the new meaning is found most frequently in translations from English and corresponds exactly to the meaning of some English word. Thus, the German *realisieren*, formerly only 'to make real, change (property) into money', which is now being more and more used in the sense of 'to see clearly, be aware of', has very probably changed its meaning along the lines of its English neighbour *to realize*.

Here follows a list of some 30 such words, whose new meanings have repeatedly been observed, during the past two years, in texts other than translations. This means that they occur not only in 'translationese', which contains hosts of linguistic chimaeras, but also in ordinary indigenous German. The arrangement of the list is this: 1) the German word, 2) its established meaning(s), 3) its present-day additional meaning, 4) the English word(s) most likely to be responsible for the addition. To this are added, where necessary: 5) illustrations, with date, from printed texts, chiefly newspapers (NP), or from conversation, or which have been fabricated, and 6) further comments.

AMPHIBISCH 'having the nature of an amphibian' — 'carried out on sea and land (warfare)'. *amphibious, amphibian. amphibische Operationen.*

APPELL 'roll-call, public or moral appeal' — 'appeal in morally neutral sense'. *appeal. ... dass Weltausstellungen ... Appelle an die Schaulust sind* (NP 1958).

AUFPICKEN see *picken*.

AUSSEHEN see *gut aussehen*.

ERFOLG 'success with results outside the agent' — 'inward success'. *success. Ihre Ehe war kein Erfolg.* There is also a syntactical innovation: the construction with *sein* (after the English model *to be a success*) is becoming a rival of the one with *haben*; formerly only: *er hatte keinen Erfolg*, now, still rare but spreading: *er war kein Erfolg*.

ERZIEHEN 'bring up, educate (children)' — 'educate (of adults and in political sense)'. *educate.* The new meaning did occur earlier but was probably strengthened by *educate*, e.g. in connection with post-war re-education schemes. Similarly: *Erziehung*.

FLASCHENHALS 'neck of a bottle' — 'bottleneck, fig. esp. economic'. *bottleneck.*

FRATERNISIEREN 'make friends' — 'have social intercourse with citizens of an occupied country'. *fraternize.*

FÜR 'for (in various uses)' — 'for, postnominal, introducing the result or aim'. *for*. *Besseres Licht für bessere Leistung* (NP 1958); *bewegliches Oberteil* (of a boot) *für verbesserte Skitechnik* (NP 1958). We can now observe a complete reversal of the construction and meaning of *für*, when this is used after a noun denoting a remedy (frequent in advertisements). *Für* used to introduce the expression for the state to be remedied, e.g. *X. für kranke Füße*; *Y. für schmutzige Wäsche*. Now it is more frequently constructed with the state to be reached: *X. für gesunde Füße*; *Y. für weissere Wäsche*.

GUT AUSSEHEN 'look better or healthier than usual' — 'be handsome or attractive'. *be good-looking*. Mostly as participle: *gut aussehend*. *Gut aussehendes Mannequin*, Grösse 44, wäre in der kommenden Saison noch einige Tage frei (NP 1959).

HASSEN 'feel hatred against' — 'dislike (weakened sense)'. *hate*. *Sie hasste es, so spät noch auszugehen*. The weakened sense did exist before, but it smacked of teenager exaggeration. There is also a change in syntax: the construction 'hassen + infinitive', which was formerly very rare, seems to be spreading.

HERAUSPICKEN see PICKEN.

HEXENJAGD 'witch-hunt (concrete sense)' — 'persecution of political opponents'. *witch-hunt*. Rare.

HÜTTE 'cabin' — 'hut'. *hut*. Used only for Nissen Huts and similar makeshifts. Probably one of the rare cases of borrowing from spoken English.

KALT 'cold, ordinary senses' — 'latent'. *cold*. Only in *kalter Krieg* 'cold war' and expressions alluding to this.

KONDITIONIEREN 'make dependent on conditions, (arch.) work as an employee' — 'give (favourable) conditions to, train so as to react in a specific way'. *condition*. Chiefly with reference to air-conditioning and -conditioned reflex.

KONTROLLIEREN 'inspect, check' — 'control, influence'. *control*. *Die Holding kontrolliert acht Papierfabriken*. Similarly: *Kontrolle* (noun), where the new meaning seems to be of longer standing. Parallel change in French, also under English influence.

KÖRPER 'body' — 'corpse'. *body*. *Als die amerikanische Marine kürzlich einen Eisberg in die Luft sprengte, kam der gut erhaltene Körper eines Mannes im Smoking zum Vorschein* (NP 1958). The meaning 'corpse' is old but has become considerably more popular recently.

KURVEN (pl.) 'curves (geometry, roads)' — 'curves (female)'. *curves*.

LEBEN 'be alive' — 'survive'. *live*. *Das Fieber sank; das bedeutete, dass sie leben würde*.

PERSONAL 'staff (of a firm)' — 'personnel (military)'. *personnel*. *Höchstalter für fliegendes Personal 25 Jahre* (NP 1958, advertisement for the German Luftwaffe).

PICKEN 'peck' — 'pick'. *pick*. Only in the compounds *aufpicken* and *herauspicken* 'pick (up, out)'. *Man überschaut leicht die ganze Kollektion und pickt das Geeignete heraus* (NP 1958).

PLASTIK 'sculpture' (fem.) — 'synthetic material' (masc. or neut.). *plastic*. Also spelt *Plastic*.

PLATZ 'square in town, proper place' — 'town, house'. *place*. *Lissabon ist wieder zu einem recht schmucken Platz geworden* (Mann: Felix Krull, p. 303. *Platz* 'town' was formerly restricted to business use.

PRIVILEGIERT 'having special rights' — 'rich'. *privileged*. Similarly *unprivilegiert*. *Im Lande der Selbstverbesserung (U.S.A.) imitiert der Unprivilegierte bald die kosmetischen Tricks der privilegierten Schichten* (NP 1958).

PRODUZIEREN 'manufacture, yield' — 'bring forward for inspection, procure'. *produce*. *Als Unterlagen produzierte er ein Diplom... und einen Ausweis* (NP 1958). Influence of French *produire* not impossible.

RASSE 'breed, subcategory of living beings or plants' — 'any great category of living

beings'. *race*. Esp. in *die menschliche Rasse* after *the human race*. *Der schöpferische Geist ist etwas, dem die menschliche Rasse nie wird entrinnen können* (NP 1958). Cf. also French *la race humaine*.

REALISIEREN 'make real, convert (property) into money' — 'see clearly, notice'. *realize*. *Ich habe es damals nicht realisiert*. Parallel change in French, also under English influence.

ROUTINE 'thorough knowledge of one's work through long experience' — 'recurrent, unvarying and mechanical activity'. *routine*. *Junger Mann sucht Arbeit die nicht Routine wird* (NP 1959). Compound: *Routinearbeit* 'routine work'.

SATELLIT 'moon, (arch.) body-guard' — 'nation subservient to a great power'. *satellite*.

STAB 'rod, military staff' — 'staff of a firm or newspaper'. *staff*. *Der Stab der Redakteure und Korrespondenten* (NP 1959).

SYMPOSIUM '(Greek) banquet' — 'book by various authors'. *symposium*. *In diesem Sinn ist die Herausgabe von Symposien in Buchform besonders zu begrüßen* (NP 1959).

TECHNOLOGIE 'theory of the processes of making products from raw materials' — 'technology'. *technology*. ...*das die Influenzmaschine in einer Epoche erschien, wo weder die physikalischen Kenntnisse noch die Technologie weit genug vorgeschritten waren* (NP 1958). The normal word for 'technology' is *Technik*. Similarly *technologisch* used instead of *technisch*.

TÖTEN 'kill (implying definite agent and, usually, intention)' — 'kill, without reference to an agent (as in war, catastrophe etc.)'. *kill*. *Er wurde bei einem Eisenbahnunglück getötet*.

ÜBERLEBEN 'live longer than (trans.)' — 'live on (intrans.)'. *survive*. *Ein Teil des alten Mexiko hat hier überlebt* (NP 1958).

UNORTHODOX 'not orthodox in religion' — 'out of the ordinary'. *unorthodox*. *Unorthodoxes Wetter in Italien* (NP 1959).

In all these cases we can be fairly safe in assuming English influence. We have to consider the possibility of French models, e.g. the modern meanings of *réaliser*, *contrôler* (which are themselves anglicisms) and *produire*; but French influence is much less probable, since the new German meanings abound in translations from English, which are in turn far more numerous than those from French. Some of the cases are even safer than the rest; these are the new concepts that must have originated together with the 'things' — amphibious operations, re-education, fraternizing, huts, air-conditioning and the expression *cold war* (coined by W. Lippmann in 1947) — in England or the United States.¹

As has been said, there is, in all the words on the list, a nascent change of meaning. The new meanings occur not just once or twice but with moderate regularity; also they have overstepped the boundaries of their first habitat, translationese. Further possible steps towards a complete change of meaning would be: 1) The new meaning, regarded as erroneous at first, becomes recognized usage. 2) The new meaning, current only in special strata of the language (technical vocabularies, journalese, etc.), becomes part of the stock of common words. 3) It becomes more current or frequent than the old meaning. 4) The old meaning falls into disuse

¹ Cf. P. C. Berg: *A Dictionary of New Words in English* (London 1953) and R. W. Zandvoort and Assistants: *Wartime English* (Groningen 1957).

and becomes finally extinct. 5) Existing synonyms of the new meaning go to the wall and become extinct.

Looking at these phases one by one, in inverted order, we can try to give a (tentative and subjective) answer to the question of how far the process has advanced in the individual cases; this will in turn enable us to gauge the degree of influence as a whole.

Stage 5 (ousting of synonyms) has not been reached in any case. The position of the existing synonyms has nowhere been seriously endangered. Maybe the genteelisms *realisieren*, *kontrollieren* and *Körper* have somewhat reduced the currency of their blunter synonyms *merken*, *beherrschen* and *Leiche*, but not nearly to the point of eclipsing them. In many cases (e.g. *Plastik*) the imported conceptions are new to the language, so there is no question of synonyms.

Stage 4 (extinction of old meaning) has nowhere been reached.

Stage 3 (new meaning more current than the old one) is reached in *Plastik* and in some instances where the old meaning, or indeed the word itself, was extremely rare: *Symposium*, *unorthodox*, *unprivilegiert*. Sometimes (in *Körper*, *leben*, *kalt*, *Flaschenhals*, *für*, *Platz*) the modern meaning is only a special application of the old one, so there can be no question of rivalry.

Stage 2 (the new meaning as part of the common vocabulary) has rarely been reached. We can say that the new meanings of *Satellit*, *Plastik*, *gut aussehen*, *realisieren*, *herauspicken*, and, perhaps, *kontrollieren* are now frequently used in general conversation. Still, they are restricted in many ways. *Plastik* is almost a proper name, so is *Satellit* (referring only to communist-controlled countries); *kontrollieren* is confined to economic and political use and would never be used e.g. for controlling one's temper or movements. As German *picken* means 'to peck', *herauspicken* is a metaphor, still vaguely suggestive of bird-like grace and wantonness. It might well be called a genteelism, much like *realisieren*, which is almost exclusively used in the negative to camouflage imputations or avowals of stupidity. All the new uses (except *Plastik*) are current only among newspaper-ridden and somewhat genteel townsfolk.

Apart from the five words just mentioned, the new meanings are peculiar to the written language, chiefly of news-agencies, reporters, businessmen and scientists, i.e. people with whom language is a means to an end rather than an end in itself. This habitat also gives a clue as to the causes of the borrowings: lack of time on the one hand and desire for distinction on the other certainly play a prominent part.

Stage 1 (recognition). Nearly all of the new meanings (except perhaps those of *amphibisch*, *Flaschenhals*, *kalt*, *Plastik*, *Satellit*) would not be recognized as 'good German' by those who actively care for the language. Still, many intellectuals use them unconsciously, and the 'Puristen' generally leave them in peace because they do not spot they are foreign.

The future will show which of the new meanings will catch on and how many steps each of them will advance. It would seem reasonable

to expect that a new meaning has a better chance of survival, if there is no good established synonym. With this in view, the new use of *Symposium* (with only a clumsy near-synonym *Sammelband*) gets a more hopeful forecast than that of *Technologie* (with a shorter, well-established synonym *Technik*). On the other hand, a cosmopolitan and distinguished word may beat almost anything in the line of synonyms. Finally, we must not forget the unpredictable non-linguistic factors. *Hütte* denoting 'hut' has well-nigh died out again together with its referent, the American and English makeshift structures in Germany. *Fraternisieren* is losing its special post-war sense, and the old meaning of *Satellit* has had a spectacular come-back with the launching of the artificial moons.

It is interesting, finally, to look at our cases from the point of view of the customary dichotomy of 'ordinary loan words' (borrowing of meaning and sound) and 'loan translations' (borrowing of meaning only). No more than a few of them (*Erfolg, erziehen, Flaschenhals, gut aussehen, Hexenjagd, Körper, leben, töten, überleben*) are loan translations proper. The majority (e.g. *realisieren*) are of the intermediate type, which has been termed 'semantic imitation'.² These may be defined as 'loan translations with identical body in either language' or as 'ordinary loan words that are homophonous with a word already existing in the target language'. The choice between these two definitions depends largely on the definition of the word — but thereby hangs a multitude of tales!

Zürich.

ERNST LEISI.

Further Contribution. Owing to lack of space an article by Dr Alexander Holder, of Vaduz, Liechtenstein, 'On the Structure of Henry James's Metaphors', has to be held over till next year.

Dr Holder has recently published a book on *The Development of Imagery and its Functional Significance in Henry James's Novels* (Volume 3 of the Cooper Monographs edited by Prof. Dr. H. Lüdeke and published by Francke Verlag Bern).

² Cf. S. Ullmann: *The Principles of Semantics* (2nd ed., Glasgow and Oxford 1957, p. 41).

Reviews

Tamburlaine's Malady and Other Essays on Astrology in Elizabethan Drama. By JOHNSTONE PARR. University of Alabama Press, 1953. xiv + 158 pp. \$3.50.

In a dozen essays, several of which have already been published separately, Professor Parr discusses a series of references to astrology which occur in Elizabethan and Jacobean dramas and have hitherto either not received the necessary attention or been explained wrongly. His studies contribute to a fuller understanding of the passages in question and at the same time enlarge our knowledge of how an Elizabethan audience probably understood the characters and their fate as represented by the dramatists. What little doubt there remained after D. C. Allen's *The Star-crossed Renaissance*, that the Elizabethans as a whole believed in the effect of the stars upon human destinies, is dispelled by Parr's carefully documented essays, and he equally proves what most of us have been suspecting, namely that, with the possible exception of Webster, the playwrights did not possess, or perhaps did not care to display in their plays, a more than commonplace knowledge of the infinitely complicated science of their age.

The passages discussed by Professor Parr are taken from Greene's *James IV*, Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and *Doctor Faustus*, Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, Chapman's *Byron's Conspiracy*, *King Lear*, Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* and Jonson's *The Alchemist*. There is furthermore a succinctly written survey of the various uses Shakespeare made of astrology, in the course of which the author aptly remarks that it is the artistic and poetic treatment of the astrological material which distinguishes him from his contemporaries. In all these cases the predications, horoscopes and statements on the influence of the stars upon human character made by the dramatis personae are corroborated by astrological treatises, mainly those by Claudius Ptolemy, Augier Ferrier and William Lilly. While reading these pages we are once more led to recognise to what extent Elizabethan science is responsible for the motivation of character in the age of Shakespeare, and once more we get the impression that, in spite of the extremely sane outlook of Professor Parr, a more modern conception of human character tends to become obscured when literature is interpreted from a purely historical point of view.

One of the major contributions to Marlowe-scholarship is the essay on Tamburlaine's malady. The poet filled a gap in the sources he used by making his superman succumb to a tragic flaw of character: his inordinate passions — ambition, wrath, lust of power — dry up and destroy the 'spirits' generated by the 'humidum and calor' (not choler!) which are, as the physician rightly insists, 'of a substance more divine and pure'. To this psycho-somatic motivation, typical of the period, Marlowe adds the astral destiny: Tamburlaine's illness occurs on his 'critical day', i.e. when the constellation of the stars is malefic.

Professor Parr's essays are eminently readable and can be recommended to both advanced scholars and beginners. The bibliography of Renaissance treatises on astrology, with which the volumes closes, represents in itself a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the scientific background of English literature in the age of Shakespeare.

Saarbrücken.

ROBERT FRICKER.

The Young Shakespeare: Studies in Documentary Evidence.
By E. B. EVERITT. (Anglistica vol. II.) Rosenkilde and Bagger,
Copenhagen. 1954. 188 pp. + 10 plates. Danish Kr. 27.50.

This is a startling book, less in its general tendency — the attack on the 'hidden years' of Shakespeare's life is one of the most promising trends in the Shakespeare scholarship of our days — than with respect to the conclusions its author draws. Professor Everitt starts with a discussion of some well-known prefaces by Shakespeare's early contemporaries, in which certain 'noverint'-dramatists are deprecated, and asks: why does Nashe in his introduction to Greene's *Menaphon* direct his attack against several writers who left 'the trade of Noverint whereto they were born', if he meant to rebuke Kyd alone, as has hitherto been assumed? His main thesis is that Shakespeare may have been another law clerk who dared to compete with the University Wits upon their own ground, first 'intermeddling with Italian translations' and dabbling in French poetry, then as a playwright. Everitt attributes the anonymous *Tarleton's News*, which consists in the main of paraphrases of Italian 'novelle', to Shakespeare, because the attacks directed against this 'twpopenie pamphlet' by Greene and Nashe reveal tendencies similar to those in the two authors' deprecation of the 'noverint' and 'Iohannes factotum', who may have been Shakespeare.

He then proceeds to a demonstration of Shakespeare's penmanship, and this is no doubt the most impressive part of his study. By a brilliant examination of the six known signatures he proves (1) the impersonal character of his hand and (2) the surprising variety of symbols he used, two characteristics which certainly correspond to his art as a dramatist. The same variety of handwritings and lack of personal traits, as well as certain idiosyncracies, Everitt notices in a series of manuscripts which he ascribes to the late 80's and early 90's: (1) a letter of one 'W.P.' or 'W. Sp.' to Edward Allen, the great actor, (2) *Edmond Ironside, a True Chronicle History*, (3) *Sir Thomas More*, Addition D, (4) *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*. These are hypotheses which can only be corroborated or contradicted by palaeographers, who would have to answer the following questions: was not a variety of symbols common in an age when the old Secretary hand was being gradually superseded by the more fluent Italic

one? And was not a certain lack of personal traits the rule in an age when the personality of the author was only beginning to liberate itself from the bonds of literary conventions?

The critical reader will be less convinced by Everitt's discussion of the literary merits of *Edmond Ironside*. Although, and because, the verse of this play certainly shows the characteristics of the early Shakespeare, it could just as well have been written by somebody else, and its imaginative qualities, especially the use of imagery, seem to me rather flat and poor when compared to those of *Henry VI*. Certain situations and the association of themes and political ideas common to this play and those of the Shakespeare canon do not seem so closely related to me as they appear to him, and its structure is certainly looser and more 'epical' than in the trilogy.

Professor Everitt's method is sound and scholarly. The chief merits of his study are these: it boldly re-opens the discussion of Shakespeare's handwriting; it makes it possible to assume that he was a law clerk before, in 1587 or thereabouts and at the age of 23, he turned to literature, especially to drama, and wrote and acted first for the Queen's then for Pembroke's and thirdly for Strange's men. At this early stage he may have written, besides *Venus and Adonis* and *Tarleton's News*, the following plays: the old *Leir* (1586/7, the later *King Lear*), *Edmond Ironside* (1587/8), the early version (acts I and II of the later one) of *Pericles* (1587/90), *The Troublesome Reign* (1588/9, the later *King John*), *Titus Andronicus* (1588/9), the 'Ur-Hamlet' (1588/9), *The Taming of a Shrew* (1589), *The Contention* (1590/1, later 2 *Henry VI*), *The True Tragedy* (1590/1, later 3 *Henry VI*), an early draft of *Edward III* (1590/1), *Sir Thomas More*, Add. D (1592/3). This production would fill the last five or six of the 'hidden years' up to 1592 and explain the craftsmanship displayed in the *Henry VI* plays, which caused Greene's jealous outburst in *A Groatsworth of Wit*. The fact that most of the early plays are not included in the First Folio is easily accounted for on the basis of selection and the possible example or even directive influence of Ben Jonson.

Professor Everitt would be the last to deny that a great deal of investigation will be necessary before the theses propounded in his study can be accepted, but already in their present form they open a promising field of work to Shakespeare scholarship. They deserve to be taken seriously, though the initial impetus, no doubt, has carried the author too far; it is to be hoped that the book will be studied especially by Shakespeare scholars, because it shows a possible line of approach to the activities of the young poet, an approach which, owing to modern specialization, can only be widened to a road — or barred — if the specialists direct their attention to the method sketched out by Everitt.

Saarbrücken.

ROBERT FRICKER.

Deception in Elizabethan Comedy. By JOHN V. CURRY S.J.
Jesuit Studies, Loyola University Press. Chicago, 1955. IX +
197 pp. \$ 3.50.

Few students of the Elizabethan drama fail to notice the important part deception plays in the tragedies and comedies of the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and the subject has received no systematic treatment since V. O. Freeburg, in *Disguise Plots in Elizabethan Drama* (1915), investigated one aspect of it. Dr. Curry, therefore, closes at least part of a gap in Elizabethan scholarship by first examining the various types of agents and victims of deception in a series of comedies ranging from *Ralph Roister Doister* and *Gammer Gurton's Needle* to the plays of Jonson, Chapman and Middleton. Both deceivers and deceived are pigeon-holed and the means of deception carefully analysed and classified. These chapters demonstrate the extraordinary popularity this device enjoyed among the playwrights and the audience for which they wrote. It was used with equal gusto and success by the authors of romantic and more or less classical comedies.

The most valuable chapter, however, is the last, where Curry discusses the numerous functions of deception. From the point of view of the dramatist it is a convenient and inexhaustible means of plot structure, and the author rightly insists on the fact that deception is eminently suited to produce a series of dramatic conflicts which, according to the playwright's skill and art, can be fused into a dynamic whole, while the postponed revelation creates the tension demanded. The history of Elizabethan comedy is characterized by a growing subtlety and complexity of the plots gained by this device until the English plays, especially those by Shakespeare, Jonson and Middleton, surpassed their Roman and Italian models. From the point of view of the audience the vogue of deception can be explained, as Curry aptly puts it, as 'an increasingly sophisticated pleasure of seeing dramatic conflict work itself out in terms of deception' (p. 143). The more artfully the device was used by the playwright, the greater and more subtle became the exercise in intellectual wit for the audience. The buoyant gaiety of most deceivers, their ingenuity and resourcefulness produced mirth and laughter in the theatre and at the same time prevented the atmosphere of plays like *Volpone* and *The Merchant of Venice* from becoming gloomy or even tragic. Thus the function of the seemingly superfluous deceptions practised by the Duke in *Measure for Measure* is obvious: as a masterpiece of entanglements produced by deception and suspense artfully prolonged until the very last moment, this comedy offers no problem at all; it simply satisfied the Elizabethan craving for dexterous and complicated trickery to an exceptionally high degree. Among the most brilliant pieces of this kind figure — besides Jonson's great comedies — Marston's *The Malcontent* and Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria*. Deception, as Curry points out, could also serve satirical purposes if the duped belonged to a type or group of people which was to be : the

object of ridicule, and it was more and more recognised, through the ignorance in which the gull was kept, as an excellent means of producing dramatic irony — nowhere with greater effect than in Middleton's *A Trick to Catch the Old One*.

Dr. Curry deserves praise for his firm grasp of the material and his very clear and all-round discussion of the subject; his study can be regarded as a substantial contribution to our knowledge of the structure of Elizabethan comedy.

Saarbrücken.

ROBERT FRICKER

A Note-Book of Edmund Burke. Edited by H. V. F. SOMERSET with a Foreword by Sir ERNEST BAKER. Cambridge: At the University Press. 1957. xii + 120 pp. 18/6 net.

At her death in 1812 Burke's widow left her husband's papers to the care of three of his friends, one of whom, the 2nd Earl Fitzwilliam, eventually became their sole owner. His son, the 3rd earl, used them for the four volumes of Correspondence he published in 1844 with the help of Sir R. Bourke. Henceforth and for nearly a century those papers lay practically forgotten at Wentworth Woodhouse and Milton, the Yorkshire and Northamptonshire estates of the Fitzwilliam family. There they were kept under lock and key, no one, not even the Historical Manuscripts Commission, being allowed to see them. That is the chief reason why Sir J. Prior's *Life of Burke*, written in 1824, remains to this day the standard biography; none of the subsequent biographers could add anything substantial to what Prior knew. Some little time before the last war, however, the present earl gave permission to a few scholars to examine the papers in his possession at Wentworth Woodhouse. This led to the discovery of the commonplace-book to which Sir Ph. Magnus refers in his *Edmund Burke* of 1939, the 'Note-Book' as its editor rightly prefers to call it. A few articles published in 1938 and 1939 drew attention to it. Then some years ago, in 1949, Earl Fitzwilliam decided to place his invaluable collection at the disposal of all Burke students and in order to give them free and easy access to it deposited it at the Public Library of the City of Sheffield. It was there that a young French scholar, P. Baratier, could copy the most striking pages of the Note-Book which he published in *Études anglaises* (1954-55). To satisfy the curiosity of all those whose interest had been excited by the extracts they had seen, a full edition of it had become necessary. This Mr. Somerset gives us now. We may look upon it as the first-fruits of the work on the Wentworth Woodhouse papers that is now being done at Cambridge and will no doubt result in further publications, a better knowledge of Burke's life and career, and eventually a reassessment of his character, achievement and genius.

The Note-Book contains twenty-four pieces of various length, five being in verse. There are epistles, satirical addresses somewhat in the vein of *The Vindication*, character-sketches, including the beautiful portrait of Jane Nugent already known to Prior and also published, but not in full, by Sir Ph. Magnus, and several essays chiefly of political philosophy. Some are clearly unfinished, some also read like mere fragments. Twelve are assigned to Burke by either his initials or some note, four to his close associate and friend in London, the William Burke who was soon to become notorious as a disreputable creature but whom Edmund never ceased to love and be helpful to. There is no reason to doubt these ascriptions. The eight other pieces all written in William's hand, with the exception of the beginning of one, contain most of them passages so characteristic of Burke's ideas and mind that, on this internal evidence only, one feels compelled to regard them as his.

According to the dates given them in the Note-Book the first seven and the ninth pieces were composed between September 1750 and September 1754. The others are not dated. As the first nine are not arranged in chronological order it is evident that the two friends one day decided to copy into a notebook some compositions which they jointly wished to preserve. When that decision was arrived at, when and how the notebook was filled, whether at one and the same time or at different periods, could only be determined — if at all — by a thorough examination of the paper (watermark), handwritings, inks, etc., which apparently Mr. Somerset has not attempted to do. And that is a pity. For the interest of the document largely depends on the dates ascribed to the undated pieces. The editor and Sir E. Baker in his foreword assume that they all belong to the same early fifties as the dated ones. That may be, but is not proved. Were it proved it would show Burke, before he was twenty-six, already in conscious possession of the doctrine, the convictions that form the solid basis of his great political works, from the time of the American rebellion to that of the French revolution. In support of that assertion many passages could be quoted from the longest of the essays entitled *Several Scattered Hints concerning Philosophy and Learning Collected Here from my Papers*. The dated pieces, though of less value, have their importance as the only documents so far known, apart from a few letters, unquestionably bearing on Burke's 'missing years', from his arrival in London in 1750 to *The Vindication* of 1756. The two long verse epistles to William Burke and to Dr. Nugent show him torn between his love of literature, his ambition to make his mark as a writer, and his duty to his father who had sent him to England to train as a lawyer. From the latter epistle one definite fact can be added to our knowledge of his youth, namely that it was in September 1749 that he made the acquaintance of the Nugents. As a poet, Burke is both skilful and undistinguished when he endites serious verse, but his comical verse justifies Johnson's judgment on his wit when he tried to be jocular: 'When he lets himself down to that, he is in the kennel' (*Life*, ed. Hill-Powell, iv, 276), a judgment that

Burke himself was willing to accept (*Ibid.*, v, 465). Several of the 'Characters' evince sure knowledge of the world and of men, and deep psychological insight. One of them will be of use to future biographers, as it partly explains the strong attraction exerted by William on Edmund, an attachment which in many respects was an enigma. Altogether much in this Note-Book is worth reading, and not only for Burke students.

Mr. Somerset has rightly tried to elucidate some obscure or difficult passages, though not perhaps always successfully. But there are some which he has left unexplained though they stand in need of a note as much as the others, as, for instance, ll. 105-6 in No 1, or the sentence beginning 'This Humour' on p. 64. It is not in all cases clear whether a footnote belongs to the manuscript or is due to its editor. Some notes are rather curious as when, on p. 60, he refers to a saying of Johnson's which can only shed a wrong light on what Burke has written, which cannot possibly refer to himself, — or when, so as to illustrate Burke's 'professed Wrestlers always make the worst Soldiers', he adds at the foot of the page 'Scott in *Count Robert of Paris*' probably because Stephanos, the prize-fighter, is not a good soldier. Such notes, as well as the similar ones on pp. 100 and 102, are of no use whatever, whilst others would have been welcome to the reader: to mention only two, which are the long troubles in France alluded to on l. 8 of p. 100? and what passage of an ancient historian had Burke in mind when referring to King Perseus of Macedonia further down on the same page?

The text has, so far as one can judge, been carefully edited. Spelling and use of capital letters in the original are preserved. Where an original spelling might be thought to be misprint, a (*sic*) or a footnote is added. But this is not done consistently so that the reader wonders whether *emmerse* (p. 73), *to* for *too*, *Tibellus* (p. 79) belong to the manuscript or must be regarded as mere misprints. Likewise *Effected* on p. 53 (Prior has *affected*) should have been accompanied by a note mentioning the fact that *affect* and *effect* were sometimes confused (see *NED*). Is *that* for *than* on p. 44, l. 13 a misprint? Should not *lost* on p. 89, l. 20, be *tost* (Cf. *tossed*, p. 101, l. 24)? Should not *other* be added between brackets on p. 100, l. 30 and a dot be placed after *Mac* on l. 19, of p. 100?

Now that the Fitzwilliam papers are accessible, one may hope that some day, not too far distant, a critical edition of Burke's works will be given us. Should his contributions to the Note-Book be included, their text should not give occasion to the questions and observations that have just been asked and made.

Bugnaux sur Rolle.

GEORGES A. BONNARD.

William Wordsworth, A Biography. The Early Years, 1770-1803. By MARY MOORMAN. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. 1957. XI + 132 pp. Price 50 s.

In her introductory remarks Mary Moorman very modestly declares that she can lay no claim to having found out many new facts about Wordsworth. Then what is, one might inquire, the justification for her book? As far as the available subject-matter is concerned the basis for a new full-scale biography of Wordsworth was of course provided by Professor de Selincourt's edition of the letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, and, a few years later, of Dorothy's journals. The incorporation of all the material published there within the framework of a comprehensive study of the poet's life constitutes a fitting tribute to Professor de Selincourt's fine editorial work. But quite apart from such consideration it can be justly asserted that Wordsworth deserves, and has for a long time been in need of, such an unbiased, thorough and sensitive account of his life as Mrs. Moorman is able to give. The only previous book that in its scope and competence can be viewed on the same level with the present study is Emile Legouis' *La Jeunesse de Wordsworth*. To take the exact measure of the one makes it almost inevitable to put the other at the opposite end of the scales: Legouis' aim is different from Mrs. Moorman's, he is less interested in external biographical facts than in the development of the poet's mind, and the external facts are only relevant if their bearing on the theme of spiritual growth is direct and decisive. Legouis' work possesses the quality of a drama in which the climax centres in the crisis occasioned by the French Revolution. We are made intimately acquainted with the youthful idealism of the budding poet, with equal intensity we experience the shattering impact of disillusionment, and we finally accompany Wordsworth during his healing process. All this is entirely different in Mary Moorman's book, it is toned down, it loses somewhat in crucial importance, and becomes one incident among so many others. The following passage may illustrate how casually the change in Wordsworth's feelings about the war against France is characterised: 'In youth, Fox had appeared to him and his friends as the champion of liberty in evil days, because of his opposition to the war with France. Wordsworth's own views on the war had now undergone a considerable change since the invasion of Switzerland in 1798 and the elevation of Bonaparte soon afterwards to a virtual dictatorship based on military force.' But what we lose on the swings we win on the roundabouts. If Mrs. Moorman's account is not a drama, it is an admirably restrained narrative of considerable length replete with well-presented information. She follows a contemporary trend in biography by endeavouring to give as much 'background' as possible to recreate, as it were, the cultural and political environs of the young poet. We learn what the town looked like where Wordsworth's mother was born, we are introduced to the chief persons and the legal aspects of the endless dispute between the Wordsworth

family and Sir James Lowther, we are glad to hear that William as a small boy at Hawkshead was no recluse, but that he displayed the traits of a normal healthy boy. All this is of course detail, but it is detail that at no point degenerates into boredom as its immediate connection with a human being called William Wordsworth is never lost sight of. The fine discernment that characterizes the author's occupation with Wordsworth's life-story also makes itself felt in the treatment of single poems. Without venturing into literary criticism she understandingly provides the genesis of those works in distinct outlines.

In short Mrs Moorman's book gives satisfaction, and it is to be hoped that a second volume will combine worthily with the first to complete yet another exemplary standard biography.

Basel.

H. SCHNYDER.

EDGAR POE: *Choix de Contes*. Traduction de CHARLES BAUDELAIRE. Introduction et notes de ROGER ASSELINEAU, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon. Suivi d'un *Conte Grotesque* et d'un *Essai sur L'Art du Conte*, traduits et annotés par ROGER ASSELINEAU. (Collection Bilingue des Classiques Etrangers.) Aubier, Editions Montaigne, Paris [1958], 354 pp.

This selection of Poe's tales in French translation with the English original on the opposite page comprises five 'fantastic' tales (Morella, Ligeia, Usher, Metzengerstein, Tell-tale Heart), besides the 'Rue Morgue' tale of ratiocination and 'Loss of Breath' as a grotesque tale. From the review of Hawthorne's *Twice Told Tales* the long passage on the tale as an art form completes the texts, to which are added Notes of an explanatory, critical and even linguistic character, as well as a long critical introduction which opens the volume. The French text is Baudelaire's whose occasional inaccuracies are discussed in the Notes. 'Loss of Breath' and the review of Hawthorne are in the editor's own translation. A short working bibliography is inserted at the end of the introductory matter.

The introduction proper, which follows a biographical preliminary in tabular form, is a comprehensive essay on all the main aspects of Poe's personality and art. The duality of his nature is the dominant factor, the wealth and power of his imagination on the one hand, the analytical strength of his exceptionally logical skill on the other. His imagination was fed by his extraordinarily sensitive nervous system which constantly brought the fear of death close to his consciousness, and his tales are rooted deep in his nature; even beyond the bounds of his conscious memory, if we are to believe the author, who accepts the psycho-analytical thesis of Marie Bonaparte that Poe's ideal heroine, the pale phthysic, frail young

woman with the large, dark eyes who figures so frequently in his tales, is his memory of his mother who died before he was three years old. Certain details in the figure as it appears in several of the tales might lend support to the thesis; though there still remains the possibility that Poe created the figure out of what he was told about his mother in childhood and suggestions he got from his own sensitive nature. His rational faculty, of which he was fully conscious, intermingled constantly with his imagination and gave his morbid dreams their well-known power. It informs his aesthetic theories as well, his insistence on effective brevity, on singleness of purpose, on intensity. His aesthetics are a formulation of his own genius, just as the best of the tales are a projection of his own individual personality, and not objectively epic. They are 'lyrical ballads' in a deep sense, as the second half of the introduction shows, in which the tales in the selection are discussed individually, with a great wealth of historical as well as critical observation, finishing with an extensive discussion of Poe's antiquated Johnsonese, rhetorical and essentially scientific style, which he, by the way, largely shared with most of his American contemporaries, and which today is one of the main factors among those which 'date' him and place him more and more distinctly in the ineffective past.

All in all, this selective edition of Poe's tales with its helpful, up-to-date philological and critical apparatus is a first-class piece of work and the best short contribution of its kind that has so far appeared on the Continent.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

Bernard Shaw, His Life, Work and Friends. By ST. JOHN ERVINE. London: Constable & Company. 1956. xii + 628 pp.

In the preface to this book St. John Ervine expresses his thanks to, *i. a.*, his former secretary, 'who patiently disentangled my ill-typed and disorderly script and replaced it by one that was seemly'. That largely confirms and explains the ramshackle structure, or lack of structure, of this memoir, its shapeless drift through the current of Shaw's life and its almost complete lack of the sense of time-sequence. It should not explain the often equally ramshackle English in which it is couched, the frequent repetitiousness and the incessant misprints. Forty years of close friendship with one of the great masters of English prose and one of the most meticulous craftsmen the history of literature knows has had no effect on his would-be biographer, and from this point of view alone Mr. Ervine has not erected a monument to his friend that Shaw could have been pleased with. Obviously the desire to have the book out on his 100th birthday caused it to be railroaded through the press at a speed far beyond the capacity of its author to cope with.

The book's sources are, besides the author's own reminiscences, a large number of letters to him from Shaw and various members of his family, friends, colleagues and other contemporaries, some of the large number of books and articles about Shaw and his world published since 1900, and the unpublished material such as note-books, diaries and memoranda in Shaw's hand now in the possession of the Public Trustee and the Society of Authors. It is mainly the material gained from this last source, as well as Shaw's letters not yet published, that give the book its distinctive value as a biography, while the pervasively personal and anecdotal tone of the whole, though it adds to its present readability, will, in the long run, probably add an endless series of problems as to facts and interpretation as well.

To begin with an early one. Ervine describes Shaw's mother as a disappointed, frustrated and embittered woman who heartlessly 'ran away from her husband' to London and had neither love nor understanding for her son. Archibald Henderson, who also knew the old lady, reports that she spoke of George with evident pride, though in playful irony. Shaw's own deep sense of respect and attachment to her are well known. Speaking of the early London years, Ervine figures out young Shaw's income and comes to the conclusion that he was far from living on his mother's meager pocket; though Henderson sees no reason to contradict Shaw's own words on the subject. In introducing Charlotte Payne-Townshend into the story, Ervine refers cryptically to 'a ruined romance with Axel Munthe, the author of "The Story of San Michele"' and 'her misadventure in love', where Henderson merely speaks of her early interest in medicine. On the other hand, Ervine, using an early note-book diary, gives us a more detailed picture of Shaw's 'love-life' than we have had before, supplementing the Mrs. Jenny Paterson mentioned by Shaw himself with half-a-dozen other ladies with whom his relations were more or less intimate. Ervine's comments hardly raise these various affairs to the plane of romance, just as his contribution to Shaw's so beautifully sketched picture of his platonic relations to May Morris is almost grotesque in its vulgarity. Only Shaw's late and sudden and short-lived infatuation for Mrs. Patrick Campbell does not suffer under this treatment and Ervine sees correctly the cautiousness of the lady in the whole affair. Shaw's peculiar relations with his own wife are very frankly discussed; though she refused to consummate the marriage, she was passionate enough to be profoundly disturbed by his affair with Mrs. Campbell, and the whole situation remains enigmatic.

Ervine's attitude is that of a personal friend and observer, and much of what he says about Shaw's relations to other people in his world is derived from the same source. Shaw's early years in Dublin are not essentially different in his picture than what they are in Hesketh Pearson's description, since both men were probably instructed by Shaw himself. The circle about William Morris stands out plastically because of the gossip Ervine had collected, and the Webbs receive exceptionally full treatment of a biographical as well as an impressionistic nature. The

story of H. G. Wells's attempt to change the policy and management of the Fabian Society and his feud with Shaw throw a sharp and surprising light on the younger man and put Shaw's mental and moral superiority into the strongest relief. His letter to Wells as printed here is one of Shaw's many epistolary masterpieces, while Wells's answer may fairly be put down as a disgrace. More important is Shaw's letter to the Charringtons in the mid-nineties, written at the beginning of his career as a dramatist and setting forth his earnestness as an artist and his principles as a craftsman. It is one of the finest letters he wrote and all the more important in this connection as his biographer, himself a colleague of the great dramatist, has so little of real value to say about Shaw's plays. His point of view is that of the contemporary, the average playgoer of the first decade of this century, and his opinion may have some importance today as history. But we are not much enriched by the statement that *Mrs. Warren's Profession* 'is an entirely moral play', and though Ervine himself complains that criticism of Shaw never takes his artistry into account, he has no more than the usual platitudes on the subject to say on his own part.

Still, in spite of all its shortcomings the book contains a great deal of matter of a personal kind that, judiciously used by a competent hand, will one day be of great value to the definitive biographer of the future — the far future. It gives a compelling impression of the immense variety and wealth of Shaw's life, of the vast importance of his mental activity in countless fields of modern existence, and of the almost superhuman comprehensiveness of his view. And as the tribute of a younger pupil and friend the book is a monument to the human qualities of the Master, his generosity, his patience, his kindness, his loyalty, his complete lack of spite or jealousy and his fundamental human charity.

Basel.

H. LÜDEKE.

Brief Mention

The Structure of Julius Caesar. By ADRIEN BONJOUR. With a preface by KENNETH MUIR. Liverpool University Press, 1958. viii + 81 pp. Price 12/6.

In this beautifully written essay, the title of which may be slightly misleading, Prof. Bonjour meticulously lays bare the double thread on which the action of this complicated play turns. The dominating figure is clearly Caesar, even after his death, but the 'hero' is Brutus, even before the murder; his stab breaks Caesar's resistance. Historically the two men were personal friends and, at the same time, political enemies, and the interfusion of these two spheres has tended to cloud most interpretations of the play. Bonjour has attempted to separate them. It is clear that Caesar was not, in Shakespeare's drama,

the tyrant who deserved, in the eyes of the Renaissance, to be put away by all means; even Brutus recognizes that, and the ghost would not have walked for a tyrant rightfully killed. Caesar's spirit is restless because of the unexpiated wrong done him in the other sphere, in his friendship for Brutus, who sacrificed this friendship for a preventive political assassination. He kills Caesar not for what he is, but for what he may become if allowed to live, and his own death is the only possible atonement for this spiritual murder.

Thus Bonjour's main argument is clear, firm and convincing. The attempts to hook up motifs with the central theme, however, are not so successful. As so often happens in criticism of this kind, the little gold there is is beaten out so thin that it can serve only a decorative purpose. The fact remains that Caesar's first public utterances show a mastermind distinctly in decline. Calpurnia's sterility might be a State matter for a legal monarch or for Napoleon who had to bolster up his position; but Caesar was a supreme political boss who already had a son, even if an adopted one, ready to assume his father's succession. — H. L.

Alemannisch-nordgermanisches Wortgut. By EDUARD KOLB.
Beiträge zur schweizerdeutschen Mundartforschung, VI, 1956,
Frauenfeld, Huber.

For some decades it has been known that Alemannic and Norse share a number of words which do not occur in other Gmc. dialects. Most of these words have however been shown to be relics and to prove nothing as to a former closer contact between these dialects. Dr. Kolb set himself the task of collecting only those words which are not found in any other Gmc. dialects. This he has done with extraordinary care and caution and unflagging energy. One has the impression that here the material is collected once and for all. Apart from three dozen key examples, all adjectives and nouns, which Dr. Kolb examines in concise and closely reasoned monographs, there are over a hundred words of a more doubtful nature. Of the twenty chief nouns nearly all are confined to small areas in the most conservative Alem. dialects. They denote mainly things connected with animals, forestry or building. Nearly all are plainly relic words even in Alem. and Norse and many are obsolete. The question arises whether such material proves at all that once Alem. and Norse were in particular proximity which led to the development of a common stock of words. Dr. Kolb thinks it does. In view of the geographic situation and conservative character of these dialects which alone might suffice to explain why these words are only found there and not in other Gmc. dialects, doubts remain. However, Dr. Kolb's work in collecting and examining in expert and lucid manner the relevant material deserves unstinted praise and admiration. A similar comparison between English and this German dialect might also bring interesting material to light, although it would probably only prove the value of peripheral and conservative dialects as hunting-grounds for the moribund elements of vocabulary.

Manchester.

R. E. KELLER.

Books Received

1958

Chaucer's Troilus. A Study in Courtly Love. By T. A. KIRBY. Gloucester, Mass., Peter Smith. (Reprinted from 1940 edition of Louisiana State University Press.) xi + 337 pp.

From Jane Austen to Joseph Conrad. Essays Collected in Memory of JAMES T. HILLHOUSE. Edited by R. C. RATHBURN and M. STEINMANN, Jr. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. ix + 326 pp. Price \$ 5.75.

Tulane Studies in English. Volume VIII. Edited by A. TAYLOR. New Orleans: Tulane University 192 pp. Price \$ 2.00.

Ideas into Action. A Study of Pound's Cantos. By C. EMERY. (University of Miami Publications in English and American Literature. Number III. November 1958.) Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press. ix + 196 pp. Price \$ 4.50.

English Pronunciation. The Relationship between Pronunciation and Orthography. By W. FRIEDERICH. Translated from the German by R. A. MARTIN. London: Longmans, Green and Co. xvi + 80 pp. Price 4s. 3d.

The Pronunciation of English. By DANIEL JONES. With 43 Illustrations. Fourth Edition, Revised and Enlarged. Reprinted, with minor corrections. Cambridge, at the University Press. xxiv + 223 pp. [Cf. *E. S.*, Febr. 1957.]

English Intonation, its Form and Function. By M. SCHUBIGER. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag [i-iv] 112 pp. DM 9.50.

The Groundwork of English Stress. By R. KINGDON. London: Longmans, Green and Co., xv + 224 pp. Price 15/—.

The Groundwork of English Intonation. By R. KINGDON. London: Longmans, Green and Co. xxxi + 272 pp. Price 18/—.

English Intonation Practice. By R. KINGDON. London: Longmans, Green and Co. xxi + 184 pp. Price 6/—.

1959

Beowulf: An Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn. By R. W. CHAMBERS. With a Supplement by C. L. WRENN. Third Edition, Cambridge: at the University Press. xvii + 628 pp. Price 55/— net.

The Art of Beowulf. By A. G. BRODEUR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. ix + 283 pp. Price \$ 4.50.

Beowulf. Eine Auswahl... von M. LEHNERT. Dritte verbesserte Auflage (Sammlung Göschen Band 1135.) Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 135 pp. DM 3.60.

Studies in Heroic Legend and in Current Speech. By KEMP MALONE. Edited by S. EINARSSON and N. E. ELIASON. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. 297 pp. Price Dan. Kr. 48 (cloth Dan. Kr. 56.).

The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book. Edited, with an Introduction and Translation, by J. J. CAMPBELL. Princeton University Press. x + 137 pp. Price \$ 3.75.

Old English Grammar. By A. CAMPBELL. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. xi + 423 pp. Price 42/— net.

Altenglisches Elementarbuch. Von M. LEHNERT. Vierte, verbesserte Auflage. (Sammlung Göschen Band 1125). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 178 pp. DM 3.60.

The Old English Prudentius Glosses at Boulogne-sur-Mer. Edited by H. D. MERITT. Stanford University Press. xiv + 158 pp. Price \$ 3.00.

The Salisbury Psalter. Edited from Salisbury Cathedral MS. 150 by CELIA SISAM and KENNETH SISAM. [E.E.T.S. No. 242.] Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press. xi + 312 pp. Price 84/— net.

Prowess and Charity in the Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes. By D. C. FOWLER. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 81 pp. Price \$ 3.00.

Design in Chaucer's Troilus. By S. B. MEECH. Syracuse University Press. xii + 529 pp. Price \$ 10.00.

MS. Booley 959. Genesis-Baruch 3.20 in the Earlier Version of the Wycliffite Bible. Volume I: Genesis & Exodus. Edited by C. LINDBERG. (Stockholm Studies in English, VI.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell. 213 pp. Price Sw. Kr. 25.—.

Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries. Ed. by R. H. ROBBINS. New York: Columbia University Press. xlvii + 440 pp. Price \$ 7.50.

Abriss der Mittenglischen Grammatik. Von K. BRUNNER. Vierte verbesserte Auflage. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer. 114 pp. DM 4.60.

Middle English Dictionary. H. KURATH. Editor, S. M. KUHN, Associate Editor. Part C. 1. Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.: The University of Michigan Press. 126 pp. Price. \$ 3.00.

A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue. Part XVIII, *Knot—Law.* Edited by A. J. AITKEN. Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A.: The University of Chicago Press. 481-600 pp. Price \$ 7.50.

The Place-Names of Derbyshire. By K. CAMERON. (English Place-Name Society, Volume XXIX.) Part One: lxxiv + 185 pp. Part Two: 187-514. Part Three: viii, 515-829. Cambridge University Press. Price 35/— each Part.

The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey. By GEORGE CAVENDISH. Edited by R. S. SYLVESTER. [E.E.T.S. No. 243.] Published for the Early English Text Society by the Oxford University Press. xli + 304 pp. Price 35/— net.

The Sonnets of William Alabaster. Edited by G. M. STORY and H. GARDNER. (Oxford English Monographs, Vol. 7.) Oxford University Press. liv + 65 pp. Price 18s. net.

Studies in the English Renaissance Drama. In Memory of K. J. HOLZKNECHT. Edited by J. W. BENNETT, O. CARGILL, V. HALL, Jr. New York: New York University Press. xxvi + 368 pp. Price \$ 6.00.

Shakespeare Survey 12. Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge: at the University Press. x + 164 pp. Price 25s. net.

Shakespeare and the Artist. By W. MOELWYN MERCHANT. London: Oxford University Press. xxx + 254 pp. Price £5. 5s. net.

Le Roi Henri VI. Deuxième Partie. Traduction de F. SAUVAGE & A. KOSZUL. (Collection Shakespeare, Texte et Traduction, Publiée sous la Direction de A. KOSZUL.) Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres. xxiv + 251 pp.

This is the last play that André Koszul translated and edited for the series that he had directed since its beginning.

Richard the Third 1597. (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 12.) Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. ix + facsimile. Price 25s. net.

Richard III. Edited by JOHN DOVER WILSON. (The Cambridge Pocket Shakespeare.) Cambridge: at the University Press. 161 pp. Price 5/— net.

All's Well That Ends Well. Edited by E. K. HUNTER. (The Arden Shakespeare.) London: Methuen & Co. lix + 152 pp. Price 18s. net.

Timon of Athens. Edited by H. J. OLIVER. (The Arden Shakespeare.) London: Methuen & Co. lii + 155 pp. Price 18s. net.

John Donne. Di MARIO PRAZ. Torino: Editrice S.A.I.E. 227 pp.

Donne & the Drurys. By R. C. BALD. Cambridge: at the University Press. x + 176 pp. Price 30s. net.

Richard Crashaw. A study in style and poetic development. By R. C. WALLERSTEIN. Second Printing. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press. 160 pp. Price \$ 1.25.

First published in 1935.

Richard Steele's Periodical Journalism 1714-16. Edited by RAE BLANCHARD. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. xxviii + 346 pp. Price 42s. net.

The Literary Works of Matthew Prior. Edited by H. B. WRIGHT and M. K. SPEARS. Volume I, liii + 722; Volume II, viii, 723-1094. Clarendon Press.: Oxford University Press. Price 126/— net.

Bicentenary Essays on Rasselas. Collected by M. WAHBA. Supplement to Cairo Studies in English. 123 pp.

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Samuel Rogers and William Gilpin. Their Friendship and Correspondence. By C. P. BARBIER. Oxford University Press. xii + 106 pp. Price 16s. net.

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The Distribution and Frequency of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in *Kyng Alisaunder* and *Arthour and Merlin*

In his recent edition of *Kyng Alisaunder* (EETS OS 227 and 237) G. V. Smithers draws attention to the Scandinavian element in the vocabulary of the poem which he finds is 'striking, since it is rather larger, and includes rather more recondite words, than might have been expected in a SE. text' (ii, p. 58). A number of Scandinavian words are added to illustrate this feature.

Smithers' brief statement is of considerable interest and in the following lines a closer examination into the proportion of Scandinavian and native words in the vocabulary of *Kyng Alisaunder* (KA) will be made. The related romance *Arthour and Merlin* (A & M) has been included. The investigation is expected to serve several useful purposes. It may for one thing help to explain the northern element in the vocabulary of the texts. It may furthermore be an aid to solving the intricate problem of their relationship, whether they had a single author (Smithers' view) or not. And it will fill a gap in the material offered by Rynell in *The Rivalry of Scandinavian and native Synonyms in Middle English, especially 'taken' and 'nimen'* (Lund Studies in English XIII, 1948) and be expected to throw some light on the SE vocabulary of about the year 1300. Finally, though this is a minor point, it will testify to the Scandinavian character of this anniversary number of *English Studies*.

In the examination undertaken below, Rynell's arrangement of the material has in the main been followed. In relevant cases, comparisons have been drawn between KA and A & M, on the one hand, and especially *King Horn* (KH), on the other, which text, though apparently earlier than the other two (dated c. 1225, or somewhat earlier), seems to belong to about the same dialectal area (Jordan, *Handbuch*, § 5: Essex or Middlesex, possibly London; cf. Rynell, p. 274). The headings as a rule give the spellings found in KA.

Only such instances have generally been considered in KA where agreement is seen between at least two of the MSS. In A & M it is as a rule only the *rhymes* that have been dealt with. Kölbing's edition of A & M has been utilized (*Altenglische Bibliothek* 4, 1890) as also Liedholm's *A phonological Study of the Middle English romance 'Arthour and Merlin'* (Uppsala, 1941). Dr Liedholm's study corroborates the accepted localization of the poem: SE and most likely Essex or London (cf. *ibid.*, p. 180).

The MSS of KA have been named as in Smithers' edition: B = Laud Misc. 622 of the Bodleian Library, L = Lincoln's Inn 150, and A = Auchinleck MS. Of these B, which was copied out in or near London (Smithers, ii, p. 56), is the superior manuscript, whereas the south-western MS L (cf. MED: Plan and Bibliography), which contains many corrupt readings, is slightly defective, and A only fragmentary. B and L date from the late fourteenth century (cf. Smithers ii, pp. 2-3) and A, which also contains the A&M text, appears to have been copied out in 1327. The original of KA was written some time between c. 1250 and 1327 (cf. Smithers ii, p. 44) and in Smithers' view this must have been done in London — not in Essex (cf. *ibid.*, p. 40 ff.).

It may be useful to point out here that some of the words of Scandinavian origin in KA are doubtless northern. The following are to be considered authentic: *byggeynge* (ON *byggja*) 7165 B, *droupe* (ON *drúpa*) 4454 B, *tyne* (ON *týna*) 3227 L, and *til* with its compounds *in-tyl* 6235 B and *þertil -tyl* 2235 B L, 4400 B L. *Spirred* (OE *spyrian*, ON *spyrja*) 2553 L is a more doubtful case. The B MS has *spyep* (OF *espier*) and, if this is the authentic word, *spirred* in L should be looked upon as due to the activity of some northern scribe. In fact, such northern influence is noticeable in all the MSS (v. *infra*), including the Auchinleck version of A&M (cf. Liedholm, pp. 123 and 180 ff.). *Ra(a)s* 7824 B L A does not belong here, as is obvious from the existence of *res* in *Seven Sages* 2381, another text of the KA group, where it rhymes on *faderles*; it is due to OE *ræ̃s*.

We get the following picture of the distribution and frequency of Scandinavian and native synonyms in the texts under consideration:

agein - azein(s), azeyn(e)(s), azen(e), aȝan, aȝaines, oȝain(es) (A).

In KA only 3-forms are found, whether in rhyme (14x and 3x when B is the only MS) or in the body of the line. KH has 3-forms (Rynell, p. 294), which is also the case with A&M (oȝ- ab. 40x r) except in line 1986 where *ogain* (:swain) is used. In their use of the 3-forms our texts agree with the S (and SWMidl.) before the time of Chaucer; exceptional *ogain*, which need not be authentic, will agree with the EMidl. Cf. Rynell, *loc. cit.*

ay - o.

Agreement between the MSS of KA in their use of the Scand. word is seen 4x, once in a rhyme (6278) where B also adds the native word: *o ne ay* (:domesday). A&M has *ay* twice in rhyme (1337, 5337), but no exs of *o* are found. Both words appear to be rare in southern texts and Rynell's material only offers *a.o* from the *Trinity Homilies* and *ay* from the *Canterbury Tales* (*ibid.*, p. 295). Our texts may agree with the EMidl.; the SW MS L of KA shows resemblances to texts from Hereford (Herebert; MS L of KH).

awe - *ay*, *eize*.

These words are only found in A&M where both are evidenced in rhyme: *awe* 6000 (:yslawe); *ay* 255 (:say), *eize* 6419 (:weize 'way'). In Rynell's material only the native word is found in southern texts before the time of the *Canterbury Tales*. Both words occur in the EMidl. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 295).

benk - *benche*.

The native word is instanced in rhymes both in KA and A&M: KA 7574 (:s(c)henche B L), A&M 2315 (:senche (OE *scencan*)) and 6533 (:penche), but the Scand. word does not occur. *Benche* is the word chiefly used in the S (KH 3xr) and WMidl. (cf. Rynell, p. 298).

bond (ON *band*) - *bend*.

The pl. *bondes* -is occurs within the line in MSS B and L of KA 3935, whereas *bende* pl. is instanced only in B, though it is there used as a rhyme-word in a passage which is corrupt in L: 697 (:hende pret. (OE *gehendan*, ON *henda*)). A&M has the Scand. word 3x in rhyme: 1260 (:stond), 1618 (:hond), and 4612 (:hond), but offers no insts of the corresponding native word. A&M will agree with the EMidl.; as for KA we notice that *bond* before the time of Chaucer exceptionally occurs in the S beside *bend* (cf. Rynell, p. 297).

bope - *bo(o)*, *beye*.

The MSS of KA agree about 40x in their common use of *bope*, whereas *bo(o)* is only found in 4557 B (:also) and, in a conclusive rhyme, in 6753 B L (:two). *Beye* is only found in a rhyme in B (7382: *medleye*) where L reads *bope* (:wrope), which leaves us in doubt. *Bope* is not only found in the body of the verse, it is also evidenced in rhymes in both MSS: 2231 (:tope), 2255 (:wrope), 7425 (:wrope). It is also exceedingly common in A&M (more than 90 insts); in rhyme *bope* occurs 5x beside *bo* 5x and *baye* 1x (1528). Rynell's material for KH offers 1 rhymed and 3 unrhymed insts of *bope*, but apart from MS L none of *bo* or *beye* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 275). KA seems to agree with what may be expected for the S, whereas the figures for the rhymes of A&M bear some resemblance to those given by Rynell for the (S)WMidl. (cf. *ibid.*, p. 298). It is possible that *bope* is of native origin; for literature, see *ibid.*, p. 14, footnote.

brenne - *barne*, *berne*.

The former is the commoner of the two in the B and L MSS of KA where it occurs 16x at the same places in both; but apart from one case where B is unique (4872), it is only found once in a rhyme: *brennyng* 1909 B L: *helpyng* B L, which does not admit of any conclusions. The native word is generally found in rhymes only in one of the MSS, viz. at 895 B (*ybarnd*: *y-arned*), 2699 B (*forbarnd*: *y-zarnd*), 4349 B (*barnd*: *arnd*),

and 5352 L (*bernyng: endyng*). In 7550, however, it occurs in both MSS: *barne: warne* B, *berne: werne* L. The last rhyme seems to indicate that the native word was used and in this direction may also possibly point the rhyme *brent: y-eornd* 4318 L (corresp. 4349 B). *Brenne* is once found in a rhyme in A & M: 1664 (:mene), and the same is the case with *berne*: 2310 (:Ygerne). Both must presumably be considered authentic. The copyist himself preferred the *br*-forms (once with the vowel *i*), which are found 29x in A & M (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-15). *Berne* -*ar*-will agree with the S, but considerable vacillation is seen in the use of these words in Rynell's material (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 300-01). The *br*-forms in KA apparently show influence from the EMidl., which later made itself felt in the *Canterbury Tales*. These forms in MS L of KA bear stronger resemblance to the EMidl., CWMidl. and NWMidl. than the SWMidl. or the S.

breſt - berſte.

No agreement is seen between the MSS of KA, the *br*-forms being used by B and the *ber*-forms by L. The rhyme *to-brast* 3908 B (*to-barst* L): *agast* B L is not conclusive since *-rst* seems to have been a legitimate rhyme on *-st* (cf. Smithers ii, notes on 1341 and 5089). The Scand. word, however, may obtain some slight support from the form (*To*) *preſt* (OE *præſtan*, ON *prysta*) 930 L for *Tobrusten* in B. The Auchinleck MS of A & M has *br*-forms only, whether in rhyme (*tobrast* 3260: *caſt, braſt* 2334: *arſt*, and *tobraſt* 8488: *arſt*) or not, and KH has *berſte* twice in rhyme (cf. Rynell, p. 275). The MSS so far agree with the SWMidl. or the S (L) and the EMidl. or London (B A).

calle - clepe(n).

The native word is by far the commoner in the MSS of KA, which in their use of this word agree ab. 38x, but it is not used as a rhyme-word. *Calle* occurs twice only, but in both cases in rhyme: 3648 'shout taunts at': *alle* (L (SW) inferior *quelle: alle*) and 6755 'name': *alle* (L *callip: alle*). The case is about the same with A & M where the copyist prefers *cl*-, but uses *calle* 'summon, call' as a rhyme-word (on *alle* in 509, 2786, 4036, 8388 and on *halle* in 1374 and 3549). The Scand. word is undoubtedly authentic, and will agree with the EMidl. (and the North). KH has *clup(i)e* and in the *Canterbury Tales* *clepe(n)* occurs about twice as often as *calle(n)* (see Rynell, p. 318).

carl - cherle, cheorl.

Only the native word is found in KA, once within the line (5589 B) and three times in rhyme: 6739 (*cherles* (B) *cheorlis* (L): *erles* (B) *eorlis* (L)), 7111 (*cherle, cheorl. erle eorl*), 7805 (*cherles cheorlis cherls* (A): *erles eorlis erls* (A)). The OED records no *ar*-forms for 'earl' in ME, neither does the MED, and the native word may accordingly be considered authentic. The form is likewise *cherl* in A & M, where in a

rhymed position it occurs at 1506 (:erl). This is the southern (also EMidl.) form; cf. *Rynell*, p. 319.

deic, *day(e)*, *dy(3)e* - *sterue(n)*, *steorue* (L); *swelt*.

St- occurs 17x in KA when its two principal MSS correspond, including 3x when it rhymes on *serue*: 1595, 3065, 7749. Besides, it is used by B in 5117 (*starf*: *carf*), where L is missing. *Swelt* B *aswelt* L pres. (used of fire) is found in 6629, where it rhymes on *melt* B *malt* L (OE *meltan* -ie-), and *forswelt* B *swelt* L pp. occurs at 7553 in a rhyme on *gylt* B *gult* L (OE *gylt*) implying SE *e* < *y*. Both *st-* and *sw-* are thus to be considered authentic. The Scand. word occurs 3x in convincing rhymes in the MSS of KA: *deie* B *dy3e* L 3440: *pleie* B *play* L in a series of rhymes on *ai(ei)*, *day(e)* B L 4276: *pray(e)*, and *deye* B *dye* L 6559: *ennoye* B *anoye* L, which testify to the word being authentic. In A & M the pret. of *sterue* is evidenced 3x in rhymes on *carf k-*: 5982, 8142 and 9786, whereas the Scand. word is attested twice: *day* 2100: *say* and *die* (MS *duie*) 9730: *heye* (OE *higian*). The copyist himself prefers the *st-*forms. *Swelten* is not used in A & M. The distribution of these words may agree with the S, though there is a good deal of vacillation. In KH and the *Canterbury Tales* *deye dye(n)* is more frequent than *sterue(n)*, see *Rynell*, p. 302.

drem - *sweuene*, *metyng* 'dream' sb.

Only the native words occur in the MSS of KA, where *metyng* is used 3x (in non-conclusive rhymes on -ing: 261, 327, 346; besides in 5701 B (:botyng) where L is missing) and *sweuene* 2x, once in a conclusive rhyme on *steuene* (506). The Scand. word is also lacking from A & M where *meteing* is used 2x, once in a rhyme on -ing 3796 (:king), and *sweuen* 2x, though not in rhyme. Our texts agree with the S; cf. *Rynell*, p. 303.

drunen - (a)*drenche*.

The native word occurs 3x in the MSS of KA, twice in a rhymed position: *adreynt* 3717: *feynt* and *adrencheþ* B *drenchip* L 4476: *astaunchep* B *schenchep* (inferior) L, though the latter may possibly only be a rhyme on the infl. syllable (cf. *Smithers* ii, p. 120). The Scand. word is not found. A & M also has only the native word, which occurs once in a rhyme: *fordreinte* 7714: *pleinte*. The two texts here show agreement with the S. KH uses *adrenche adrent* (3r) and *adrinke* (2r), cf. *Rynell*, pp. 275 and 304.

dwelle, *duelle* - *woneþ*, *wu-*.

To what extent these words in KA should be looked upon as Scand. and native synonyms is doubtful since the former is used in the sense of 'to linger, wait, remain' (cf. the senses of OE *dwellan*, *dwelian* in OED sub *Dwell*, v.) and the latter (OE *wunian*) occurs in the sense of 'to dwell, live'. *Dwelle du-* is found 4x in conclusive rhymes in KA: 225, 230,

1135, 3139 (besides in 5199 B r on *-yng*), *wonen wu-* 6x (plus 4x when B is unique), though only twice in what seem to be conclusive rhymes: *woneþ -iþ* 6162: *s(c)honeþ* and *wones* 6448: *sones* (besides also in *woneþ: shoneþ* 4909 B). A & M generally also makes the same distinction as to the meanings of these words, but offers no conclusive rhymes, the only cases that have been found being 5 rhymes on *-ing* (only in respect of *duel(l)ing*). The words are about equal in number in A & M, whereas agreement between the MSS of KA with respect to *wonen wu-* is seen 15x, and with respect to *dwelle du-* 6x, including once (7777) when A substitutes *bileued*. In Rynell's material from the South KH has 3 *wun(i)e* and 1 *dwelle* (r), the latter being used in the sense of 'to stay'. *Dwelle* prevails in the *Canterbury Tales* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 305).

egg - eye, ay.

The native word occurs 4x at corresponding places in the MSS of KA, including the cpd *eye-shelle* 574 B (*ay* L), whereas *egges* is only instanced in 4675 L, where B has *ayren*. The Scand. word in the SW manuscript L is of considerable interest since it seems to have come in from the N, where it is regularly used. It is also possible that it is authentic. The other texts afford no material for comparison. Cf. Rynell, p. 305.

felawe - yfere.

The Scand. word is 8x the common property of the MSS of KA, including once when it is used in the cpd *felaurede felaw-* (6829). It is well attested in rhymes: 1955, 2251, 2732, 3812, 3966, 6492, and is thus to be considered authentic. The native word occurs once in both MSS (6896), rhyming on *chere*, and is thus also to be considered the form used by the author. The L scribe prefers the native word in *ferde* 96 L (: *thede*) and *ferhede* 3041 L (: *Mede*), where B has *felawrede -au-*. Both words are represented about equally often in the rhymes of A & M, each being used ab. 15x. In the body of the verse *fere* is much better represented than *felawe* (ab. 46x against 8x) and the same applies to its occurrence in the cpd *ferred(e) -rade* (ab. 16x) as compared with *felaw(e)red* (4x), but this is of less interest. In *King Horn* Rynell has counted 17 (*i*)*fere* (9r), 1 *verade* and 6 *felaze felawe* (4r), but there appears to have been a good deal of vacillation as to the use of these words in ME; cf. *ibid.*, p. 306.

flon - flen 'flay'.

The only insts that have been found are *yflawe* pp. 894 (: *todrawe*) and *flen* inf. 1733 (: *slen*) in the MSS of KA. The word will agree with the S; cf. Rynell, p. 306.

fro - from (fram).

The native word (*from*) is by far the commoner in the MSS of KA where agreement is seen ab. 40x; *fram* occurs as an adv. (sense: 'upwards')

in 387, rhyming on *ram*, but in other cases the vowel *a* is exceptional (*f_ram* 6126 L). No other rhymes have been found. The Scand. word occurs 5x in both MSS (B L), once in a rhyme: *f_ro* 1951 (:do). A & M uses *f_ro* and, in the great majority of the cases, *f_ram*. In rhymes, however, there are no great divergences, the former being found 5x and the latter 6x. The vowel *a* seems to be authentic in this word in A & M, whether the word is used as an adv. or not: 1828 (:man), 2688 (:nam), 4466 (:nam), 7112: *þan*, 5272 (:men; presumably for *man* pl.). For the last form and for *f_rem* 3915: *men*, cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 5. This distribution of forms may agree more or less with the S; Rynell's figures for KH are 11 *f_ram* and 1 *f_ro(r)*, but there is a good deal of vacillation in his texts (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 307-8).

geten - *zeme(n)* 'guard, take charge of, keep'.

þemyng is recorded in MS B of KA 4906 where it rhymes on *outelyng*, but the form, obviously, does not admit of any conclusions. A & M makes occasional use of *zeme(n)* -*ing*, which is once found in a conclusive rhyme: 4397: *reme* (OE *rȳman*). — As a sb. *zeme* 'heed' is evidenced in a rhyme on *reme* 7409 (L inferior *renne*) KA and in a rhyme on *flem* 497 A & M. No insts of the corresponding Scand. equivalent *gome* are found. The native words will agree with the S; cf Rynell, pp. 309, 313.

geten - *bizete*, *f_ror* -.

The MSS of KA agree 13x when using the native cpds; in rhymes in 320 (*bizete by* - *wete* B *wot* (mistake) L), 6930 (*f_rorzete*: *wyte* B *y-wite* L), and 6856 L A (*r* on -*ing*) where B has a divergent reading. In addition, *bizete* (*byzate* L) is used as a sb. in the sense of 'booty' in 2136. The Scand. word is not recorded. A & M has *gett(e)* in 885 and 4025, but conclusions as to its authenticity cannot be drawn. In the other cases only *z*-forms are used in A & M, in rhymes ab. 15x, e.g. *bizete* 628 (:hete), *f_rorzat* 1857 (:flat). The simple verb occurs in 8895 (*zat*), but its position admits of no conclusions; the cpd *bizate* -*e*- is fairly often evidenced as a sb., once in the sense of 'gain' (*bizete* 7655 :lete). The copyist may or may not be responsible for the Scand. word *gett(e)* in A & M, which points to the EMidl.; the native cpds are representative of the S and SWMidl., though not restricted to these areas; cf. Rynell, p. 310.

giuen - *zeue(n)*, *ziue(n)* -*y* -.

The native *z*-forms are common to the MSS of KA ab. 70x and are evidenced in rhymes in 1676 *f_rorzyue* B -*e*- L: *lyue* B *leuiþ* L and 4645 *yziue* B -*e*- L: *lyue* B *lif* L; besides in 5833 (*zaue*: *staue*), where L is missing. L has the vowel *e* in this word, whereas B uses *i* except in 5220 (*þeuen*) and in 5923 (*zeuet*). The Scand. word has not been found except in the late M text. A & M does not exhibit the Scand. word either, but only makes use of the native word, which is sometimes spelt with *i* and sometimes with *e*. It is evidenced in rhymes on *liue*: 1590 (*f_ror* -),

2456, 4148, 4153, 4911, 6570, 6575, 8982 (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 25), and is frequently found in the body of the verse. The corresponding sb. is *gift(e)* (*zefþe zeftis* (pl.) (L)): KA 3x (1r) and A&M 2r. So far the texts agree with the S; cf. Rynell, pp. 311-12.

gres - gras

The native word is evidenced in KA at 2370 B L (within the line) and 4102 B L (:was), and is thus very likely authentic. The other word occurs in 299 B, *gres-grene*, which, however, has no support from the presumably corrupt but interesting L reading *garsle* (cf. OED sub *Garsil north. dial. grene*). In A&M both words are evidenced in the following rhymes (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12): *gres* 7972 (:pres), *gras* 9830 (:was); the former is to be considered authentic. The *e*-form is presumably native in the *gers(e) gerze* of *Ayenbite* and in *gres* in early southern texts (cf. Rynell, pp. 313, 314), and this may possibly also be the case with KA and A&M. *Gras* is the form used in KH and by Chaucer (CT) (*ibid.*).

haiþen - heþen.

The native form occurs 4x in the MSS of KA (once also in *heþenes(se)* 'heathendom' 3130). It is frequently instanced in A&M where it is found in conclusive rhymes (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 73). No insts are found of the Scand. word, which in ME is attested in the N; cf. Rynell, p. 314.

hare - her(e) 'hair'.

In KA *her(e)* is common to B and A 2x (6866, 7873), and is found once in a rhyme in B and L: *her(e)* 1999 B L: *swer* B *swire* L (OE *swēora*). It occurs 2x in rhymes in B when that MS is unique: 5026, 5256. For *here* 4619 L (:to-tare pret.), B has *haar* in a rhyme on *taar* and it has recourse to the same word in 5016 and 5024 (*har(e)*). This is presumably not the Scand. word, but a case among others where the East Saxon development of OE *æ* > *ā* is reflected. That the Scand. word was not unknown to the author of KA might, on the other hand, possibly be inferred from the existence of the form *hors* in a corrupt passage in L ('Pannes bete and hors turnyng' 2782), where B has the mistaken word *hondes* ('Palms beten, hondes tiryng'). It is here used to render OF *cheuelz* (cf. Smithers ii, p. 104, note on 2796). In the rhymes of A&M the native word is used in 858 (*here: tere*), 5815 (*here: totere*) and, with the vowel-sound *ā*, in 7715 (*hare: tare*). Rynell's material includes *hores* from the NWMidl. (*Cleanness*), whereas the native word is stated to be used in the S (and as a rule in the Midl.); cf. *ibid.*, p. 315.

hernes - brayn.

The MSS of KA agree 4x when using the native word and have it once in a rhyme: 2357 (:mayn) which is identical with that of A&M 9432 (*brain: main*). The Scand. word is not used except in the cpd *hern*

panne (:anne) 5762 A & M. Rynell's material offers this word from the N and also from a Norfolk dictionary (*Promptorium Parvulorum*); cf *ibid.* p. 315. The native word agrees with the S.

hundrep - *hundred* (*id.*, *-ud*, *-od*).

The Scand. word is used by MS B of KA, the native one by MSS L and A. To judge from the material collected, there is agreement between the MSS only twice, and then the native word is used: 1110 B L and 1395 B L (as a pl. (*-is*) in L). This seems to point to the native word being original. Beside these, *hundre* is also occasionally met with (prob. ON, see OED sub *Hundred*, sb. and a.; but cf. Jordan, *Handbuch*, § 200 Anm. 3), in rhymes in 1401 *hundre* B *hundred* L: *wondre* (sb.) B *wondir* (sb.) L and 5384 B (:wonder) where a portion of L is missing. *Hundred* is well represented in A & M, but it does not appear in rhyme. *Hunder*, on the other hand, is used as a rhyme-word in 7789: *wonder*. In Rynell's material (*ibid.*, p. 316) *hundred* is the southern, SWMidl. and EMidl. form, whereas *hundrep* is instanced in the N, and, beside *hundred*, in the NWMidl. and CWMidl. The regularity with which *hundrep* occurs in the B MS of KA is noteworthy (ab. 55x), even if the form cannot be proved to be authentic. The rhyme *honder*: *wunder* -o- also occurs in KH (*ibid.*, p. 276 (with references)).

ille, *ylle* - *yuel* B, *e(o)uel(e)* L, *iuel* A 'evil'.

The MSS of KA agree at least 10x in their use of the native word (in 7001 also in A), whereas the Scand. word is found once only, but in a significant rhyme: *ylle* (sb.) 1145 B *ille* L: *stille* B L. Both words occur in A & M, where *ille* rhymes 3x (184: *wille*, 6593: *bifelle*, 6963: *wille*), and *iuel*, which is the form preferred by the copyist, 1x (8987: *a-diuel* 'flat, headlong'). Rynell's material for the South (*ibid.*, pp. 316-17) gives the Scand. word as a rhyme-word in *the Owl and the Nightingale* (2x) (beside the native word) and in *King Horn* (2x). In Chaucer it is only used as a characteristic of Northern speech.

ille - *se(e)k*, *yuel*, *euel* 'ill, sick'.

Se(e)k occurs in a rhyme in MSS B and L of KA: *seek* 6984 B *sek* L: *glyk* B L (A missing) and in the cpd *sek(e)nesse* 5 B L. The native synonym *yuel* (*euel* L) is also found: 1244 *yuel* at *aise*. A & M offers both the Scand. and native words: (*sori* and *eke*) *ille* 4528: *stille*; the native word, however, has not been found in rhyme apart from what is seen in *sekeling* 2736: *king* which has been derived from OE *siclian* (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 77). The Scand. word is only evidenced in the N in Rynell's material (p. 317), though sometimes doubt may arise in which sense ('sick' or 'evil') it is actually used.

kirke - *chirche*.

Only the native word is found; the B and L MSS of KA agree 2x

(1036, 4740), and A & M has the word 3x in rhyme: *chirche* 51 and 658: *wirche*, 710: *enserche*. This is the form used in the S; cf. Rynell, p. 320.

knijf - *sax*.

The Scand. word is common to the MSS of KA 3x; twice it is found in rhyme: *knijf* 1059 B *knyf* L: *lijf* B *lyf* L and *knyue* 7188 B *knyf* L *kniue* A: *dryue* B L *driue* A. In A & M *knijf* rhymes 5x on *liif*: 4499, 6631, 6949, 7431, 9087. This is the form generally used in the S (thus KH and the *Canterbury Tales*); cf. Rynell, p. 321.

law(3)e - *e*.

The Scand. word is the only one used in KA, where agreement between the MSS is seen 8x, including 6 rhymes: 1433 (:dawes 'days'), 1770, 4392, 4619, 7043, 7212. This word is also well represented in the rhymes of A & M where it has been found 13x (366, 491, 735, etc.); the spelling *lay* in A & M, (rhyming in 906 on *nay*) 'divine law', however, points to OFr *lei*. In their use of the Scand. word our texts agree with the S; cf. Rynell, p. 323.

leg(ge) - *schanke*.

There are no insts of the native word in our texts, where only the Scand. word has been found: *leg(ges)* KA (B and L) 944 and 1807. A & M offers no rhymes; *legge* A & M 5673: *rigge* does not belong here (see OED, *ledge*, sb.). Cf. Rynell, p. 324.

leuene - *leyte*.

The native word (OE *lēget(u)*, *lig-*) is recorded in 3453 B (:awayte), where L, in a corrupt passage, has *lyze* (OE *lieg* *lēg* 'flame') (:syze), and in 6989 A & M (*laite*: *awaite*). It may thus be considered authentic at least in A & M. It is (like *lyze*) the form found in the S (and WMidl.) (cf. Rynell, p. 324).

liften - *hebben*.

No insts have been found in KA. A & M has the Scand. word 5x in rhyme: *aleft* 552: *eft*, *lift* 8131: *smit* and 8978: *left* 'left hand', *left* 9035: *left* 'left hand', *lift* 9775: *glift*, and uses the native synonym once as a rhyme-word: *hef* pret.: 5193 *bref*. Rynell's material for the S does not offer the Scand. word before the time of Chaucer. A & M seems here to agree with the EMidl. Cf. Rynell, pp. 324-25.

lipe - *listnen -u- -e-*, (*y*)*lest*.

The native word occurs 13x in the MSS of KA; in rhyme at 38, 656, 6502 and, in B only, 4789, of which *ylest* (inf.) 38 B *lest* L: *beest* B L is to be looked upon as conclusive. The Scand. word occurs twice, once in a rhyme (*lipe* 6293 B L: *blipe*) and once in the phrase *lystne and lipe* 5742 B (:blipe) where, however, L is missing. The Scand. word is not

found in A & M, where *list(n)en* and its native synonym *herken* (OE *heorcnian*) (1634) are used. The rhyme *lest* (inf.) 8720: *best* testifies to the authenticity of the former. This will agree with the S. KH displays 3 *lust(e) leste* (2r), 1 *herkne*, 2 *lyþe liþe* (1r); see Rynell, p. 326.

lozhe - lyze, leize.

The L MS of KA has *lyze* (:syze OE *seah* pret.) in 3437 where B (3453) has *leyte: awayte* (cf. *supra*), but the reading here offered by B is to be considered superior. A & M has *leize* in 6796 rhyming on *cuntray* and there is presumably nothing against its being here considered authentic. The word is chiefly evidenced in Rynell's material in the WMidl. and the S; cf. Rynell, p. 326.

neue - fyst, fest(e).

The only cases that occur in KA are *fyst* 184 B *feste* L: *honest(e)* B L and *fyst* 7874 B *fest* A where L offers an inferior reading. A & M also uses the native word (generally *fest*), which is found in rhymes at 4815, 5696 (*fot & fest: brest*), 7470 (*fist: purchprest*), 7524, and 8437. The texts agree with the S; cf. Rynell, p. 328.

oke - eek, ek(e).

The native word is frequent in KA where the MSS agree more than 35x; in 7612 and 7637 it rhymes on *Candulek Candelek K-* in B and L and seems thus to be authentic. The Scand. word may possibly be implied in *toke* 3218 L for *teke* 'in addition to' (OE *tō ēacan*) B, but definite conclusions cannot be drawn. The native word is also often found in A & M, though (as it seems) only once in rhyme: *eke* 5675: *leke* (pret.) (OE *lūcan lēac*). Rynell's material offers *ok* only from some EMidl. texts. In other cases *ek(e)* is the word used (cf. *ibid.*, p. 329).

onde (ON *andi*) - *breþ.*

Only the Scand. word occurs in the MSS of KA: *onde* 3495 (:londe) B L. Neither word is evidenced in A & M and KH. *Onde* is used in the EMidl. (beside *breþ*); cf. Rynell, p. 296.

radd, redd - adrad(de), adred.

The MSS of KA agree 4x when using the native word: 229, 4260, 7701, 7840, but it is not used as a rhyme-word; the form is *drad* in 5190 B. The Scand. word does not occur in KA. A & M has also only the native word, which has been counted 3x in rhyme: *adred* 2532: *bed*, 4987: *mised*, and *adrad* 2666: *bad*. For its distribution in ME, see Rynell, pp. 329-330. His material, it may be pointed out, includes the form *drad* from the EMidl. and the N.

reise - (a)rere, rare.

The native word occurs 5x in the B and L MSS of KA and once in

B and A (7832 *rered ma(a)s*) when the third MS (L) is corrupt. It is found in rhymes in 4072 B L (*arereþ -iþ: fareþ -iþ*) and in 7224 B (*rare: care*) where L offers what is doubtless an inferior reading (*þare: care*). The Scand. word only occurs in 192 L (*rcised pp.*) where B has *arered*, and may thus be due to the scribe. A & M has also only the native word, which rhymes on *were* (OE *wæron*) in 1484 and 7128. Our texts here agree with the S where to judge from Rynell's material the native word is regularly used down to the time of Chaucer. L 192 rather agrees with the WMidl. than the SW. Cf. Rynell, p. 330.

renne - erren ar- cor-.

The native word is twice common to the B and L MSS of KA: *erneþ* 2728 B *eorneþ* L: *turneþ* (OE *turnian*, *tyrnan*) B L and *arnd* (pp.) 4350 B *y-eornd* L: *barnd* B *brent* L, but the latter rhyme does not admit of definite conclusions. The MSS correspond 7x (743, 848, 1250, etc.) when using the Scand. word, but no rhymes are found. The sense is 'flow' in 3851 (*Ran*), 6561 (*renneþ*) and 6565 (*ouerrenneþ*). In the other cases L prefers the Scand. word and B the corresponding native one (e.g. in 896, 2098). Both words are attested in the rhymes of A & M: *ran* 2226: *cam* (for the rhyme, cf. Kölbing, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxv-vi) and *erne* 1228: *terne* 'turn', 6844: *zerne* (adv.); the rhyme *ran* 2577: *barn* (OE *bearn* 'child') points to the native word being authentic. The distribution of these forms in A & M may agree with the S, where KH (cf. Rynell, p. 331) has the native word 3x (2r) and the Scand. word 1x (r). In its use of the Scand. word, KA, on the other hand, apparently shows influence from the EMidl. Cf. Rynell, *On the origin of Middle English 'rinnen'* in *Studier i modern språkvetskap* XVIII, pp. 113 ff.

serk - schyrt -e-.

The only case that has been found is 8859 A & M *schert: hert* 'hurt', (within the line also at 9257) where agreement is seen with conditions prevailing in the S and EMidl.; cf. Rynell, p. 333.

sylk, silk - selk, seolk.

MS B of KA has the Scand. word, MS L (SW) the native one (5x). The native word is used in the WMidl. (*Ancr. Riwele, Lazamon*), which seems to speak against its being considered authentic in KA. In lines 176 and 1032 *selk* L *sylk* B rhyme on *mylk* in both MSS, but definite conclusions cannot be drawn (v. *infra*); cf. Rynell, p. 334.

syluer, siluer - se(o)luer -ir.

The distribution of these words is about the same as for the preceding word: MS B of KA uses the Scandinavian word and L the native one (9x). *Siluer* also occurs in 354 A and is the form used in A & M. No rhymes are found. The L MS agrees with the West Midlands (or the South), and the others with the East Midlands. The Scandinavian word

is infrequent in the South (KH e.g. has native *seluer*), except, however, in the *Canterbury Tales* where it is the only form used (cf. Rynell, p. 334). The early London dialect had *e* (< *eo*) in this word as also in *melk* 'milk', see Ekwall, *Studies on the Population of Medieval London* (Stockholm 1956) p. XVI.

syster, sister - suster -ir.

The native word occurs 8x at corresponding places in the MSS of KA, including 2x when it also used in A (6960 *sustren*, 7859 *soster*). The Scandinavian word is found 3x, but only in B, and cannot be considered authentic. The words do not occur in rhymes. The same applies to A & M where only *soster -u-* is used (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 91 Note). The Scandinavian word in the B MS of KA agrees with the EMidl. (or the N.), the native word with the SWMidl. and the S; cf. Rynell, p. 335.

skyn(ne) - hyde, felle.

In KA the native word is found in 894 B (*hyde*) and the Scand. word in 888 L (= 894 B), 6797 B L (*skynne* B *skynnes* L: *spynne* B L), and 6809 B L. The rhyme in 6797 attests to the authenticity of the Scand. word. A & M instead uses native (*flesche* and) *felle* 822: *telle*. In the South *skin* *scin(ne)* occurs 4x (beside 2 *uel(l)*) in *Ayenbite*, and *skyn* is the only form used in the *Canterbury Tales*; in other cases the native words are used (cf. Rynell, pp. 335-6).

slahter - slauzt(t)(e), sleiztte.

The native word is found 3x when the MSS of KA correspond (1909, 2134 (*sleiztte* B, *slauzt* L), and 2788). In a rhymed position it only occurs in 3950 B *slauzt*: *þorouȝ-rauȝt* (OE *rācan*) where L has *schent*: *to-rent*. A & M uses *slauzter*, *sle(i)zster* and *sleiz(s)t*, but only the last occurs in rhyme: 4769 (:riȝt), 4926 (:eiȝt), 5021 (:riȝt), 5884 (:riȝt), 6584 (:riȝt), 6901 (*sleizst*: *nizt*), 9107 (:ariȝt). In the S the native word is generally used, the Scandinavian word being (apart from the EMidl. and the N) only recorded from the *Canterbury Tales* (cf. Rynell, p. 336). The *sle(i)zster* of A & M is a rare word in ME and is explained as a blend of the native and Scand. words (cf. OED sub *Sleighter*).

slike - swiche (B A; A & M), *suche soche* (L).

Only native forms are found as in the S (cf. Rynell, p. 338). They are well represented in both texts: KA ab. 30x (in rhymes only in B 5406, 5709 and 5970) and A & M at least 65x, but apparently only once in rhyme (8616: *vterliche*).

slo(o) - slen(e), sle(ε).

The native word is exceedingly common in the MSS of KA (agreement ab. 100x) and is instanced in rhymes in ab. one third of the cases, to which may also be added the six cases found in B when L is missing.

The Scand. word, however, must also be considered authentic as it is instanced in a rhyme in 4017 B L: *slo(o): fo(o)* (OE *gefā*) and in a rhyme in 5431 B: *sloo: woo*, where, however, a portion of L is missing. The native word is also profusely represented in A & M where it occurs in rhyme more than 55x. The Scand. word (*slo(n)*) is also comparatively frequent in A & M and occurs in rhyme at least 11x. The -o-forms may be compared with *slon* in KH, found once in a rhyme, and perhaps also with *slon* in *Kentish Sermons* (1x) and *s[ɫ]ast* in *Ayenbite* (1x) (< Kent. *oʃslān*) and are perhaps rather to be considered native in our texts than due to Scandinavian *slā*. Cf. Rynell, pp. 16, 337. Smithers, who looks upon this word as a distinctive SE form (ii, p. 46), also notes *oʃslað* from the *Hatton Gospels* (Matth. 17, 23).

sterne - sterre, steorre (L).

Only native forms are found, 6x in the rhymes of the MSS of KA (plus 2x when B is unique) and 1x in a rhyme in A & M (*ster* 3567: *herre* 'axis'). They agree with the S; cf. Rynell, p. 338.

take(n) - nyme.

The Scandinavian word is common to the B and L MSS of KA more than 80x, and is also the word used in A. It occurs 10x in the rhymes of the MSS B L (A) and 5x in B when L and A are missing. In 7011 agreement is seen between B and A against L: *taken* B A *zeue* L. The native word occurs ab. 40x in these MSS (including A) and is also well represented in rhymes: 19x + 3x in B when L and A are defective; it is often used as a rhyme-word on *come(n)* (1143, 1203, 2066, 2618, etc.) and occurs a few times in the cpd *by-*. Both words are also authentic in A & M where *t-* occurs ab. 34x in rhyme (once in the rhyme *to: þo* 7581; see Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 167) and *n-* at least 39x. The latter occurs a few times esp. in the cpd *bi-*, which, however, is commoner within the line. The distribution of these words will agree with the South. Of interest is here Rynell's statement (p. 356): 'While *n* is the regular verb in two SE texts (TH, VV), *t* has the upper hand in another SE text (KH), which is not very much later'. In Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* *n-* is quite exceptional outside the cpds *bynyme vnder-* (see *ibid.*).

þouȝ - þeiȝ, þauȝ.

The Scandinavian word occurs once in MSS B and L of KA (6918), whereas *þeiȝ* (*þeyȝ*) is found twice (7068, 7455). The MS forms are *þouȝ* and *þauȝ* (presumably due to OE *þēah > þæh*) in L and *þeiȝ* and *þouȝ* in B. The A MS has *þei* both for KA (44) and A & M (1011, 1141, 1434, etc.). The Scandinavian word points to the East Midlands, the native word to the South. The occurrence of the Scandinavian word in MS L of KA (cf. 524, 1649, 3094 where B has *þeiȝ*) is notable since it does not seem to agree with the SW, but rather points to the EMidl., where it is commonly used, or else to the Central and NWMidl., where

is is occasionally met with (cf. Rynell, p. 340); it is also possible that L has here retained the authentic word.

bryue - bee.

The Scandinavian word is attested in KA in the rhyme *bryue* 2893 B: *lyue* B L, where L mistakes the letters *b* and *p* (*priue*). The native word occurs (in imprecations) in B 5463 (:he) and 5514 (:ysee), where, however, a portion of the text is missing from L. A & M has *priue* once (3178: *liue*) and (*y*)*be(n)*, (*y*)*the(n)* 8x in rhyme (377, 747, 1048, 6996, 9740 *passim*); the pret. form is used in 2719 (*y**bei: noblay*). Rynell's material (pp. 341-42) for *King Horn* offers 1 *priue* (r) and (presumably) 1 *be* (r); his figures for the *Canterbury Tales* are 12 *thryue* (8r) and 16 *thee(n)* (14r).

wers, werst - wors(e).

MS B of KA uses the *e*-forms, MS L the *o*-form. The rhymes in 1798 and 3109 *wers* B *wors* L: *purs* B L and possibly in 5050 B *werst: þurst* (OE *þurst*) seem to indicate that the native words are authentic. The same may be inferred from the rhymes *wors: hors* 327 and 6290 in A & M, where the Scand. word only occurs within the line (cf. Liedholm, *op. cit.*, p. 30). The possibility exists that the *-er-* forms are native (SE *e* < *y*; cf. Jordan, *op. cit.*, § 70 Anm. 2). Both forms are used in the S (cf. Rynell, pp. 346-47).

wyndewe -ow- - (ey)þyrl.

The Scand. word is evidenced in the MSS of KA at 6170 and 7659 and in A & M (in rhyme) at 1130 where *windowe* rhymes on *howe*. Cf. Rynell, p. 347.

wrong(e) - wouȝ -ow-, wow(h)e.

The Scand. word is common to the MSS of KA 11x and is attested in 8 rhymes: 1295 (:strong), 3983 (:anhonge B an-honge L), 4019 (:honge), 4027 (:among), etc. The native word occurs 4x: 3070 (*wowe* B *wowhe* L: *ynowe* B L), 3383 (*wouȝ* B *vow* (mistake) L: *ynouȝ* B *ynowe* L), 4022 (*wouȝ* B *wowȝ* L: *slouȝ* (OE *slōh* pret.) B *slowȝ* L), 7511 (*wowe* B L: *ynowe* B L). The same word may be implied in *wo* L for *wrong* 6223 B and in *wrong* and *wo* L where B has *wronge* (:stronge) 7705. There can thus be no doubt as to both words being authentic. Both are also original in A & M, where *wrong* is found 12x in rhyme 470, 1363, 1394, etc.) and *wouȝ* 1x (4806: *slouȝ*). In this respect our texts may agree with the S; cf. Rynell, p. 348. *King Horn* like the *Canterbury Tales* has *wrong*, *wrang* only (*ibid.*).

To the words noted above the following (cf. Rynell) are to be added. KA has only the native word: (*barke-*) *rynde* 6177 B L: *fynde* B L, (*gait-*) *goot* 4962 B (L missing): *woot* B, (*rike-*) *riche* in the cpd *kyn(g)-*

402 and 2866 B L: *gliche* B L, 3924 B L: *-liche* B L, 5971 B (L missing): *swiche* B, 7795 *kyng-riches* B *kynriche* L *kingriches* A, (*wapen-*) *wepen* 2611 B *weopne* L. For *raas*, v. *supra*. KA has the Scand. word: *þralle* (*-þe(o)we*) 5510 B: *alle* B (L missing), *wenge wyngyn* (pl.) (*-feþer*) 486 B L: *herbergeynge* B *ber yng* (infer.) L. A & M has the following native words in rhyme: (*crosse-*) *rode* 634: *blod*, 5505 and 5510: *gode* (native *crouche* only within the line: 9005), (*wate-*) *wete* 3537: *strete*; and it offers the following Scand. words: *bone* (*-bene*) 'boon' 2949: *sone*, *meke* (*-e(a)dmod*) 2852: *seke*. For *ras* 3990: *Karodas*, 7152: *cas*, cf. *supra*. Other cases found in the two texts are ambiguous or of less interest.¹ These words show no important divergences on comparison with the material offered by Rynell for the S. As for *bone-bene* it may be added that KH has the native word (r) like *Ayenbite*, *Trinity Homilies*, and *Vices and Virtues*, whereas *bone* is used by Rob. of Glouc. and Chaucer (see Rynell p. 300).

The limited material does not so far exhibit any striking northern influence on the vocabulary of the two texts in the form of the preference of a given Scand. synonym to a given native one. But on comparison with other SE texts it reveals that in many cases our texts have followed the usage prevalent in the EMidl., which was later generally to characterize the writings of Chaucer. This EMidl. influence is seen in their use of words like *ay* KA, A & M, *awe* A & M, *bond* A & M, *brenne*, *calle* KA, A & M, *lift* A & M, *onde* KA, *renne* KA, *þouz* KA. Such agreement with the usage established for the EMidl. must, if we look at the MSS individually, for obvious reasons be more pronounced in the B MS of KA, which was copied out in or near London at least seventy-five years after the original was composed, than in the L MS of the same text. The latter, however, offers interesting cases of Scand. words, the distribution and frequency of which do not seem to be consistent with its south-western (or SWMidl.) dialect: *brenne* (EMidl., CWMidl., NWMidl., N), *egges* (N or possibly EMidl.), *renne* (EMidl., CWMidl., NWMidl., N), *þouz* (EMidl., CWMidl., NWMidl., N). The consistent use of *hundreþ* is noteworthy in B as also the occurrence of northern *garsle* in L and of *ille* 'sick' and *slauzter* in A & M (MS A). No striking differences seem to exist between KA (8021 ll.) and A & M (9938 ll.) where, with some exceptions, the figures for the rhymes correspond fairly well.

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¹ Kölbing's emendation of *wepe* 2301 A & M > *grete* (:sete OE *æton*) is no doubt correct in spite of the divergent view expressed by Liedholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67 (footnote). Rynell's material (p. 313) offers *grete(n)* not only from the N but also from the East and North-West Midl. and the S. KH in the S thus has *grete* in a r.

A Middle English Rhyme-Pair

Further Studies in Scandinavian Origins

The two words I am going to deal with in this paper have not hitherto been recorded in Middle English literature. One of them survives in Modern English dialects, the other has not previously been known to exist in any period of the English language. I have come across them in studying the single extant manuscript of *Thomas Castleford's Chronicle*, a Northern mid-14th century text, of which I am preparing a complete edition for the *Early English Text Society*. The words rhyme *inter se*, which prevents them from being immediately connected with any familiar phonetic pattern.

Rhyme is otherwise our chief means of establishing the pronunciation and identity of words not earlier known. This is of importance, for the exigency of rhyme has brought to light a number of words which, although unique or rare in literature, appear to bear the stamp of free natural speech. Many a versifier, whether author, adaptor, or translator, told his story in predictably conventional language, using clichés and traditional rhyme-words which recur with monotonous regularity. In bright moments, however, he brushed aside convention and rhymed a well-known word with one of startling novelty. Whether such a word is now felt to be suspiciously harsh or strikingly adequate and idiomatic depends upon the context in which it stands and the source to which it may be traced. O. Strandberg¹ has brought together a handful of both types taken from the *Cursor Mundi*. From *Thomas Castleford's Chronicle* I may quote the following, all of which I have dealt with in earlier papers.

lēde (:wēdc) 'way, course, manner, wise' from ME *lēde* 'leading, guidance' + OWN *leiþ* 'way, course, manner, wise' (*Eng. Studies*, XX, 2, 1938, pp. 49-57).

hāk (:brāk) 'ruthless, fierce, hard' from OWN *hākr* 'an insolent and ruthless person' (*Meijerbergs Ark.*, 2, 1939, pp. 25-37).

stökede (:yökede) 'ran away, fled' of *stōke*, a variant of *steck* 'to run away, flee' (*Cursor Mundi*) from OWN *stökkva* 'to run away' (*Stud. Neoph.*, XIV, 1-3, 1942, pp. 221-228).

in waght (:faght) 'in balance, in doubt' from OWN **wæht* > *vætt* (*Stud. Neoph.*, XIV, 1-3, 1942, pp. 228-236).

gāle (:riāle) 'way, passage; means, possibility' from OE *gāl* in OE *wid-gāl* 'far-wandering, roving' (*Stud. Neoph.*, XVII, 2-3, 1944-45, pp. 265-283).

These words are all, I believe, drawn from the natural, not to say colloquial, idiom of the writer. It has been said that 'the wealth of dialect forms in early ME is equalled by a vocabulary that reflects again and again rustic, unpolished, and popular usage'.² This is probably true if due

¹ Otto Strandberg, *The Rime-vowels of Cursor Mundi* (Uppsala, 1919), pp. 222-231.

² B. von Lindheim, 'OE "dream" and its subsequent development', *RES*, XVI, (1949), p. 100.

allowance is made for the fact that a poet writing for the benefit of the common people was not always successful in his attempt to present his narrative 'with londes speche and wordes smale'.³ But it is probably equally true that a versifier, in the humblest sense of the word, who made a point of conforming to a rigidly conventional pattern, was writing in his own natural tongue when, perhaps inadvertently, he happened to end the line with a unique or rare, but demonstrably adequate word. That such a word could slip from his pen outside the rhyme, too, will be shown in another paper.

Of the five words from *Thomas Castleford* quoted above three are wholly and one is partly of Scandinavian origin. This is not a coincidence, for there are other odd words of the same type in our text that can only be derived from Scandinavian prototypes. Little as we know of Thomas Castleford's background, we may, I believe, infer from what has been adduced above that his everyday talk was interspersed with a good many racy and vigorous words, largely of Scandinavian origin, which were not considered respectable enough for literary language. The few specimens of this kind which have nevertheless found their way into the chronicler's work definitely give the impression of having been suited to all sorts of everyday situations. The two words which will now engage our attention had a more limited range, with hints at certain contemporary conditions in the Northern areas of Medieval Britain under Scandinavian influence. I give the passage in which the words occur together with the corresponding passage in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, of which a large part of the chronicle is a paraphrase.

He said base wordes vnto þe king
 'Calle þin ouerours ⁴ withouten targing,
 Bidde þam alle þis water out ouse
 Out of þis stagne with scope & trouse . . .'

fol. 86b ll. 7-8.

Tunc Merlinus ad regem: 'Precipe ait stagnum hauriri per rivulos'. Geoffrey VI: 19.

The situation is as follows :

King Vortigern, the British king, who had escaped to Wales from the Saxon invaders under Hengist, assembled a great band of stone-masons from various countries and commanded them to build a strong tower for all the castles he had lost. The masons began to lay the foundations of the tower, but whatever they built up one day was all

³ It was not the best minds who were concerned with poetry in the vernacular. Hence the style was not always such a faithful reflection of popular usage as might have been supposed. As early Middle English poetry relied to a great extent on oral tradition, the 'original' of a text was also often distorted or reshaped by copyists and rival minstrels respectively. Cf. R. Girvan, 'The Medieval Poet and his Public' in *English Studies Today*, ed. C. L. Wrenn and G. Bullough (Oxford, 1951).

⁴ The word *ouerour* 'workman', which occurs four times in our text, is one of some ten Romance loan-words which, as far as I know, are not recorded anywhere else in the English language. The source of the word is clear enough: OF *oureur*, *ourour* 'ouvrier' from Lat. *operatorem*. See Godefroy, 5, p. 676.

swallowed up by the soil the next. On hearing this Vortigern held counsel with his wizards, who told him that he must search for Merlin, the famous enchanter, and when he had found him slay him and sprinkle his blood over the mortar and the stones, which, they said, would make the foundation of the tower hold firm. Brought to the court, Merlin accused the wizards of having devised a lie and said to the king: 'Call thine workmen without delay, bid them out ouse all this water out of this pool with scoop and trowse...' then adding: 'And in the bottom thou shalt see two hollow stones and deep therein two dragons asleep...'

The symbol *ou* of the rhyme-pair *ouse* : *trouse* may stand for [ū], [ou] or [ō].⁵ If we had had recourse to Middle English only we should have been inclined to give preference to [ū], which is by far the commonest sound for *ou* in 14th and 15th century English. But the obvious Scandinavian origin of the two words rules out this alternative.⁶

First there can be no doubt that ME *ouse* goes back to OWN *ausa* 'to empty out (a liquid)'; 'to bale out (a boat)' = Mod. Icel. *ausa*, OSw. Sw. *ösa*, Norw. Dan. *øse*, MLG, MHG *ösen*, whereas there is no record of a corresponding OE **ēasan*, ME **ēse(n)*. The sense 'to empty, pour out' for ME *ouse* is confirmed by the context and Geoffrey's (*ex*)*haurire*, which word in spite of its initial *h-* is generally considered to be closely akin to OWN *ausa*, etc. The word *ouse* occurs three more times in the same context:

Fulsone he bad þam alle vnto... Ouse oute þe water albedene fol 86b l. 27 (Geoffrey VI: 19: iussit illud hauriri); *To se þis water be oused oute fol 86b l. 34* (no correspondence in Geoffrey); *Opone þe bank abouen he satte, þe stangne out oused water in þat fol 86c l. 4* (Geoffrey VII: 3: Sedente itaque Uortegirno rege britonum super ripam exhausti stagni).

It should be noted that we have *ouse out* or *out ouse water* in all the Middle English quotations as against Lat. (*ex*)*haurire* in the three cases where Geoffrey has something corresponding to it. It is possible that this construction was the only idiomatic one in the writer's dialect. But we must not make too much of our four examples, and just as classical Latin at least could have *aquam (ex)haurire*, it is possible that Middle English could have *ouse stagne* or, say, *ouse a bāt* 'to bale out a boat', which latter construction, as we shall see, is found in New English dialects.

To return to the pronunciation of *ouse*, it is a well-known fact that OWN *au* appears in Middle English as *ō*, *ou* or *au* according to the period when the word in question was borrowed into English. Thus it is possible that, say, OWN *lauss* 'loose' became *lōs* at a time when there was no equivalent diphthong in Middle English and *lous* (later also *laus*) in a period when a diphthong [ou] had developed in the language.⁷ As [au] is out of the question we have to choose between [ō] and [ou] as the

⁵ For the occasional spelling *ou* for [ō], cf. O. Sprotte, *Zum Sprachgebrauch bei John Knox* (diss., Berlin, 1906), p. 18; E. Glawe, *Der Sprachgebrauch in den Altschottischen Gesetzen der Handschrift Adv. Libr. 25.4.16* (diss., Berlin, 1908), p. 31.

⁶ Cf. however, E. Björkman, *Scandinavian Loanwords*, p. 79 ff.

⁷ Luick, *Hist. Gramm.*, § 384. 2. Cf. also E. Björkman, *Zur dialektischen Provenienz der nordischen Lehnwörter im Englischen* (Uppsala, 1899), pp. 21 ff.

only possible alternatives. In order to decide between these two sounds we have to turn to modern English dialects, where *ouse* is found with the spellings *ouse*, *owse*, *ouze*, *houze*, *howse* (Sc., n.Cy, Yks., Lin., Orc., Shetl.) and in the senses (a) 'to empty out (a liquid)' (as in *Castleford*); (b) 'to bale out (a boat)' (as in *OWN*, *Mod. Icel.*, *Sw.* etc.). Wright (EDD, 4, p. 367) gives the pronunciations [auz], [ouz], [ūz] without saying anything about the local distribution of these variants. From NYks (Borrowby) Professor Orton has kindly supplied [ə lædl tə auz jə su:p u:t] as accidental information, with *ouse out* as in *Castleford*. In view of the four examples recorded of the Middle English *ouse* and the evidence, however indecisive, provided by modern English dialects, we may take the pronunciation to have been [ou] in the north. If this is right the stem-vowel of *ouse* has developed on the pattern of the native words *blow* 'to blossom', *flow*, *glow*, *grow*, *row*, *stow*.⁸ Wright gives for these words the pronunciations [ou], [au], [ō], [ō], [ū], of which [ou] is the only sound represented for all the words by SWYks, the most likely place of origin of *Thomas Castleford's Chronicle*. Professor Harold Orton has placed at my disposal a list of all the forms of *grow* in the Northern dialects. From this it appears that SWYks has the forms [ɔu], [ɛu], [au]⁹ all of which presuppose ME [ou] without the intermediate stage [ō] as in Southern English.¹⁰ Hence also [ou] in *Thomas Castleford* even if this cannot be proved by rhyme.¹¹ Anyway our text has disclosed a long sought-for Scandinavian loan-word *ouse* in Middle English.¹² In spelling and sound-development it follows the pattern of other Scandinavian loan-words with the ON vowel [au].

If we apply the same loan-word test to *t.ouse* as we have done to *ouse* we are confronted with *OWN traus* fem. recorded only once, namely in *Bósa-saga* (p. 51 l. 12), a text whose original, as Professor Jón Helgason informs me, dates from ca. 1400 (MS AM 343a being from the first half of the 15th century). The real meaning of the word is not clear from the context, and the editor (O. L. Jiriczek, Strassburg, 1893) did not know what to do with it: 'ist ganz unbekannt und unerklärt'. The fact that lexicographers such as Fritzner, Heggstad, etc. can give the exact meaning of this isolated word is due to its survival in Norwegian dialects in the form of *trøys* fem. signifying (1) 'a drinking-bowl or scoop with a spout or outlet on the side' (Sogn, Hall, Tel., Småal., Gudbr., Nordm.,

⁸ Luick, *Hist. Gramm.*, §§ 373. d, 378.

⁹ Symbols simplified for practical reasons.

¹⁰ Luick, *Untersuchungen zur Englischen Lautgeschichte* (1896), §§ 71 ff.; *Hist. Gramm.*, §§ 517, 518; H. Orton, *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (London, 1933), § 148. 1.

¹¹ Unfortunately the only relevant word we have in the text is *flow* with the past *flowyd*, which rhymes with *ensuyd*, *multitude*, and the 3rd person singular *flues*, which rhymes with *remues*. I explain [flū] as due to the past *flēow* + ME *flue* 'to flow' (? 1483) < ME *fluer*.

¹² Cf. especially A. Wall, 'A Contribution to the Study of the Scandinavian Elements in the English Dialects' in *Anglia*, XX (1898), p. 114.

Søndfj.);¹³ (2) 'a chest or tub for baits, fishing-tackle' etc. (Romsd.).¹⁴ The most common combination is *øltrøys*, an oval or circular bowl for beer-drinking with a spout in the form of a beak on one side and a handle, sometimes in the form of a bird's tail, on the other. The opening through which the ale is poured out into smaller vessels can be either in the beak (fig. 1) or beneath it (fig. 2-3) or in the form of an open channel (fig. 4). The *trøys* can be plain and unpainted or neatly carved and painted. The material is ash or birch.¹⁵

In Sweden the word *trøys*, i.e. *trös* does not seem to be recorded at all. But the thing itself, under the name of 'tappskål' or 'pipskål' is well represented in the Göteborg Museum, especially from the province of Bohuslän. The 'tappskål' is a bowl from which a liquid (beer, ale, etc.) is 'tapped' or poured into drinking-vessels through a spout (fig. 5), which is sometimes extended with a pipe of metal (fig. 6). The material is generally beech, occasionally birch.¹⁶

Let us return to OWN *traus* for a moment. The passage in which it occurs forms part of Bósi's nightly visit to a peasant daughter: 'Tilfyndin ertu, sagði Bogu-Bósi; hann dró gull af hendi sér ok gaf henni. Hún spyrr, hvat han vill á móti hafa. Ek vil sponsa *traus* þína, sagði hann.' The whole episode is patently obscene, which determines the meaning of *traus* in the present context. If the word had not survived in Norwegian dialects, its precise everyday meaning would have been hidden to us.

The present discovery of ME *trouse*, which antedates OWN *traus* by about half a century, removes any doubt that might have been entertained as to whether this was the primary sense of the Old Norse word.¹⁷ For there is no evidence that sense 2 of *trøys*, namely 'a chest or tub for baits, fishing-lines, fishing-tackle' etc. is the older one. An ultimate connexion with the Germanic words for *tree* (PrG **treȝa*), as is assumed by A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, p. 489 (cf. OE *trūs* 'brushwood for fuel', OWN *tros* 'fallen leaves and twigs', Sw. dial. *trås* 'rubbish'), is possible but remains a matter for conjecture.

Whatever the origin of OWN *traus*, ME *trouse*, its later connexion with OWN *ausa*, ME *ouse* was inevitable. When the chronicler rhymed *ouse* with *trouse*, he did so with the feeling that the two words belonged, as it were, together in his home dialect just as they had done in the Old Norse dialect from which they had been borrowed. The technically important part of the 'traus' or 'trouse' was the opening, spout, or channel through which the liquid was poured or 'oused out' (into smaller vessels).

¹³ Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 841 f.

¹⁴ Ross, *Norsk Ordbog*, p. 840.

¹⁵ Information supplied by Mr. Peter Anker, Norsk Folkemuseum, Oslo.

¹⁶ Information supplied by Dr. Alfa Olsson, Göteborgs Historiska Museum.

¹⁷ In view of the precision with which even an abstract loan-word in *Thomas Castleford* tallies with the use of its Scandinavian original, we may be fairly sure that a Scandinavian word for a concrete object of a specific kind kept its characteristic meaning in the dialect of the chronicler.

This device had about the same function as a ladle in a bowl which lacked this means of emptying out liquid. It is significant that this ladle in Old Norse was called *ausa* m. = Norw. dial. *ausa*, Norw. *øse*, i.e. an instrument for 'ousing out' the liquid.

On the other hand, the 'trøys', as we have seen above, was sometimes in the shape of a bird (fig. 1). Apart from the fact that, as far as I have been able to discover, there is no bird that could be connected with the word *trøys*, the bird-shape is in no way essential to this kind of household utensil. The real bird-vessels recorded in Norwegian dialects are chiefly of two types, namely: (1) a large bowl with a bird-like ladle or 'øse' to go with it; (2) a bowl with a bird-shaped handle. These types, particularly the latter, are named after birds, as for example: *øland*, *ølgås*, *ølhane* ('ale-duck', 'ale-goose', 'ale-cock').¹⁸ Without claiming any particular knowledge of these matters, I think the 'trøys' belongs to a fundamentally different genre.

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The English Verb in its Contexts

A Preliminary Study

In descriptive linguistics scholars have abandoned working with the traditional trinity in grammar, phonology, accidence, and syntax, in favour of a formal analysis of language events at various levels. Such an analysis has been propounded since the early thirties by Professor J. R. Firth,¹ who in his theory also stresses the importance of not considering language as if it were in a vacuum, but as 'part of the social process'.² The linguist is concerned with establishing constructs of recurrent events at each level and relating them to each other, but he also deals with interrelating units at the different levels of analysis. The levels that have so far attracted the greatest attention are in the first place the *phonological* level and in the second place the *grammatical* level.

Even at what may be called the *situational* level, categories can be established without recourse to other than what can be justified by

¹⁸ Kr. Visted - H. Stigum, *Vår gamle bondekultur*, II (Oslo, 1952), pp. 124-128; Anne Holtsmark, 'To Eddasteder' in *Arv*, 13 (1957), pp. 21-30.

¹ See J. R. Firth, 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955', *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, Oxford, 1957, esp. pp. 5-7.

² J. R. Firth, 'Personality and Language in Society', *The Sociological Review*, Vol. XLII, 1950, p. 42 (= the same author's *Papers in Linguistics* 1934-1951, London, 1957, p. 182). — Cf. also R. H. Robins, *Ancient & Mediaeval Grammatical Theory in Europe*, London, 1951, p. 91 f.

experience. Professor Firth lists as categories brought into relation in a context of situation: (a) the participants, (b) the relevant objects and non-verbal and non-personal events, and (c) the effect of the verbal action;³ and Professor W. S. Allen, in 'Structure and System in Abaza', has given us an example of how the establishment of the relevant situational features illuminates a usage which had so far seemed something of a puzzle.⁴ However, the 'technical language necessary for the description of contexts of situation is not developed, nor is there any agreed method of classification. At this level there are great possibilities for research and experiment'.⁵ It would be interesting to make an experiment, using that very vital guinea-pig, the verb.

Let us suppose we have isolated, at the grammatical level, an ELEMENT⁶ of the sentence STRUCTURE⁶ which we call the verb.⁷ The value of that ELEMENT is given by a SYSTEM⁶ of commutable TERMS.⁶ Such TERMS are, starting with the zero form, which we call V:

V
V-s
V-ed

have (etc.) + V-ed shall/will/can (etc.) + V
be (etc.) + V-ed should/would/could (etc.) + V
be (etc.) + V-ing

seem/begin (etc.) + to + V
stop/keep (etc.) + V-ing.⁸

Out of these TERMS, which are a mere selection of the total number, traditional grammar picks a few for its paradigm: V, V-s, V-ed, *have* (etc.) + V-ed, *be* (etc.) + V-ing, and certain collocations containing *shall/will/should/would* + V. Other TERMS are not admitted, although some of them are allowed into the syntax and receive some treatment there. Besides, the TERMS selected are usually discussed on a conceptualist basis, and denotations like 'time' and 'mood', and sometimes 'aspect' play a great part. It is true that some grammarians modify the old-established

³ J. R. Firth, 'A Synopsis (etc.)', p. 9, which is a slight amplification of his 'Personality and Language (etc.)', p. 43.

⁴ *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1956, esp. pp. 167-169.

⁵ J. R. Firth, 'A Synopsis (etc.)', p. 9.

⁶ These denotations are those given in *Studies in Linguistic Analysis*, p. vi.

⁷ I hope to be able to present the full procedure of this analysis in a dissertation.

⁸ (a) The different linguistic units have been given in ordinary orthography, which for the present purpose is a sufficient indicator of what should otherwise have had to be defined at the phonological level.

(b) V-s and V-ed also stand for whatever other change (e.g. *ran*) or lack of change (e.g. *can*, *put*) is apparent in those verbs in which the expectancy for V-s and V-ed is so met. For the purpose of the present article we take all the pertinent statements as made.

(c) Still more terms could be mentioned, including types like *look at* and *have a look at*, which it is hoped will be dealt with in the study referred to in footnote 7. They have no relevance to the present paper.

paradigm,⁹ but it might be questioned whether we could not proceed further on the path they have turned into, and carry on descriptive analysis more strictly on one level at a time.

The first question to be answered, before turning to the situational level, is what results, if any, could be reached through an analysis at the grammatical level. We shall concentrate on the three TERMS V, V-s, and V-ed. Analysis at the grammatical level implies finding out about (1) *interchangeability* (commutation); that is, can two, or all three, occur within the same grammatical framework, and (2) *collocability*, that is, if the TERMS are not interchangeable, what in the grammatical set-up is connected with the occurrence of one TERM or the other; or, what is there in the grammatical set-up to make it predictable that one or the other TERM occurs?

As regards interchangeability it is possible to state that normally V is not interchangeable with V-s, whereas they are both normally interchangeable with V-ed. This, of course, is nothing new; it is the opposition traditionally referred to by the two designations *the present tense* and *the past tense*. There is no immediate reason to abandon these two names if it is definitely understood that they only refer to this opposition: V/V-s as opposed to V-ed; they carry no implication of anything but this.

If V and V-s are not normally interchangeable, what in the collocation makes us expect the appearance of one or the other? There is an interrelation with another ELEMENT in the sentence STRUCTURE, namely that nominal ELEMENT which is traditionally referred to as the 'subject'. Such interrelations establish the type of grammatical linking that is usually referred to as *concord*. In the present case concord is not an all-pervading feature: it sometimes does not occur when expected, so there are cases when we shall have to speak of *discord*, that is deviation from normal concord.

Theoretically, there are two possibilities of discord: V appearing for V-s, and V-s appearing for V. They both do occur.

- (1) The police accept your story.
- (2) God help you.
- (3) I goes back, up the local sidelines, and shouts out. No reply. I goes down below to the other sewer under us, the relief sewer, and shouts out again.¹⁰
- (4) Statistics often fails.

After being given their common denominator at the grammatical level, discord, these cases can be further discussed with regard to interchangeability and collocation.

In examples (1) and (2) an interchange is most unlikely to occur; in example (1) it would be altogether unexpected. In example (3), on the other hand, it would be strongly recommended by certain members of the

⁹ See, for example, R. W. Zandvoort, *A Handbook of English Grammar*, London, etc., 1957, especially CHAPTER SIX and p. 344.

¹⁰ *The Radio Listener's Week-End Book* ed. by John Pringle, Odhams Press, London, s.a., p. 105.

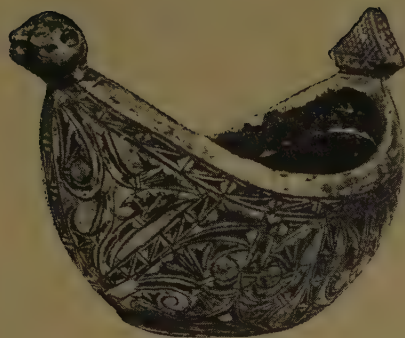


Fig. 1. Troys, Høgsfjord, Rogaland, end of 17th cent.
Norsk Folkemuseum.



Fig. 2. Trøys, Dovre, Gudbrandsdal, 1781.
Norsk Folkemuseum.



Fig. 3. The same from in front.



Fig. 4. Trøys. Dalane, Rogaland, 1820.
Norsk Folkemuseum.

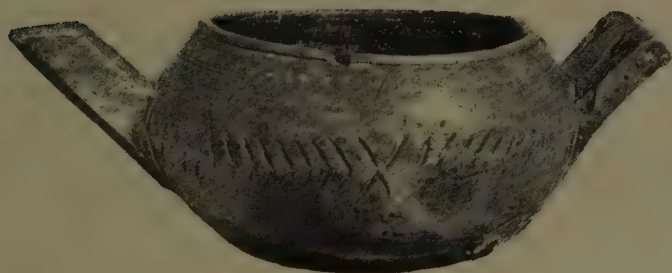


Fig. 5. Tappskål. Tjörn, Bohuslän, 1745.
Göteborgs Musei Arkiv.



Fig. 6. Tappskål. Säve, Bohuslän, 1817.
Göteborgs Musei Arkiv.

speech community of a different social and educational standing. In example (4) some speakers may have used the second alternative.

Example (3) is ruled out by normative grammar, but it shows that if it is to be excluded from our own discussion as well, we shall have to make a delimitation at an extra-linguistic level in order to justify our agreeing with those members of the speech community who established and maintain the norm. In doing so, let us state that concord is a grammatical phenomenon which is partly dependent on social setting and consequently *per se* not as indispensable as, for example, the use of 'I' and not 'they'.

Collocational analysis will have to consider (a) what individual nouns or verbs (V) form part of the pertinent nominal or verbal TERM, (b) what sub-structure within the TERM is relevant, which in its turn may lead to renewed discussion at that sub-level. Procedure (a) is of importance in the analysis of examples like (1) and (2), and procedure (b), in analysing examples like (4).

Applying this, we find that in example (1) discord is not exclusively dependent on the occurrence of the noun *police*, as is clear from the following example:

(5) The police consists of twenty-five trustworthy people.

Discord is also connected with the occurrence of certain verbs. A complete analysis would imply listing the relevant nouns and verbs. Even so, however, it would turn out that there is a residue of cases in which some speakers would use discord and others concord:

(6) The Government $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{decide} \\ \text{decides} \end{array} \right\}$ to delay further action.

If in such cases the linguist is not satisfied simply to state the two possibilities at this level, he will have to have recourse to statistics. Traditional grammar usually cuts the Gordian knot with the sword of conceptualism. If the analysis is carried on further at the situational level, it must be made clear what is a continued analysis at a new level of a problem that could not be fully dealt with at the old level, and what is the common situational feature of the whole grammatical category (in this case the kind of discord under discussion). There is not much point in referring a predictable noun like *cattle* to the situational level when it can be defined satisfactorily at the grammatical level.

Examples like (4) could be tackled like the type exemplified in (1), but there is another possibility. There is an interesting feature of sub-structure revealed if example (4) is compared with the following:

(7) Linguists often fail.

The ELEMENT represented by *statistics* in (4) and by *linguists* in (7) contains TERMS of different nature. In the first case, it is impossible to find TERMS like 'a statistic' and 'the statistic', whereas it is possible in

the second case to find 'a linguist' and 'the linguist', with the appropriate changes in concord. Consequently the two types can be defined at the grammatical level without discussing the '*feeling of singularity*' or '*singular ideas*' of an unknown speaker. Continued at the situational level, the analysis would have to be carried on in much the same way as with example (1).

Example (2), which is a case of discord as much as any of the others, is traditionally referred to as an example of 'the subjunctive', which is defined as a special 'mood'. An analysis at the grammatical level carried on along the same lines as with example (1) would show that there are cases in which the list of nouns and/or verbs and/or representatives of other ELEMENTS does not allow of more than a very limited number of collocations, for example 'Long live the Queen (the King, the bridal couple, etc.)'.

Further analysis at the grammatical level shows a difference in interchangeability from cases of concord. While *fail/fails* may both be used with *statistics*, example (2) is interchangeable with

(8) May God help you.

Even if examples like 'May statistics often fail' are most unlikely, cases like 'Statistics may often fail' could well be expected, as could also examples like 'God helps you'. A subtle analysis at the grammatical level may be able to take us another step forward, but there is no doubt that 'Statistics may often fail' and 'God helps you' appear in different contexts from the original examples (2) and (4). This, their difference in situational reference, can be described as follows: there are cases in which the situation referred to by a sentence is something which has not yet been incorporated with the experience of the speaker — example (2), and there are others in which the situation already has — example (4). We shall call the first type NONDUM-situations, and the second type, IAM-situations. Consequently there are verbal TERMS in sentences with NONDUM-reference and verbal TERMS in sentences with IAM-reference. This classification is not simply the old distinction between 'the subjunctive' and 'the indicative': it does not apply to the verb alone, but to the verb as connected with *the whole sentence*, and it is made in terms of the *speech-situation*.

The distinction between IAM and NONDUM may prove to be of some value in other classifications. It could be used as a first criterion for singling out such cases of *should* + V as the following:

(9) Why should he write such stuff?

This is a case of IAM, as opposed to the following, which is a case of NONDUM:

(10) What would life be without an international crisis?¹¹

¹¹ The beginning of a leading article in *The Listener*, Vol. LX, 1958, p. 152.

(N.B. These are both 'rhetorical questions', so a reference to stylistics is not sufficient.)

Similarly, the following case of *will/would* + V distinguishes itself from the majority by having IAM-reference:

(11) He would hang about for hours doing nothing.

The distinction is not necessarily connected with the verb in the sentence. This is an example in which it could be applied to a nominal TERM:

(12) (a) Has somebody phoned me? (IAM)

(b) Has anybody phoned me? (NONDUM)

*

The discussion of concord or discord as connected with V and V-s has led to a distinction in situational reference and to a classification of the situations referred to by the speaker as IAM and NONDUM. The problems of concord that arise in connexion with V-ed will add some new features.

It has been stated above that normally V/V-s is interchangeable with V-ed. To get some idea of the probable qualifications of this statement we shall have to look at a few examples.

(13) I take an ordinary hat. I put it on the table like this. I dip my hand into the hat — and what do I pull out? A real live rabbit.

(14) The King is hit in the right eye by an arrow, and falls to the ground. He dies, while his men are fighting bravely around him.

(15) Jan fastened a slackened boot lace and Pat did up the straps of the ruckers. I tied one of Hyacinth's hair ribbons that was in danger of slipping off the end of her plait. The lorry slackened speed and drew up with a scrunching of brakes. We scrambled down on to the road.¹²

(16) Once I remember I took a new chap down a sewer with me. I was walking on ahead testing the depths and the airshafts and everything like that. ... This man, he was behind me — or should have been behind me. All of a sudden I turns round to speak to him and he wasn't there. 'Course, I turned round to the clerk of the works who was with me. I said ... He said ... I said ... I goes back, up the local sidelines, and shouts out. No reply. I goes down below to the other sewer under us, the relief sewer, and shouts out again. No sign of Tom. I walks right the way through the sewer to the next entrance and asked the man if he was up there. He said, 'No'.¹³

(17) 'Whoops', he said, smiling up at me. 'Thanks, old saviour.'

'Colin!' the woman says.

'Now you *have* had enough', she says, smoothing herself down and glancing up at me ...

'Come on, we're off.'¹⁴

Examples (13), (14) and (15) show that there exists a verb-to-verb concord as well as the concord between noun and verb already discussed. Example (16), from which example (3) is an extract, shows a verb-to-verb discord that would be as little accepted by certain groups of speakers as the discord illustrated by example (3) above: though the passage testifies

¹² Marjorie Lloyd, *Fell Farm Holiday*, Penguin Books, 1951, pp. 56-57.

¹³ For reference, see footnote 10.

¹⁴ William Sansom, *The Cautious Heart*, The Hogarth Press, London, 1958, p. 15.

to the speaker's sense of drama and narrative powers, and though an analysis would probably show that the change from V-s into V-ed and vice versa is not made altogether haphazardly, it would not be accepted as the best style. So consistency in concord is a result of conscious training and advocated by a normative group of language users.

The stories told in (13) and (14) might as well have been using V-ed, and example (15) might have been changed into V-s; but just as example (16) would be more acceptable to some people if there were no discord, so there will be people ready to maintain that the present tense is to be reserved for dramatic narrative. That this is a superimposed convention is to some extent borne out by example (17), in which the change from *said* into *says* hardly evokes a stronger sense of drama. It would be a poor narrative that for its vividness relied on tense only; there is nothing specially dramatic about the present tense as such.

There is, however, a difference in interchangeability between example (13) and example (14). The passage in example (13) can appear in a situational context in which nobody would think of using V-ed, namely with reference to the situation in which the utterance is being made. On the other hand, if reference is made to a situation detached from that in which the utterance is being made, it is possible for interchange to occur. Since in both cases it is a matter of IAM-situations, we can now distinguish between those which coincide with the speech-situation and those which do not: NUNC-situations and TUNC-situations.

This does not imply any reference to 'time', which is so often considered to be in almost magical union with the verb. It is difficult to tell why, if a contextualization is to be established, language should be related to something so ephemeral that it changes while the smallest language unit is being uttered.¹⁵ Another difficulty is upholding the distinction between the 'future' and certain phenomena described in terms of 'mood'.¹⁶ By relating language to various types of situations which have been established through an analysis starting at the grammatical level, we do not have to make that distinction, we have a formula for capturing the fleeting moment, and we also have a possibility of allowing for overlapping (cf. the first three verbs in (15)).

The least disputable interrelation is that between V/V-s and NUNC-situation (13): in the circumstances no interchange is possible, and the

¹⁵ Otto Jespersen, who rightly criticizes the lack of distinction between categories of linguistic description (tense) and extra-linguistic categories (time), still takes it for granted that language should be related to 'the natural (or notional) concept "time" and its subdivisions' (*Language*, London 1924, p. 254), even though he defines 'the present time' as 'a point, which has no duration' (*ibid.*, p. 258). Cf. also Harold E. Palmer and F. G. Blandford, *A Grammar of Spoken English*², Cambridge 1939, p. 148, on which page 'now' (for 'the present time') is aptly symbolized by a vertical line right through the word 'write'!

¹⁶ Many grammars have difficulties over the distinction between 'temporal' and 'modal', especially in chapters on 'auxiliaries', and not even formally is the distinction between 'future' and non-indicative moods rigidly upheld in the classical languages.

nature of the situation is clear from shared experience. It is true that in examples (14) and (15) V/V-s and V-ed are interchangeable even with reference to the same situation, but these are passages containing strings of verbs; in one-verb sentences interchangeability under the same situational circumstances is not normal. Compare the following two examples:

- (18) (a) I smell a rat.
(b) I smelt a rat.

Normally the fact that V-ed is used and not V/V-s is a grammatical distinction interrelated with a gap between a TUNC-situation and the NUNC-situation. Examples:

- (19) Old Mrs. Bill of Hunter's Green had three daughters, Daisy, Letty, and Francie, the youngest. Daisy is a spinster of fifty ... She drinks a good deal when she can get it free, eats enormously, and loves a noise.¹⁷
(20) '... He isn't my fiancé.'

...
'Who is your fiancé then?'

'An odd question,' she said, 'since you don't know who I am in the first place. In any case', she added, 'was my fiancé.'

'Was, then.'¹⁸

The nature of the situation can be established either by non-linguistic means (shared experience) or by linguistic references, for example to the calendar or the clock, which both help to state the relative order of situations.¹⁹ The establishing is done by *the speaker*, just as it is he who decides what is 'here', 'there', 'this', 'that', 'you' and 'he' in the speech-situation. This subjectivity (= what is dependent on the speaker) can be objectively checked against the experience shared with the speaker. When that fails we must take the speaker's word for it. If we do not, we can get evidence by following up his own indications (calendar, clock, etc.) or by other means, and so find out whether his references are true, that is, whether it is a matter of what can be objectively established as a TUNC-situation.

Even with V/V-s there are cases in which the direct correlation with the speech-situation is not immediately clear, for example:

- (21) Mrs. Anderson gives piano lessons.

Here we have no immediate connexion with the speech-situation as we had in (13). Again we must take the speaker's word for it, or ask for evidence. The difference from the previous case is that the evidence is not already

¹⁷ The opening lines of Joyce Cary, *The Good Investment* (quoted from Dan Davin (ed.), *English Short Stories of Today*, Second Series, Oxford University Press, London/Toronto 1958, p. 34). — Note that once the TUNC-situation has been established, discord need not have any reference to a change of situation. Cf. also example (16).

¹⁸ William Sansom, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁹ Adverbials like *yesterday* and *a week ago* might have been used as collocability criteria at the grammatical level but for cases like 'And yesterday I come home, and what do I see? The cat on the table eating all the fish.' — They sometimes do occur even with V/V-s.

there waiting to be dug out; it is we who have to wait for some of the evidence to turn up — there are still one or two pieces of the jigsaw-puzzle missing, before there is full connexion with a patent situation that we can all share. This leads to a distinction of NUNC LATENT, as opposed to NUNC PATENT. Under that heading fall examples like 'The sun sets in the west', 'I know', 'I see', the latter two because we cannot enter into the speaker's mind. Similarly:

(22) We start tomorrow.

(23) I dine with Lord Bitchcroft.

In (22) it is the time element referred to by 'tomorrow' that constitutes the missing piece; when that falls into place, the situation is PATENT. Sentence (23), in which there is no such reference, relies on the speech-situation; uttered as an answer to a question containing the reference, or uttered by a person speaking under circumstances that in themselves are a clear indication (he has dressed for dinner, it is nearly dinner time, etc.), it is used as referring to a specific situation although the *linguistic* reference is missing. Without such contextual or situational linking the question of time does not arise.²⁰

Distinctions are not clear-cut. The distinction between NUNC PATENT and NUNC LATENT depends on how much evidence we as non-speakers think we need. Also, seen objectively, that is, from the point of view of the non-speaker, the situation under discussion may sometimes rather seem entitled to the description NONDUM, such as in (22). It is in borderline cases that we can expect different languages to offer the greatest variations, and it is in them that learners of a specific foreign language find the greatest difficulties. Nevertheless an analysis in the terms suggested here seems to give an adequate description of the situations in which V/V-s is not interchangeable with V-ed.

However, there are cases in which interchangeability does occur, even though it could be objectively stated that it is a matter of NUNC PATENT, for example:

(24) (a) I want a piece of soap, please.

(b) I wanted a piece of soap, please.

(25) 'Was she expectin' you?'

The stage doorkeeper caged like an old parrot in a shabby glass box ..., cocked his head on one side and examined Mr Cork with pineyed hostility.

²⁰ This is another example of how important it is not to isolate the contextualization of the verb from that of the whole sentence. Traditionally the verb is too often given credit for references that could rather be attributed to the adverbial. Cf. the following examples:

(a) He always reverses full speed into his garage.

(b) One day he reverses full speed into his garage.

(c) He never reverses full speed into his garage.

Why talk about the verb in (a) expressing a repeated action and the verb in (b) expressing an isolated action unless one is prepared to classify (c) as an example of verbs expressing an action that never takes place?

... (There follow after these opening lines of the chapter about three pages of story describing how Mr Cork loses his way, but in the end meets a young girl, who gives him directions for Miss Anna Pryde's dressing-room.)

With an embarrassed word of thanks, Mr Cork hurried on. The fairy queen called after him.

'By the way,' she said. 'Is Anna expecting you?'²¹

In these cases the speaker has the choice of two possibilities. To the non-speaker V/V-s seems to be the natural one as referring to NUNC PATENT, so why is he confronted by V-ed, as if the speaker were referring to the gap between TUNC and NUNC? The only new feature to point to in the situational set-up is: in (24) greater politeness, and in (25) greater rudeness. In both cases a kind of 'gap' is created, though of a different type and, judging from appearances, to do with the speaker's attitude.

★

These are only a few introductory remarks on a huge subject. They are an attempt to state the contextualization of the verb-in-the-sentence in terms of 'situation':



The material used is V/V-s/V-ed, and the point of departure has been the grammatical level.

What remains to be done is to bring into the picture the remaining verbal TERMS with what correlations of situational categories may seem necessary.

Gothenburg.

YNGVE OLSSON.

²¹ Macdonald Hastings, *Cork on the Water* (1951), Penguin Books, 1956, pp. 29 and 32.
— It is the difference in tense in *was/is expecting* that counts.

Place-Names of Derbyshire*

The three fine volumes devoted to Derbyshire place-names are an important and welcome addition to the magnificent series of county volumes published by the English Place-name Society. So far the survey embraces the whole of 18 counties and about two thirds of one (Yorkshire). This means that more than half the area has been covered.

An earlier study of the place-names of Derbyshire by a pupil of the late H. C. Wyld, B. Walker, published in 1914-5, is restricted to what may be called major names. The new survey embraces the whole of the place-nomenclature of the county. A very considerable part of the volumes is taken up by names of minor places and especially field-names, the latter printed in smaller type. Names of this kind are here dealt with for the first time.

What will first strike the reader of the volumes is probably the extraordinary wealth of material, especially fresh material, contained in them. The etymological discussion under each article is generally brief. The importance and value of the collection can hardly be rated too high. The number of unprinted sources excerpted is very large, as even a cursory glance at the bibliography or the lists of forms in the text will show. Italicized references abound. To take a concrete example, under Malcöff (p. 62) 11 out of 16 references are from unpublished sources. The author has also utilized a considerable body of relatively late sources, which often throw unexpected light on late names. The early material makes the impression of being thoroughly trustworthy; of course I have had no opportunity of verifying any of the forms.

The author's intimate familiarity with the early history and geography of the county is seen especially in the full Introduction, but also in many special articles, as those on road-names. The Introduction contains interesting results of a detailed investigation of the place-names, for instance the local distribution of place-name elements or name-types, of Celtic and Scandinavian names. The systematic survey of elements in the field-names at the end of the book must have cost an immense amount of work.

The author is worthy of a special eulogy for the scrupulous care he has spent on his work, as far as the material is concerned. Inconsistencies hardly occur and misprints are at least extremely rare. None of any importance have been noticed by the writer.

The material collected and systematically arranged in the volumes forms a first-rate basis for a detailed systematic study of the place-nomenclature of the county, in particular for the etymological interpretation of the names. It will be the object of the remainder of this article to examine the way in which the author has utilized his material for such a study of the names,

* Kenneth Cameron, *The Place-names of Derbyshire*. Cambridge at the University Press, 1959. English Place-name Society, vols. XXVII-XXIX. Part I, pp. i-lxxiv, 1-185; Part II, pp. 187-514; Part III, pp. i-viii, 515-829. 7 maps. Price 35/— each Part.

in other words his etymological method and the results of his interpretative activity. I am not sure he attains quite the same high standard in his etymological work as in that of collecting and sifting his material.

A comparison between Cameron's book and its predecessor, as far as their common matter is concerned, is inevitable. Walker's study is one of the better among early county volumes. It is restricted to habitation-names, chiefly village-names, after all the most important and interesting names, apart from river-names and the like. Etymologies are based on a considerable body of early forms and on the whole show sound method, not rarely acumen and good judgement. The book is now of course largely out of date, but as a whole it fairly well bears a critical examination.

Walker's book has been a valuable help to the later scholar, who could take over many etymologies unchanged. Where he differs from Walker he has frequently been able to profit from suggestions by other scholars. I am glad to see that not a few etymologies have come from DEPN or its preparatory studies, as for Ballidon, Buxton, Hognaston, Matlock, Offcote, Parwich, Pencrich, Rosliston, Seal, Shottle, Sterndale, Unstone. Cameron's independent contributions in this department of place-names are not very numerous and not always convincing. In some cases Walker's etymologies are preferable, as for Alfreton, Litchurch. But the additional material adduced is of value for etymological purposes, and the fresh treatment also of village-names undoubtedly means a real step forward. Yet one would have thought that the 45 years that divide the two studies would have left more obvious marks than is actually the case.

The names omitted by Walker, especially names of minor places and field-names, give Cameron ample opportunity for showing his mettle as a place-name etymologist. His explanations are generally sound and convincing, when sufficient material is available. Many names do not offer serious difficulties, but there are not a few real cruxes, some at present probably insoluble. Some suggestions have not convinced the writer, but where such a mass of detail is involved there must be many points on which opinions may differ.

Many among these minor names have been found comparatively late, and in forms that are difficult to judge. Misspellings or misreadings may often be suspected. Some names might better have been left unexplained, or alternative etymologies might have been added. I must restrict myself to a very few instances. *Defhouse* (t. Edw 3) is explained as 'house for deaf people' (p. 37). This seems to be an anachronism, and I have little doubt that the correct form is *Dofhouse* 'dove-house'. *le Qwytekere* 1312 (p. 190) may rather be 'white acre' than 'shining marsh'. *Calecroft* 1609 (p. 226) is explained as 'callow croft'. *Cale-* may equally well be OE *calf* or *cald*. It cannot be considered as certain that *Watering* (p. 402 f.) is 'water meadow', especially as *eng* is rare in Derbyshire. *Watering* 'watering place' is equally possible.

The place-nomenclature of Derbyshire is on the whole homogeneous and offers comparatively few serious etymological problems. Early habitation-names mostly fall into well-known categories. A large proportion consist of a known personal name and a word like *tūn*, as Alfreton, Alkmonton, Chellaston, Edlaston, Kniveton, Osmaston, Thurstaston. In the circumstances it is tempting to postulate unknown personal names for obscure or doubtful names, and Cameron (like Walker) avails himself freely of this kind of explanation, assuming unrecorded pers. names, often with double stars, for a considerable number of names, such as *Bol* (*Bul*) for Bolsover, *Bucg* for Buxworth, *Corda* for Curbar, *Penec* for Pinxton, *Brandsige* for Brassington, *Hȳnci* or *Hundsige* for Hanson. This preference for pers. names as first elements of place-names sometimes reminds one of the Wyldian era of English place-name study, in which this etymological principle was carried to an extreme. This is not the only feature reminiscent of a past stage of place-name etymology. Thus the *i*-mutated variant **bræd* for *brād* 'broad' erroneously assumed by Wyld for Bradkirk is revived by Cameron to account for Broadlowash (*Bredelawe* DB).

Some of the starred personal names may well have existed, but we must reckon with the probability or possibility that difficult names may contain significant words, obscured compounds and the like. A name like Monsal may be 'Morwine's halh', though *Morwine* is not well evidenced and nothing suggests that *Mornes-* is from *Morwines-*. But the place is in the moor district of Derbyshire and it is reasonable to suppose that its name contains the word *mōr*. The name is left unexplained in DEPN, but I am now inclined to believe that the first element is *mōr-ærn* 'moor-house'. *Morærnes* would necessarily become *Mornes*. Brassington I still think is *Brantstig-dūn* rather than **Brandsige's dūn*. The similar Hanson (399) cannot possibly have an OE **Hȳnci* as first element, and **Hundsige* is not a probable formation. It may at any rate be suggested that it is a parallel of Brassington, an OE *Huntanstig-dūn* 'the down of the hunter's path' or the like. The first element of the strange Curbar (*Cordeburg* 1203, *Quordborough* 1346) might be a reduced compound, e.g. *Corn-wudu* or *Cweorn-wudu*, rather than a pers. name **Corda* or the rune-name *cweorð*. It is unprofitable to add further examples, and I content myself with the remark that though I do not claim that my suggestions for names like Bolsover, Inkersall, Pinxton are more than guesses, I am not convinced that Cameron's are preferable.

A few special names may be briefly discussed here.

Under Glapwell Cameron finds a combination of *glæppe* 'buckbean' with *wælla* less likely. He apparently forgets that buckbean is a water-plant.

Kyttlowgrewys 1474 (p. 59) I would unhesitatingly explain as 'kite hill grove', even if there was an OE pers. n. *Cyta*, which is doubtful.

Longstone 138 (*Langesdune* DB) is a complicated case. The name is identical with Longsdon in Staffs, and both places are named from

long ridges. It would be an odd coincidence if the two long ridges had been named from tall owners or owners called *Lang*. This raises the question if the seemingly obvious explanation is correct and whether *Long*- does not after all refer to the length of the ridges. The common spellings without *s* (*Langedon* 1200 &c.) actually suggest a meaning 'long ridge'. *Lang* may have been an earlier name of the ridges or *Langes-* is a simplified form of *Langest-* (cf. *Medomsley*, *Middlesborough* and the like). I did not mention the possible alternative meaning '*Lang's* ridge', because any reader can supply that himself.

In the case of *Youlgreave* the fact that late OE *Geola* (*Iola*) is doubtless a Scandinavian name is of importance. OE *geolo* 'yellow' is preferable.

One reason why Cameron is in favour of pers. names as the first el. of place-names is apparently his attitude towards so-called triple compounds. Under *Hognaston* (p. 376) he says triple compounds are most unlikely in place-names. This is a strange dictum since he assumes some such compounds himself, as under *Alderwasley*, *Boyleston*, *Hognaston*. Triple compounds are common in place-names; we need only refer to such names as *Claverton*, *Harvington*, *Melverley*, *Stamfordham*, *Staverton* (and many others with a middle element *ford*), *Burlton*, *Calverleigh*, *Carburton*, *Hethfelton*, *Seasalter*. Names like these are no more triple compounds in the sense that they were formed by the combination of three elements than a name like *Cynewulfestūn* is a compound of *cyne*, *wulf* and *tūn*. *Alderwasley* is a compound of *Alorwæsse* and *lēah*, *Harvington* one of *Hereford* and *tūn*. There is no real difference between the names *Stamfordham* and *Fordham* except that the first member of *Stamfordham* is a compound word. Triple compounds of the kind here indicated can be unhesitatingly reckoned with, and I do not think any place-name scholar has reckoned with triple compounds of any other kind.

The rôle of personal names in place-names and of triple compounds are controversial matters, on which opinions vary. There are, on the other hand, not a few cases where it seems to me that the author in his work of interpretation does not pay sufficient attention to the testimony of his early material or overlooks phonological difficulties. His method is not always sufficiently strict.

Wrongly marked quantities of OE or OS cand vowels or inaccurate forms may not affect the etymologies but should of course be avoided in a work that claims a high philological standard. Wrong quantities are given for *ryge* 'rye', *trog* 'trough', *lundr* 'grove', which are *rȳge*, *trōg*, *lūndr* throughout, or for *cīcen*, 'chicken' (p. 463), *īsern*, *īsen*, *īren*, *pōl* (list of elements), written *cīcen*, *īsern* &c., *pol*. OE *rið* 'stream' is *rið* p. 747. In reality *rið* is unrecorded in Derbyshire, since *siðriðe fōrda* 1009 must surely be *Sigeðryðe fōrd*. The length of *i* in *rið* is proved by later forms. Reeth at most points to a side-form *rið*. Under *glæd*³ 'glade' (p. 730) Cameron deviates from EPN(S), which has *glæd*³. This is a step

forward, but the OEScand *glēd* adduced in the same article is an impossible form. Walker is more up to date in regard to quantities than Cameron.

It is not apparent why *brēc*, *spēc*, *wēt* are regularly used for *brāc*, *spāc*, *wāc*, while the same phoneme is written *æ* in *læs*, *mæd*, *sæte* and others.

OE *bera-weard* 'bear-keeper' is a barbarous form. The OE word for buckbean was *glæppe*, not *glæppa*. The OE base of ME *gote* 'stream' was doubtless *gotu* fem., not *gota* masc. The cognate OSax *gota*, G Gosse, Du *goot* are fem. *ō*-stems. The OE form of *handle* was *handle* fem., not **handel* (p. 394). The ME past participle of *burn* was surely *brend*, *brent*, not *brende*, *brente*.

But there are cases where a stricter method and a more intimate familiarity with English historical philology might have saved the author from wrong or doubtful etymologies.

The OE palatalization is admittedly a difficult chapter, which the author does not seem to have mastered fully. On *Belf* I refer to my recent *Etymological Notes*. Derivation from OE *belg* (< **balzi-*) is forbidden by ME *Belghe*. Beeley (p. 44) cannot have as first el. OE *bēg* 'berry', since that word must have had palatal *ȝ* and could only become ME *bei*, *bai*. Forms like *Begelie* DB, *Beweleg* 1236 presuppose a first el. with velar *g* (*ȝ*). *Bēga* is possible, but *Bēaga* or *Bēage* is preferable. An OE short-name **Cemmi* from *Cēolmār* (cf. Kempshill 159) must have had palatal *c* (ME *ch*).

The material adduced in favour of early ME *ū* from OE *ā* (Foolow, Scow Brook) does not warrant the assumption of such a strange sound-change. On Foolow see my *Etymological Notes*. Phoside is not a case in point.

Chunal (69) cannot have as first el. OE *ceole* 'throat', which had short *eo*. Later *Chunal* presupposes OE *ēo*.

The persistence of medial *-e-* (*Kile-*) in early forms of Kilburn (p. 475) makes derivation of *Kil-* from OE *cyln* unlikely, according to the author. *Kiln* was OE *cylenē*, *cylen*, *cyline*, later *cyln*. OE *Cylenburna* goes better with the early forms than *Cyllan burna*. *Kiln* is from Lat *culina*, as *mill* is from Lat *molina*. *Mill* is OE *mylen*, later *myln*, and appears regularly as *Mile-*, *Mule-* in early forms of Milton and the like.

Litton, in my opinion, cannot be OE *hlið-tūn* in view of the well-established form *Lutton*. OE *hlȳde* 'torrent' is rejected as first el. because the nearest stream of note is more than half a mile away. The place is in a depression between two hills about halfway between two streams (Tideswell Dale and Raven's Dale). My own supposition has been that a small stream formerly ran from Litton to Tideswell Dale and that the stream was called *Hlȳde*. An inspection of the locality might be worth while. If it turns out that there can have been no such stream at Litton, derivation from *Hlȳdan-tūn* can be upheld, since the distance from Tideswell Dale is slight. Tideswell Dale may have been called *Hlȳde*.

The early forms of Mercaston (*Murcaston, Murcaneston* 13th &c.) rule out early Welsh *Merchiaun* as first el. A similar remark applies to Brizlincote 623 (*Bersicote* c 1100, *Bursicote* a 1189, *Bursincote* c 1240 &c.), for which connection with ME **berse* 'forest enclosure' is suggested. The first el. might be OE *Byrhtsige*.

The lost Soham (*Salham* DB, *Salvin* for *Salum* 1244) is derived from OE *salum* (dat. plur.) 'the shallows'. It is doubtful if *Salum* could have given *Soham*, and the DB form points to a compound with *hām* or *hamm*. *Salh-homm* (with WMidl. *o* from *a* before the nasal; cf. common *lone* 'lane' in Db) would tend to become *Salum* early.

Geld Field 54 is apparently taken to mean 'guild field'. The form *Geld* points to OE *gelde* 'barren'.

Sheldon 164 (*Scelhadun* DB) is not quite easy to explain definitely, but *Shel-* can at any rate not be OE *scelf*, for the *f* of that word could not have disappeared early.

Oakstedge Lane 194 (*Hokestidge* 1780) cannot well be OE *āc-stede*. Apparently *edge* was added to a name in *-stig* 'path' (note Oakstedge Lane).

Courses 62 (*Courcis* 13th) is very likely from the French place-name Courci, but the surname *Chaurces*, *Chaurcis* 12th is a different name. *Chaurces* is a frequent surname in early records (e.g. 1190-1230 P.) It may be from *Chaourse* in Aisne.

Two names that offer special phonological difficulties may be discussed here, the river-name Goyt and Litchurch.

Goyt (*Guit* 1244, *Gwid*, *Gwit*, *Goyt* 1285) must be identical with Welsh *gwyth* 'channel, conduit', OCo *guid* 'vein', MBret *guoeth*, *goeth* 'brook', in spite of Professor Jackson's objection. The agreement between OCo *guid* and *Gwid* cannot be fortuitous. It is possible that one detail in my explanation is wrong, but the etymology as a whole is to be upheld. The difficulty is the juxtaposition of early *tt* (whence Welsh *th*) and late *gw* (from *w*). If *t* cannot be explained as a substitution for a Welsh consonant intermediate between early *tt* and later *th*, it can easily be accounted for as a development of *th* on English soil. A change of *þþ* to *tt* occurs in Old English. OE *lætt* 'lath' must be from earlier **læþþ*, a form presupposed by the later *lath*. An English change of *tt* to *þþ* is out of the question. There are possible traces of *t* also in early spellings of *moth*, *pith* (see OED). Long *þþ* was rare in OE. A change of *þ* to *t* is common in post-Conquest times owing to Norman influence, and *Gwit* can alternatively be explained as a Norman modification of *Gwith*. The form *Goyt*, by the way, has nothing to do with dial. *goit* from *gote* 'stream'. The change *o* > *oi* is late.

It is clear that Litchurch represents earlier *Littlechirche*, a well evidenced type of form, but some spellings, especially *Ludecerce* DB, may at first sight seem to point to an earlier name *Ludan cirice*. Early *Lude-*, however, is quite compatible with an OE *Lȳtle cirice* 'small church'. *Lude-* in DB is simply explained as a scribal error for *Lutle-*, since *tl* and *d* are

often difficult to keep apart. Analogous cases are *Erдинburne*, *Cherdinton* DB for *Irthlingborough* (OE *Yrtlinga burg*) and *Kirklington*. Later spellings *Lude-* may continue the DB form, but they may also be due to dissimilatory loss of the second *l* coupled with a change of *t* to *d* in voiced surroundings. I do not think there can be any doubt that the old derivation from OE *Lȳtle cirice* is to be upheld.

A number of phonologically possible etymologies seem improbable for other reasons. Only a very few can be noted here.

A ME *bagge* 'beggar' supposed to enter into *Bag Lane* 447 (*Baggelone* c 1220) and *Bag House* 64 is unknown and probably postulated by the author owing to a misunderstanding. *Baggelane* might be *cul-de-sac*.

It is very unlikely that dial. *bar* 'horseway up a steep hill' is PrimW **barr* 'top, crest' (p. 41), which is recorded only as the probable source of the ancient hill name *Barr*. Dial. *bar* is no doubt correctly identified in EDD with dial. *bargh*, *barf* from OE *beorg*.

An OE **bircel* 'little birch-tree' (*Birchill* 110) is an improbable formation. Unless the locality definitely forbids it, 'birch hill' is surely to be preferred. The place seems to be between two hills.

The common name *Costelowe* (e.g. *Coarselow* 25) is explained as 'hill where a trial was made', and on p. 677 OE *cost* is stated to mean 'temptation, trial, examination'. An OE *cost* with these meanings is unrecorded, and late OE *cost* 'condition, mode' is usually held to be a Scandinavian loanword. A meaning 'judicial trial' is not known in any cognate language where the word occurs. It is highly unlikely that *Costelowe* can have had the meaning suggested by the author. *Coste-* may be a reduction of OE *cotsætan* or *cotsetlan* 'of the cotter'. A name meaning 'cotter's hill' may well have been common.

Overthwart, a common field-name, is identical with the dial. adverb *overthwart* 'across, transversely', in the name presumably 'transverse strip' or the like. *Over-* is the adv. *over*, not OE *uferra* 'upper', which gives no reasonable meaning.

Press (*Presse Wall* t. Edw. 1, *Prasse* 1330, *-feld* 1536) is hesitatingly derived from Welsh *pres* 'brushwood'. The forms do not really suit this etymology, and the ultimate source is probably OE *prass* 'pomp, array, parade' in an earlier sense such as 'swagger, bluster, brawl' or 'noise, din'. *Prass* or *Præsse* will have been the original name of *Press Brook*, which drops some 600 ft. in the course of a few miles and may well have had a name meaning 'brawling brook'. Cameron gives no hint as to the situation of *Press* and does not mention *Press Brook*, which seems to be quite a respectable stream.

Shedyard 152 (*Shyd(e)-* 1433 &c.) I would unhesitatingly derive from an OE **scidgeard* corresponding to ON *skiðgarðr* 'wooden fence'. ME *shideyerd* is mentioned c 1450 (OED).

There are a number of very curious names which it is tempting to tackle. A few may be discussed here.

Ballochborn 1275 (p. 342) no doubt contains OE *bealluc* 'a testicle',

but the word surely here refers to so-called rose-galls, excrescences common on the dog-rose.

Fritchley 437 (*Furchesleye* t. Hy 3, *Fyrchisl'* 1309) might be OE *friccan* *lēah*. OE *fricca* 'herald' had palatal cc, as shown by the common *fryccea* in Alfred's Past C, which also points to an OE form with *y* from *i*.

Malcoff 62 (*Malecaue* t. Hy 3 &c.) is on a steep slope between two brooks which join to form Black Brook. *Malecaue* might have been the name of one of the brooks (Roych Clough). If so, *-cave* will be OE *cāf* 'brisk' (cf. *Cave* in Yorks), and *Male* might be OE *mealu* 'gravel, gravel ridge' as in Mawsley, Wythemail Nth, Mansell He. This seems preferable to a Fr *male cave* 'bad cave, dangerous pot-hole'.

Tarden 145 (*Toardin*, *T(h)awardin* t. Hy 3) is very strange. OE *worpign* hardly goes with the regular early *-wardin*. The place is close to Mellor and a British origin might be thought of, *war* being the prep. for 'on' and *din* Welsh *din* (cf. Tywardreath in DEPN). If the name is English the first el. is very likely OE *twā* 'two', the second perhaps ME *warding* 'defensive work'. Tythrop might be compared.

Treak Cliff 57 (*Trayoc* 1285 &c.) is tentatively explained as a combination of OE *trega* 'affliction' and *oak*. This is not probable in view of the situation of the place. Treak Cliff is clearly identical with Tray Cliff in the 1/2-inch map. This place is high up (over 1350 ft.), apparently in a pass where runs the main road from Chapel-en-le-Frith to Castleton, and thus hardly a place where oaks would grow. There is an OE word *trig*, **trēg* (from **trauja-*), the source of ME *trey*, Mod *tray*, originally probably 'a hollowed-out block of wood, a trough'. From this I suppose was formed a diminutive **trēzuc*, which may have been used of a water-trough placed at the top of the pass for the convenience of wayfarers or else of a valley (for a similar use *trough* may be compared).

Allen Mawer on one occasion remarked that it did not matter so much if one or other etymology in the place-name volumes was wrong or doubtful. The chief thing was that the material was trustworthy, and such material had lasting value. There can be no doubt that this remark is in the highest degree applicable to Cameron's book. On the other hand there is no reason why etymologies should not be as far as possible correct and up-to-date.

Lund. ~~_____~~

EILERT EKWALL.

Notes and News

Middle English *wold*, *awold*

Of O.E. *(ge)weald* 'power', *wealdan*, *wieldan* 'to wield' there occur some interesting M.E. developments. It is my purpose to discuss a few of these, my starting-point being the *Genesis and Exodus* where the words are well represented in various uses. In his edition (*E.E.T.S.* 7) Morris also assumes the existence of the continuation of O.E. *wealda* 'ruler' in this text, line 3412 *Ilc ðhusent adde a meister wold*, but here we no doubt have the ordinary meaning 'power' (or 'control': 'a master had control of each thousand', cf. O.E.D. *wield sb.* 4), a meaning that further occurs in lines 2000 (*To don swilc dede adde he no wold*) and 1958, in the expression *in here wold* 'in their power'.

The phrase *āgan geweald* is well-known from O.E., for instance in *āhton wælstōwe geweald* 'they retained control of the battle-field' in the Chronicle, and so is *on (ge)wealde* 'in (one's) power or dominion'. These idioms survive in M.E. in the form *a-wold*, *owen (a-)wold*. M.E.D. derives *awold* from O.E. *onw(e)ald* 'power', but this is hardly a possible source, for *onweald* is a noun stressed on the first syllable, and the stress would prevent the reduction of the prefix to M.E. *a-*. Thus M.E. *a-wold* must derive from the O.E. prepositional phrase *on (ge)walde*, where the *-e* would tend to disappear through the early M.E. loss of the dat. ending. The word is fairly often used with the same connotation as in O.E., e.g. *3if þu hauest welpe awold* Prov. Alfr. 138, *Amon ðet hefde al þene world awold* Ancr. R. (ed. Day) 140.27, *Ðet alle þing haueð on wealde* Poema M. (D) 389, but also develops new meanings.

A unique use is found in G.E. 2122 *If he can rechen ðis dremes wold*, where *wold* means 'significance' ('if he (Joseph) can tell the significance of this dream'). In explanation of this sense-development, Morris (p. 127) refers to the use of 'force' in 'the force of a word', and judging by its grouping of the senses O.E.D. takes a similar view (s.v. *wield sb.* 3), but we should also take account of the parallel expression in G.E. 2086 *Me wore leuere ... ðf eddi dremes rechen swep* 'I should like better ... to explain the meaning of lucky dreams'. *Sweep* is considered obscure by O.E.D., but it is doubtless identical in meaning with the word 'sweep' in the sense 'range, scope, content'. This word is mainly from the verb, but Hall (*Sel. from Early M.E.*, p. 646) adduces O.E. *ymbswæpe* 'ambages' in support of this use. The same implication can be assumed for *wold* G.E. 2122, arising out of 'authority, sway, influence'. With *ogen*, *owen*, O.E. *āgan* 'possess, have', the meaning 'signify' occurs in three examples from G.E., all of which are entered by O.E.D. under *wield sb.* 4c, e.g. *Quat oget nu ðat for-bode o-wold* 'what is now the significance of that prohibition', also 1671, 1944. This use too is principally evidenced in G.E., though a fourth example may occur in Havelok 1932, in a passage corrupted in the MS. Another meaning closely allied to it is 'to be the

cause of'. O.E.D. wield *sb.* 4b) quotes one example from G.E. (line 2054), but we can add 525 *Ðor is writen quat agte awold, ðat ...* 'there is written what was the cause that ...', where the expression is followed by a clause (as in O.E., Bosworth-Toller, Suppl., *geweald* I. 7, 7a), and 2727 *And vndernam him ðat it agte awold*, which I translate 'and rebuked him that was the cause of it' (Morris and Hall, *op. cit.* 642, interpret differently). The same usage occurs in Orm 11815 *I me self all ah itt wald* as noted by Morris (p. 127), and it is foreshadowed in O.E. (B.-T., Suppl., *ibid.* 8). Otherwise this is a specially Norse development, cf. O.N. *valda*, Swed. *vålla* 'to cause', O.N. *vald* 'cause' etc., but although in M.E. it only occurs in the two E.Midl. texts quoted, there seems to be no particular reason for ascribing it to Scandinavian influence. We may note that Orm substitutes the acc. for the gen. used in O.E., while G.E. has a construction that seems to correspond to *āgan on (ge)walde*, an idiom which is not on actual record in O.E. but may be due to the recorded *habban on gewealde*.

In two cases *wold* has been taken to enter into composition with other words, namely in *arche-wold* G.E. 576, 614, *rode-wold* (thus Morris) G.E. 255. Morris (p. 124) explains *-wold* as meaning 'tree', comparing *threshold*, O.E. *þersc(w)old*, which he assumes to contain the same suffix. This is accepted by O.E.D. for *arche-wold* (translated 'the wooden beams or sides of the ark', s.v. ark 6; 'ark-board', Morris) and alternatively for *rode-wold* (s.v. rood *sb.* 6). However, the word 'threshold' is a primitive formation with a suffix of doubtful form and meaning which has been changed in various ways by folk-etymology. It was not a living suffix in O.E. or M.E., so the connexion proposed by Morris cannot be upheld. M.E.D. translates *arche wold* by 'the realm of the ark', thus taking *wold* in its meaning of 'dominion', yet the context rather points to a concrete use of *wold* here, especially in line 614, *Noe sag ut of ðe arche wolde*, and so does the Latin source (Comestor, *Historia scholastica*) which has (*Gen.* 34) *aperuit Noe tectum arcæ, et vidit ...* I take *wold* here to mean 'covering, shelter', a sense developing out of 'keeping, protection', hence *arche wold* = 'ark-shelter' or 'the shelter of the ark'. The sense 'covering' is recorded for O.E. by B.-T., Suppl., *geweald* III.

In the other example, line 255 *And til he was on ðe rode wold* (thus the MS.), the word should doubtless be taken as a verb meaning 'slain', as alternatively suggested by Morris. This he derives from O.E. *cwellan*, in which he is followed by O.E.D. (s.v. *wold*) and by Holthausen (*Archiv* 107.387). However, the reduction implied seems to be otherwise unexampled, and the explanation is rejected by Wülcker (*Ae. Lesebuch*, p. 124) and by Kölbing (*E. Studien* 3. 281), both of whom connect *wold* with *welden* in the meaning 'overwhelmed, destroyed, slain' ('And until he (Christ) was slain on the rood'). I consider this undoubtedly correct, and take the form *wold* to be a blending of the strong ppl. *wolden* (O.E. *gew(e)alden*) and the weak ppl. *weld* (O.E. *wyld*), since O.E. *wealdan* and *wieldan* coalesced in M.E. The same usage occurs in a couple of

other examples in G.E., as recognized also by O.E.D. s.v. *wield vb.* A 3, B 1 c, namely line 420 *Ðan he was of is broðer wold* 'when he was slain by his brother' and line 526 *Dat ðis werld was water wold* 'that this world was overwhelmed by water'. In the last quotation we may read *watre* instead of Morris' form *water*, for the word is a dative used with an instrumental force as frequently elsewhere in the text, e.g. *sorge numen* 368 'seized by sorrow, pain', *sinne wod* 1073 'mad with sin', *drugte numen* 2107 'blasted with the drought', *hungre gret* 3226 'assailed by hunger' (*ante* 38. 172), also in a different sense in 1382 *Oðere maidenēs ... ne wor nogt so forð ðeuwe numen* which I take to mean 'other maidens ... were not so far advanced (gone) in courtesousness'.

Finally, we may notice a passage where *wold* has a special meaning which has not in my opinion been correctly explained, namely G.E. 3113 ff., where the MS. reads,

Quad moyses la god it wot.
 Sal ðe[r]-of bi-leuen non fot.
 3115 Al we sulen is wið vs hauen.
 Wold quad god wile ðor-of crauen.

The lines refer to the negotiations of Moses and Pharaoh for the release of the Israelites from their bondage in Egypt. Pharaoh offers to free all who are born of woman, but wishes to keep the cattle; Moses protests, 'Lo, God knows it, thereof (of the cattle) not one foot shall be left behind, we shall have all of them with us ...' The last line, 3116, beginning in *Wold*, has been variously interpreted. In Morris' notes there is no explanation of it, but in his glossary he enters *wold* as meaning 'sacrifice', probably in reference to his translation of the ppl. *wold* by 'slain'. Kölbing (*l.c.* 3. 316) notes this, but while he rightly criticizes Morris' suggestion, he admittedly has little to offer of his own. He tentatively renders the line, 'Power', quoth God, 'I will demand over them', which can hardly be regarded as satisfactory, although it seems to be accepted by O.E.D. (*wield sb.* 1). Holthausen (*E. Studien* 16. 431) proposes emendations of *wold* to *wot* 'knows' and of *quad* to *quat* 'what'. This I am sure is mistaken except in one particular, namely the reading of *quat* for *quad*. Yet no alteration should be made in the text, for the *d*-form is a recorded variant both in O.E. (*huæd*) and in M.E. (*wad*; see O.E.D. *what*), and in G.E. we similarly find *ðad* 311 for *ðat*; however, 'what' is not used here in the meaning assumed by H. The solution is quite simple: *wold* is a conjunction = 'in case that', a usage occurring both in O.E. and in M.E. (see B.-T. *weald adv., conj.*; O.E.D. *wald conj.*, also for the connexion with *wealdan*) in combination with indefinite pronouns; for the indefinite use of *what* = 'any', see O.E.D. s.v. D I. Hence the line is to be translated ('... we shall have all of them with us) *in case* God should demand *any* of them' (i.e. as a sacrifice). Cf. the source (*Exod.* 23): Et ait Moyses: Nec remanebit ex eis ungula, præsertim cum adhuc ignoremus quid debeamus immolare.

Lund.

O. ARNGART.

On the Meaning of *foyn* and *fo* in the Towneley Plays

(Full fewe are his frendis, but fele are his foes. *York Plays* XXX 432)

My brethere that I com forto by,
has hanged me here thus hedusly,
And freyndys fynde I foyn;
Thus haue thay dight me drerely,
And all by-spytt me spytusly,
As helpes man in won.
Bot, fader, that syttys in trone,
fforgyf thou them this gylt,
I pray to the this boyn,
Thay wote not what thay doyn,
Nor whom thay haue thus spylt.

In the third line of the above passage, which is to be found in the *Towneley Plays* XXIII 284 ff., *foyn* has been interpreted in two different ways. In Mätzner's *Wörterbuch* it is recorded s.v. *fa* 'Feind' and in the OED s.v. *Foe* B. sb. 1, whereas Kaiser takes it to mean 'few'.¹ The uncertainty prevailing as to the sense of this *foyn* is reflected in two fairly recent works, in Kurath & Kuhn's *Middle English Dictionary* (Part F. 3, 1955), where this instance has very wisely been left out of account under *fō* n. as well as under *fōn* num., and in Rende's unprinted Stockholm thesis, *Synonyms for 'few' in Middle English* (1956), where its absence indicates that the author, in agreement with Mätzner and the OED, takes *foyn* to mean 'enemies' and not 'few'. None of the authorities referred to give any reasons for their interpretations.

According to Ekwall, who does not mention this particular case of *foyn*, 'occasional spellings such as *foyne* Towneley XIII, 281, ... point definitely to a ME form with a long close *ō*, the same as that in *sōne*, *mōne* from OE *sōna*, *mōna*'.² A close *ō*, the existence of which would obviously tell in favour of Kaiser's translation 'few', since *fō* 'foe' contains an open *ō* < OE *ā*, is likewise indicated by, at least, two of the four rhyme-words, namely *boyn* and *doyn*. While *won* is notoriously ambiguous, so far as the open or close quality of the vowel is concerned, *trone* 'throne' seems at first sight to point to an open *ō*. Even in this cycle of plays, however, *t(h)rone* rhymes with words containing a close *ō* on four other occasions, namely IV 74 ff. *throne: done: soyn: hoyne*, XXVIII 88 ff. *done: trone: bone* 'boon': *sone* 'soon', XXIX 91 f. *boyn: throne*, XXX 49 ff. *done: boyn: soyn: trone*. Nor are such rhymes wanting in other texts. Thus in the *Ludus Coventriæ* *trone* rhymes with *sone* 'soon' (p. 15), *mone* 'moon' (p. 43) and *mone* 'moon': *bone* 'boon': *sone* 'soon' (p. 51),

¹ *Zur Geographic des mittlenglischen Wortschatzes. Palaestra* 205 (Leipzig, 1937), p. 133.

² 'Two Middle English Etymologies', *Philologica: The Malone Anniversary Studies* (Baltimore, 1949), p. 145. — See also Kurath & Kuhn (Part F. 4, 1955) s.v. *foyn(e)*, where the reader is referred to *fōn* num. — Cf., however, spellings like *foyse* (for *fayse*) and *foyce* below and *foys* in a Coventry Corpus Christi play (II 719), all three of which mean 'foes, enemies'.

and in Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* *tron(e)* occurs in rhyme with *bone* 'boon': *mone* 'moon': *sonē* 'soon' (6.4 and 26.41), with *bon* 'boon': *son* 'soon': *hon* 'remain' (29.3) and with *bone* 'boon' (124.27).³ As, in the passage quoted from the *Towneley Plays*, four of the five rhyme-words, namely *foyn*, *trone*, *boyn* and *doyn*, contain, in all likelihood, a close *ō*, the remaining rhyme-word *won* may be supposed to have the same vowel (ME *ō* < OE *ū*?),⁴ but, since rhyme-sequences of this length are not always perfect throughout,⁵ such an assumption is neither necessary nor warranted.

Another formal criterion renders it still more likely that *foyn* means 'few' and not 'enemies' here. While it is absent in this ~~very~~ play (XXIII: 'The Crucifixion'), where *foo* 'enemy' is to be found only in the singular, rhyming with *also* (l. 71), the plural of the noun *fo(o)* occurs in other plays belonging to this cycle, and in them it appears in the forms *fose* (XXII 227), *foyse* (XXII 325: 'The ryme needs fayse, foes'), *foos* (XXIX 106) and *foes* (XXIX 303), all four in rhyme, the only form within the line being *foes* (VIII 379, XXX 155). On the other hand, there are three more (rhyming) cases of *fo(y)n(e)* in this cycle (III 99 *fone*, XIII 281 *foyne*, XXIII 432 *foyn*), and all three undoubtedly mean 'few'.

One of the principal reasons why this *foyn* has been taken to mean 'enemies' is probably the presence of *freyndys* in the same line, this being a common collocation in Middle English.⁶ Besides, the construction itself by no means forbids the assumption that *foyn* is a substantive here; the advocates of this opinion might have adduced passages like *my flesly frend my fo I fynde* in the *Ludus Coventriæ* (p. 24) and *Our fa haue founde we our flesche* in one of the poems in Carleton Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XIVth Century* (27.98). But in another poem in the anthology last quoted (104.2) there is a line, *Feiþful frendes fewe we fynde*, that favours the other interpretation, and similar constructions are to be found in various places in Rende's thesis: *Ful few find ze zowre frende* (p. 115: Minot), *foyce sall ze fynd bot foyn* (p. 135: A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament), etc. Since the co-existence of these two constructions makes it possible to interpret the passage at issue, *And freyndys fynde I foyn*, in either way, it is all the more valuable that there occurs in the very same play (XXIII 432) an unambiguous instance of *foyn* 'few' similarly used: *ffreyndys I had full foyn*. Thanks to this

³ See further, e.g., Strandberg, *The Rime-Vowels of Cursor Mundi* (Uppsala, 1919), p. 180 (§ 362): '*tron* [OFr *trone*] s.: *don* p.p. 8290, 20836. :*son* adv. 24263'. p. 184 (§ 375): 'there were two pronunciations of *trone* [with *ō* and *ō̃*], the latter representing an early loan.'

⁴ Cf. *Towneley Plays* XX 549 f. *done* 'do': *won* 'dwell'. — Cf. also Luick, *Untersuchungen zur englischen Lautgeschichte* (Strassburg, 1896), p. 266 (§ 504): 'in dem am sichersten hiehergehörigen Denkmal aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, den *Towneley-Spielen*, sind die Bindungen i : ē, ū : ȝ sogar häufig.'

⁵ Occasionally even couplets may have imperfect rhymes; cf., e.g., *Towneley Plays* XXIX 105 f. *dos* 'does': *foos* 'foes'.

⁶ See Kurath & Kuhn (Part F. 3, 1955) s.v. *fō* n. 5 (b) (c).

fortunate coincidence it is still more likely that *foyn* means 'few' in *And freyndys fynde I foyn*, too.

In the play that contains the two last-mentioned cases of *foyn* there happens to occur the only tolerably certain instance of the Scand. loan-word *fo* 'few' that is to be found in the whole of this cycle of plays (XXIII 391 ff.):

Alas, my lam so mylde / whi will thou fare me fro
Emang thise wulfes wyld / that wyrke on the this wo?
ffor shame who may the shelde / ffor freyndys has thou fo!
Alas, my comly childe / whi will thou fare me fro?

Since *ffor freyndys has thou fo* is so very similar to *ffreyndys I had full foyn* a little further down in the same play, and as the plural (doubtless required here) of *fo(o)* 'foe' has been shown above to be *fose*, *foyse* (*fayse*), *foos* and *foes* elsewhere in this cycle of plays, it appears reasonable to take *fo* to mean 'few' here. The probable reason why this *fo* had not been recorded anywhere as an instance of *fa*, *fo* 'few' (not even by Kaiser), when this article was drafted in 1951,⁷ is Maria's use of a different *fo* even in her next speech in this play (XXIII 410 f.):

Whi so
his fomen is he emang? / No freynde he has, bot fo.

As this passage now stands, *fo* has to be rendered by 'foe', but, in its original form, this line may have contained another instance of the Scand. loan-word, the scribe having been influenced by the preceding *fomen* 'enemies', which is reminiscent of *ffull stratly art thou sted / Emanges thi foo-men fell* in the same play (XXIII 315 f.). To my knowledge, only Rende has gone so far as actually to translate *fo* in *No freynde he has, bot fo* by 'few', but in his comments he not unexpectedly wavers: 'The word may be interpreted as rendering either "few" or "hostile"' (p. 145). According to him 'there is apparently a pun on *fo* ... *Foman* is certainly mentioned in the line before to call forth the desired confusion in the minds of the audience.' For all the ingenuity of this interpretation, I for my part stick to my earlier explanation that the scribe was not acquainted with the Scand. loan-word (*fa* or) *fo* 'few' and accordingly tampered a little with his text; that he was not very familiar with either *fo* or *fo(y)n(e)* may be concluded from the fact that these two words occur only in rhyme (*fo* once or, possibly, twice, *fo(y)n(e)* four times), while *few* is the only form in unrhymed positions (XXII 155, XXVII 121, XXIX 154, XXX 198, 369).⁸ — The co-existence of *fo* and *fo(y)n(e)* in one and the same text would be nothing exceptional.⁹

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⁷ Cf. now Kurath & Kuhn (Part F. 3, 1955) s.v. *fō* indef. num. (a); Rende, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁸ Cf. Rende, *op. cit.*, p. 143 f.

⁹ See Kaiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 197, 201; Ekwall, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

A Textual Puzzle in Daniel's *Delia*

XXXVII.

Delia these eyes that so admireth thine,
 Haue seene those walles the which ambition reared,
 To checke the world, how they intombd haue lyen
 Within themselues; and on them ploughes haue eared.

Yet for all that no barbarous hand attaynde,
 The spoyle of fame deseru'd by vertuous men:
 Whose glorious actions luckily had gainde,
 Th' eternall Annals of a happie pen.

Why then though *Delia* fade let that not moue her,
 Though time do spoyle her of the fairest vaile
 That euer yet mortallitie did couer;
 Which shall instarre the needle and the trayle.

That grace, that vertue, all that seru'd t'in-woman;
 Dooth her vnto eternitie assommon.

The text of this sonnet, quoted from A. C. Sprague's edition (1930), was first published in 1592. In subsequent editions (1592, 1594, 1595, etc.) it underwent certain minor changes, the most interesting being the substitution of *Rayle* for *trayle* in l. 12 (cf. Sprague's apparatus, p. 186), about which more below. The poem can hardly be classed among the more successful of the *Delia* sonnets: the first two quatrains run fairly smoothly, but the thought, dwelling on the double contrast motif of oblivion and immortality, is obscured when carried over into the third quatrain, and the poem is concluded in a rather involved and laborious manner. We are not here concerned with an aesthetic evaluation of the sonnet, but we may ask to be enlightened on 'the needle and the trayle', and we may be curious about one or two points in the couplet.

It is a common experience that the obscurity and difficulty of many passages in Elizabethan sonnets are due to the poets' adhering too closely to French or Italian originals imperfectly assimilated. In the case of the Daniel sonnet discussed here, no attempts at explaining the difficulties have been made by Lee,¹ Guggenheim,² Kastner,³ Ruutz-Rees,⁴ or Scott,⁵ who have all examined the sources of *Delia*. The non-English sonneteers to whom Daniel is indebted, as these scholars have shown, are du Bellay and Desportes among the French poets; Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini, Tansillo, possibly Chariteo, di Costanzo, and della Casa, among the Italian. But there is one Italian poet who, so far as I know, has hitherto been considered unknown to Daniel as well as to his English fellow-sonneteers, a poet who seems to give us the clue to the puzzle indicated above.

¹ *Elizabethan Sonnets* I, 1904, LII ff.

² *Quellenstudien zu Samuel Daniels Sonettencyklus 'Delia'*, Berlin, 1898.

³ *The Italian Sources of Daniel's Delia*, MLR VII, 1912, 153 ff.

⁴ *Some Debts of Daniel to du Bellay*, MLN XXIV, 1909, 134 ff.

⁵ *Les Sonnets Elizabéthains*, Paris, 1929.

Berardino Rota, 1509-1575, Neapolitan and well-known author of Petrarchan Italian verse as well as of Latin eclogues, was one of the very few sixteenth-century sonneteers who devoted their love-poetry to the faithful and unswerving praise of one single, and real, lady — in Rota's case his wife, Porzia Capece, who died in 1559. After her death Rota's *Sonetti e Canzoni* were published at Naples (1560), and, in imitation of Petrarch, the volume comprises *Rime in Vita* and *Rime in Morte della Signora Porzia Capece*. Among the *Rime in Morte* we find the following sonnet:

Quando del viver mio l'alta colonna
 A terra cadde, e'n ciel sen fece un segno,
 Feconda vena del mio scarso ingegno,
 Di se stessa, del mondo, e d'amor donna;
 L'intatta a Dio gradita eletta donna,
 Del divin fiato albergo illustre, e degno
 L'accorse, e disse: O nata a scettro, a regno,
 Ch'alzasti sovra il ciel l'ago, e la gonna,
 Siedi lieta co' primi a piè di Dio,
 Di pure, e sante voglie ornata, e carca.
 Ella baciolle il piede, e spiegò l'ali.
 Arrise Giove al cortese atto, e pio,
 Chinando il ciglio, e la verace Parca
 Lo scrisse ne' celesti eterni annali.

This account of the solemn way in which the beloved's soul is received in Heaven is also found, with negligible differences in spelling and punctuation, in the other editions of Rota's poems: Venice, 1567, Naples, 1572, authorized by the poet himself; and Naples, 1726 (from which edition I give the text above). It is clear that there must be a connection between l. 8 in Rota's sonnet and l. 12 in Daniel's; the close correspondence as well as the striking expression virtually rule out the possibility of a coincidence. However, the phrase in Rota's poem is as clear as that in Daniel's is obscure: *l'ago, e la gonna* and *a scettro, a regno* in the preceding line obviously make up a parallelism, for *gonna* ('mantle'), in early Italian, could be used metonymically for 'power', 'reign' (cf. Tommaseo-Bellini's *Dizionario*), as in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* 17, 77:

Che può la saggia e valorosa donna
 Sopra scettri e corone alzare la gonna

(... 'bear sway over the mighty'). Why, on the other hand, Rota should employ *ago* as a parallel to *scettro* is not equally clear. *Ago* does not occur in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, but perhaps *ago* = 'sceptre' is no more surprising than the Roman use of *hasta* and the Greek of *δόρυ*, words for 'pike' and 'spear', in the same sense. At any rate, by his rhetorical 'you who have lifted the needle and the mantle over Heaven' Rota obviously means 'you who have extended your power to Heaven', but this sense quite disappears in Daniel's version. There is no parallel expression there to throw light on 'the needle and the trail', and Daniel apparently

used Rota's line mainly as a piece of embellishment without considering his own context very closely. At the same time, Rota's *gonna* supports the reading *trayle* rather than *rayle* (adopted in Grosart's edition 1885), which in Daniel's day did not mean a robe but a neckerchief (NED). *Rayle* is possibly due to a corrector trying to improve on an obscure passage.⁶ — In any case, some connection between Rota's and Daniel's sonnets can hardly be doubted, and is further strengthened by the similarity between Daniel's *Th'eternall Annals of a happie pen* and Rota's *Lo scrisse ne' celesti eterni annali*.

But we cannot leave the matter here. There is another version of Rota's sonnet, which is not found in any of the editions of his poems but only in some earlier anthologies, i.e. the *Rime di diversi illustri signori napolitani* printed at Venice in 1552, the *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori*, Venice, 1553, and the *Fiori delle Rime de' Poeti illustrissimi*, Venice, 1558. The sonnet, with insignificant variations of punctuation and spelling, reads as follows in these volumes :

Tu seconda Vittoria alta Colonna
 D'honor, tu salda base, ampio sostegno
 Sarai di questo, e di quello chiaro ingegno,
 Di te stessa, del mondo, e d'Amor Donna:
 Tu dico, in cui bella honestà se'ndonna,
 D'ogni gran lode in terra ultimo segno
 Solinga andrai; tu nata a scettro, a regno
 Tra le Stelle alzerai l'ago, e la gonna,
 Disse la prima, il di, ch'al ciel sen gio,
 Poi di quel Lauro, ond' era ornata e carica,
 La coronò, mouendo in uer Dio l'eli.
 Arrise Gioue al cortese atto e pio
 Chinando il ciglio, e la uerace Parca
 Lo scrisse ne celesti eterni Annali.

This is apparently an earlier sonnet revised by Rota after his wife's death and included, in the form given on p. 383 above, in the *Rime in Morte*. However, the question that concerns us most nearly here is, Which of the two versions is likely to have been Daniel's source? Close as are the parallels between the English poem and the version found in the Rota editions, certain details tend to settle the matter in favour of the anthology version. Thus there are such particulars as the future *alzerai*, corresponding better to Daniel's *shall instarre* than the *passato remoto* form *alzasti*; and *instarre*, being closer to *tra le stelle* than to *sovrà il ciel*. What unmistakably connects Daniel's sonnet with the anthology version rather than with the version in Rota's *Sonetti*, however, is the English poet's curious — though quite explicable — mistake of imitating Rota's fifth line, *Tu dico, in cui bella honestà se'ndonna*, in the form *That grace*,

⁶ Sprague (p. xxxi) and E. H. Miller (*Samuel Daniel's Revisions in Delia*, JEGP LIII, 1954, p. 58) take it for granted that Daniel personally revised his *Delia*, but to what extent this happened is not known. For a somewhat different opinion cf. W. F. Prideaux, *Daniel's Sonnets to Delia*, NQ C, 1899, p. 210.

that virtue, all that seru'd t'in-woman. The word *indonnarsi* means 'gain the mastery of', and Rota's line is probably inspired by Petrarch's *Fiamma d'amor che'n cor alto s'endonna* (CXXVII, 25). Daniel, however, thinking that *indonnarsi* means 'be personified in a woman', or 'create a woman', produces the neology *in-woman* — a strange rather than a felicitous invention. It does not seem to have been adopted by any other English poet, and Daniel uses it in this particular passage only.

A Rota sonnet, then, found in a mid-16th-century anthology — impossible to say which — has evidently furnished material for one of the sonnets in *Delia*. Since this sonnet is not found among those surreptitiously published by Newman in 1591, and since Rota does not seem to have been known by the other English sonneteers, it is not improbable that Daniel read the Neapolitan's poem during his travels in Italy, which are likely to have taken place in 1591.⁷ — Besides throwing some light on Daniel's poetical method, the influence discussed above emphasizes the importance, in sonnet source research, of examining not only editions of individual authors but also the various contemporary anthologies. I should like to refer, by way of concluding these notes, to the remarks of Henry Chamard, the editor of du Bellay, on some Venice anthologies which may have been utilized by the French poet (Joachim du Bellay, *Œuvres Poétiques*, I, Paris, 1908. p. xlii and note).

Lund.

CLAES SCHAAR.

'She Should Have Died Hereafter'

She should have died hereafter;
 There would have been a time for such a word.
 To-morrow, and to-morrow, and to-morrow,
 Creeps in this petty pace from day to day,
 To the last syllable of recorded time;
 And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
 The way to dusty death. Out, out, brief candle!
 Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
 That struts and frets his hour upon the stage,
 And then is heard no more: it is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying nothing. (Macbeth, V, v, 17-28)

The speech is one of the peaks in the alpine parts of the Shakespearian landscape and one of the glassy tops of poetry, but though the ascent has been attempted, it has been rarely successful, and the way to the summit has not been properly charted. Some mountaineers of fame have breathed

⁷ Cf. Eccles, *Samuel Daniel in France and Italy*, SP XXXIV, 1937, p. 160 ff.
 E. S. XL. 1959.

its turbulent air; others can only have seen it on the far horizon. Yet, ledges there are and a path there is, even if footholds must be sometimes hacked in the ice. The explorer who has led the herd astray is one so justly venerated for his sense of direction that it can be no disparagement of his general achievement to suggest that on this occasion he mistook his Abyssinia.

Dr. Johnson's comment was :

It is not apparent for what *word* there would have been a *time*, And that there would or would not be a *time* for any *word*, seems not a consideration of importance sufficient to transport Macbeth into such an exclamation. I read therefore: '— a time for — such a *world*! —' It is a broken speech, in which only part of the thought is expressed, and may be paraphrased thus: The queen is dead. *Macbeth*. Her death should have been deferred to some more peaceful hour; had she lived longer, *there would at length have been a time* for the honours due to her as a queen, and that respect which I owe her for her fidelity and love. Such is the *world* — such is the condition of human life, that we always think *to-morrow* will be happier than to-day, but to-morrow and to-morrow steals over us unenjoyed and unregarded, and we still linger in the same expectation to the moment appointed for our end.¹

Did ever genius go so far astray and so deliberately? But, never afraid to confess an error, he later came to prefer 'word' to 'world': 'We may send *word* when we give intelligence.'² Nevertheless his interpretation has been in other respects commonly accepted. Thus Schiller, whose translation shows a poetical insight far in excess of his knowledge of English, renders :

Wär sie ain andermal gestorben !
Es wäre wohl einmal die Zeit gekommen,
Zu solcher Botschaft !

Tieck is even less ambiguous :

Sie hätte später sterben soll'n; — es hätte
Die Zeit sich für ein solches Wort gefunden. —

Count Baudissin altered 'soll'n' in the first line to 'können', an emendation reflected in the Swedish translation of Hinrik Sandström, 1838. Other Swedish translators follow either Schiller, as Geijer does, or Tieck, like Hagberg and Dr. Hallström.

Arrowsmith, however, had seen the light and communicated his observation to *Notes and Queries*, 1 September 1855 :

... so far is Macbeth from regarding one time as more convenient than another, that the whole tenour of his subsequent remarks evinces his conviction to be, that it makes no odds at what point in the dull round of days man's life may terminate. If she had not died now, reasons he, she should have died hereafter; there would have been a time when such tidings must have been brought; — such a tale told. The *Word* was, of course, the word brought by Seyton of the queen's decease: 'The Queen, my lord, is dead.' Dr. Johnson's blunder grew out of obliviousness or inadvertence that 'should' is used indifferently

¹ For convenience I quote Furness, *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, Vol. II, *Macbeth*, Philadelphia, 1873, p. 281.

² *Ibid.*

to denote either what *will be* or what *ought to be*; that the tyrant discourses of the *certainty*, not murmurs at the *untimeliness*, of his partner's death.³

This is shrewd commentary which should have pointed the way. Yet such is the influence of words on thoughts, and so conservative are most editors, that the signpost has been mostly passed unheeded. In modern English 'should' in a main clause nearly always does mean 'ought to' and from the silence of many a modern edition of the play this must be assumed to be the reading of such editors. The following remarks are characteristic of commentators who attempt an explanation. Verity, in the *Pitt Press Shakespeare*, calls Macbeth's reaction 'a callous remark on the inopportuneness of her death' (p. 153); Sir Edmund Chambers is less explicit without being much more helpful when he says that the first line 'can only be taken as an expression of Macbeth's callous indifference to everything but his own danger' (*Warwick Shakespeare*, p. 158). Yet he points in the right direction in saying that 'His wife's death arouses no emotions; it only suggests a general reflection on the transiency of things'. The editor of the *New Arden Shakespeare* leaves it open whether "'should" is used indifferently to denote either what will be or what ought to be (p. 159). Professor Dover Wilson in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* does explain 'should have died hereafter' as meaning 'would have died sometime', but leaves it at that (p. 167).

The meaning 'ought to' cannot be excluded in Shakespearian English,⁴ but it is very far from being the only possible one. It is not exactly that 'should', as Arrowsmith thought, was 'used indifferently to denote either what *will be* or what *ought to be*', but that 'should' in certain contexts was used to express what *must be*. A few contemporary instances may be useful.

But when the hour came that the tragedy should begin (Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. Ernest A. Baker, London, Routledge, s.a., p. 397).⁵

... her sister, who that afternoon should have her head cut off before her face (*Ibid.*, p. 396).

... since the worst he could have should be to die (*Ibid.*, p. 414).

... and spake of his own decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem (St. Luke, 9. 31).

For if it were sufficient to accuse, who should be in these days excused (Deloney⁶).

If he should offer to choose, and choose the right casket, you should refuse to perform your father's will, if you should refuse to accept him (*Merch. of Venice*, I, ii, 99-101).⁷

³ Furness, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar* (ed. 1929), § 323, p. 228 sq.

⁵ I have quoted most of the instances here adduced as well as others in my *Två Kapitel Engelsk Grammatik*, Helsingfors and Stockholm, 1951, pp. 25-8. Cf. also Abbott, *l.c.*

⁶ Quoted by Torsten Dahl, *Linguistic Studies in Some Elizabethan Writings*, I, Aarhus, 1951, p. 188.

⁷ Quoted by Arrowsmith (Furness, *l.c.*) and, with other examples, by Franz. (*Die Sprache Shakespeares*, 4th ed., 1939, § 612, p. 487). Discussed by Henry Bradley, 'Shakespeare's English', *Shakespeare's England*, II, p. 555. Cf. also O.E.D., s.v. 13 and 19a; and Onions, *A Shakespeare Glossary*, s.v.

This meaning is as obvious as it is common in conditional sentences, and there seems to be no reasonable objection to the assumption that what Macbeth wants to say is indeed that she *must* 'have died hereafter'. The speech, as Dr. Johnson said, is 'a broken' one, but not in the sense he suggested; it is rather that the subordinate clause, as Arrowsmith showed, has been suppressed. In modern English we should — and undoubtedly would — say: 'If she had not died to-day, she would have had to die hereafter', or, suppressing the conditional clause: 'Whether now or later, she must die.'⁸

What, then, does it mean in Shakespearian English when Macbeth goes on to say that 'There would have been a time for such a word'? Again a few contemporary instances may be helpful.

If nothing but chance had glued those pieces of this All, the heavy parts would have gone infinitely downward, and so never have met to make up this goodly body (*Arcadia*, p. 342). And they did not receive him, because his face was as though he would go to Jerusalem (St. Luke, 9. 53).

... which hath given such a blow unto that man of sin, as will not be healed (*Dedication to Authorized Version*).

For the time will come
That I shall make this northern youth exchange
His glorious deeds for my indignities. (*1 Henry IV*, I, ii, 144-6)

That would be scanned:
A villain kills my father, and for that
I his sole son do this same villain send
To heaven. (*Hamlet*, III, iii, 75-8)⁹

and I have bought
Golden opinions from all sorts of people,
Which would be worn now in their newest gloss,
Not cast aside so soon. (*Macbeth*, I, vii, 32-5)¹⁰

But I have words
That would be howled out in the desert air,
Where hearing should not latch them. (*Ibid.*, IV, iii, 193-5)¹¹

The examples with 'will' — 'would' are necessarily more ambiguous than those with 'should', as the sense of 'will' so easily merges into future tense, but what are 'golden opinions ... Which would be worn now', what is it 'would be scanned', except such as insist with an insistence from which there is no appeal? They *must* be worn, the case *must* be scanned, and here there is no hesitation among commentators.¹² The time, says Macbeth, *must come* when the news was brought of the queen's death. Whether it

⁸ The assumption that only the conjunction is suppressed would be preposterous. 'If she should have died hereafter, there would have been a [proper] time for such a word' would indeed make grammar but no sense, seeing that in Macbeth's view life is now devoid of meaning and so the sooner the candle is put out the better.

⁹ Quoted with other instances in *O.E.D.*, s.v., 40. c; and Onions, sub 'would'.

¹⁰ Quoted by Onions, *l.c.*; and Franz, § 616, p. 491, Anmerkung 1.

¹¹ Quoted by Abbott, with other examples, § 329, p. 232 sq.

¹² E.g. Verity, 'would' should' (p. 109).

be to-morrow or the next day, it must come just as thus it has always been, from the beginning of time till the end of the world, to the very last word of the book of destiny. Yesterday as well as all our past days have seen crowds of silly people¹³ end their wanderings and turn to dust. Let life be extinguished: it is meaningless.¹⁴

The only modern commentator who to my knowledge explicitly recommends the correct interpretation of the first two lines of Macbeth's speech is Kittredge:

SHOULD: means (as very often) 'inevitably or certainly would'. Word is 'message'. L. 18 repeats and expands the sense of l. 17. Cf. Ford, *The Broken Heart*, V, 2:

Those that are dead
Are dead. Had they not now died, of necessity
They must have paid the debt they owed to nature
One time or other.

Macbeth receives the news of his wife's death with apathy, and does not even ask the manner or the cause. 'Ah, well! she would certainly have died *sometime*! some day this message must have come — on one of the many to-morrows by which time creeps so slowly forward to eternity'.¹⁵

Thus the flag was planted on the peak. It is time the ledges leading to the summit became more frequented.

Upsala.

H. W. DONNER.

Henry Lüdeke 70. Dr. Henry Lüdeke, Professor of English and American Literature in the University of Basel, and Editor for Switzerland of *English Studies*, will be seventy on October 10th.

¹³ In spite of Chambers's gibe at 'the vanity of commentators', I venture (with Hunter) to assume an ambiguity 'fools'-'foules' (Furness, at V, v, 22). Cf. Dr. Johnson's 'multitudes of fools' (Furness, *l.c.*).

¹⁴ I am afraid this interpretation leaves no room for the ingenious suggestion of Mr. G. R. Elliott that the word 'dead' should be interpreted in 'a sense far more awful than that expressed by Seyton's word. His wife's premature and dreadful ending is better than the living death she would have had hereafter, along with him — even if, indeed especially if, he maintains his throne — she as "Queen" still, he as royal "Lord", both of them more and more sick at heart with a remorse which their intense love for each other would day by day intensify' (*Dramatic Providence in Macbeth. A Study of Shakespeare's Tragic Theme of Humanity and Grace*, Princeton, 1958, p. 205).

¹⁵ *The Tragedy of MACBETH* by William Shakespeare. Edited by George Lyman Kittredge, Ginn and Co., Boston, etc., 1939, p. 223.

Reviews

Middle English Dictionary. Editor HANS KURATH. Associate Editor SHERMAN M. KUHN. Parts A3—A4. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1956-57. Subscription price \$3 per part.

Parts A3—A4 of the M.E.D. run from *amis* to *attractif* and thus include, e.g., the long entries claimed by *and*, *as*, and *at*, and numerous words prefixed with *a-*, *an-*, *at-*, for further information on which the reader will sometimes have to look up the simplex forms. As in previous instalments, the number of words now recorded for the first time or antedating the O.E.D. examples is impressive. Among them may be noted several learned innovations and technical terms, such as (astronomy:) *archites*, *Arial*, (botany:) *arcachaf*, *armoise*, (geology:) *aracontalides*, *aristinctus*, (medicine:) *aroboth*, *arthomel*, (theology:) *Antimarites*, *Apostelin*. Many such terms have been drawn from the unprinted anonymous translation of Chauliac's *Grande Chirurgie*, which is a storehouse of lexical information in its particular sphere. The two words which end the brief list given above occur in Pecock, whose contributions to English vocabulary and phraseology are somewhat neglected by the O.E.D. but here receive the attention they deserve. What will render the complete dictionary particularly useful is, in fact, its wealth of illustrative examples. Students of syntax and idiom (to mention one set of readers) should pause over the fourteen columns devoted to the prep. *at* (with a reference to A. A. Prins's recent work, *French Influence in English Phrasing*); or may notice, under *Anton(y)* (303), an early instance of the pleonastic genitive (*a swyne of Saynt Antons* c1450), which is rarely met with before Caxton.

A few entries should probably be ruled out. (*a trewe*) *arbytres* Ayenb. 154, rendering O.F. (*uns loiaus*) *arbitres* (m.sg.), is translated 'A mediator or umpire' (as against 'arbitress' in O.E.D. and S.-B.) but placed under a normalized entry-form *arbitresse* (f.sg.; 354), though logically it belongs under *arbitour* (*arbitre*; 353). There are other cases of mechanical copying in the Ayenb., whose author always writes *-esse* when confronted with an O.F. feminine *-ess*-noun. Cf. J. K. Wallenberg, *The Vocabulary of Dan Michel's Ayenbite of Inwyt*, 1923, p. 13f. The editors compare the nonce-form *anop̄ing* Ancr. Recl. 96/9 (s.v. ?*anything* 294) with O.E. *nōþ* & *nēþing* 'daring', but the form is no doubt an error for *anoying* (cf. *anoiing* 293), which makes good sense. There are a few other questionable entries and etymologies. *Arrage* (393) is held to represent A.F. *average* & A.L. *averagium*, but the context is a testamentary formula of the type recurring under *arrerage* (398). A fast (A phonetic?) spelling (*arr(er)âge*?) would perhaps account for this somewhat dubious form, which, incidentally, the O.E.D. has entered under *arrearege*. May not *anoyseld* (s.v. ?*anoisel* 293) owe its *l* to association with *anoselen* (O.F. *enoiseler*; 294)? After all the senses 'to injure, molest' (= 'annoy') and

'to fly out at birds (like a hawk)' (cf. early Mod.E. *enoisel*) are not so very wide apart. *anon-ward* (adv.; 294), translated 'nearby', is from O.E. *on āne* rather than *onefn* (+ *ward*). Cf. *anon-right(es)* (ib.). As for the meaning I would prefer 'straight ahead'. (wind com) *on oueste*, appearing in the first quot under *aneweste* (adv.; 274), is more likely to represent O.E. *on ofoste* (*ofeste*) 'in haste'. The editors are in doubt as to the derivation and meaning of *atprenche* Owl & N. 248 (Jes-O *aprenche*), *at prenche* ib. 814 (494), but it is time that these forms should be generally admitted to the M.E. word-stock. Against the view that the prototype had *atwrenche* it may be argued, firstly, that the rhyming word is *wrenche* in both places (ll. 247, 813), secondly, that the text does not (so far as I know) afford any other instances of *wen* and *p* having been confused. Outside the text, the MS readings are supported by the personal names *Prinke*, *Prench(e)*, *Prinche*, which are quite frequently to be met with in M.E. documents.

The editors are hardly to blame for the fact that some words have developed shades of meaning that run into each other, making any elaborate grouping impossible or, in so far as attempted, rather subjective. One might have wished that they had been less prone to make out distinctions so nice as sometimes to appear imaginary. Cf. for instance *ap(p)osen* (334) 1 (a) and (b) (especially the quotes from Trev. Higd. and Ludus C.) and *aseth* (449). The last example of *ascrien* (418) (1) 4 (b) should perhaps be transferred to 3 (a) or 4 (a). Does not *Annellyd* (& *tempryd* with the blood), listed under *anelen* (271) (1) 1 (c), mean 'tempered, annealed' rather than 'enamelled'? Overlapping of forms and proximity of sense have justified the editors in entering the last quot of *ap(p)reven* (336) 3 also under *ap(p)roven* (341) 2 (a). These few remarks and queries bring into relief the thoroughness and perspicacity with which the editors have handled a most difficult problem.

As testified by other reviewers, the accuracy of the text is high, exceptions proving the rule. '1421 *RP*', bottom of p. 449, left col., should be '1421 *RParl.*', and the last line under *aroum(e)* (392) 1, '*that is to seie, ...*'. There is no obvious reason why the example of *aswolkenesse* offered by Lamb. Hom. should have been listed both under *asolkenesse* (429), derived from O.E. *āsolcen-nesse*(!), and (in a curtailed form) under *aswolkenesse* (476), compared with O.E. *asolcennes*(!). *asket* (426) is analyzed as *sket* but surely a (on) *sket* is what the editors had in mind. The pple. *aschemmyde* Gawain & CC 415 is not mentioned as a variant form of *ashamed* (420) nor has it received a separate entry. The source is O.E. **-scemman* (**-scemian*), though a conflation of O.E. *sceamian* and O.N. *skemma-s* may be thought of.

The Idea of Honour in the English Drama 1591-1700. By C. L. BARBER. (Gothenburg Studies in English, Editor: Frank Behre, Vol. VI.) Göteborg 1957. Distribution Almquist & Wiksell, Stockholm. 364 pp. Sw. Kr. 25:—.

Dr. Barber's chief aim is to exhibit the changes that took place in the English gentry's conception of honour during the 17th century. Accordingly he wishes to regard his book as 'primarily ... a contribution to cultural history' (p. 11). His approach to the subject is, however, in the main philological, his conclusions being chiefly based on an extensive investigation of the occurrences of the single word *honour* (as a noun) in a total of 235 English plays written for the theatre from 1591 to 1700. He has harvested a crop of 5263 occurrences. The main classification of the instances is naturally semantic; a broad one according to 'head meaning', largely coinciding with the NED, and a more narrow one according to the 'content' of the word in the individual occurrence. Instances from tragedy are kept separate from those of comedy throughout. Finally, there is a chronological classification, whereby the various changes can be followed decade by decade, except for 1641-1660, when the material is missing for obvious reasons.

The results are clearly set forth in 61 statistical tables. The classification is explained by means of illustrative examples, most of them taken from Shakespeare. For the most numerous and most important class of head meanings, the author reproduces the whole of his material, giving page and line references, with a brief quotation, for each of the 2321 occurrences, the presentation of which fills three chapters, or about one third of the whole book. The rest of the material only occurs as entries in the tables. A brief final chapter contains a summary and conclusions. Appendices provide a bibliography, information in neat tabular form on the plays used as source material, and a brief discussion of the statistical methods employed.

The main findings of the investigation may be summarized as follows. The number of occurrences of the word *honour* itself remains constant in tragedy, and increases by c. 100 % in comedy. As regards the relative frequency of the various contents associated with the word, there is a very marked difference between the Restoration drama and the Elizabethan and early Jacobean one. The contrast, however, is not due to a sudden transformation: it is the result of a continuous development, chiefly during the first half of the 17th century. The Restoration only completes the trends clearly discernible before the closing of the theatres in 1642. The most interesting features of the change are a decrease in the contents involving military exploits and public achievements, as against an increase involving points of private or social etiquette. There is also an increase of contents involving behaviour removed from or even opposed to the demands of Christian virtue, mirroring the increasing tendency of the gentry sharply to distinguish their class ethos, symbolized by the code

of honour, from the Puritan ideal. One remarkable result is the finding that honour is practically never attributed to non-gentle characters in the plays investigated.

Though the author comes forward as a cultural historian rather than as a semasiologist, both his material and his methods are of great interest to linguists. The 'semantic geography' of *honour* in the 17th century, indicating not only what meanings there are, but also the frequency of each meaning in a representative sample of texts, has been mapped out by the author with great thoroughness. Information on frequencies is not only of fundamental importance to the student of the mechanism of semantic changes: it is also of interest to the philologist when interpreting texts. For in cases where two or more meanings seem equally possible from the contextual point of view, the most frequent meaning will be most likely to be the intended one. Or to put it more exactly: other things being equal, the probability of a certain word conveying a particular meaning will be directly proportional to the frequency of this meaning relatively to other contextually possible meanings in the usage of the social group whose interpretation of the text is under consideration.

Any discussion of frequencies necessarily brings up questions of representativeness and significance. The author discusses the first of these with ability and circumspection and concludes, probably correctly, that his findings will hold not only for the drama, but also for the usage of the class to whom honour was attributed: the gentry. Now if we regard the material collected as a representative sample, we have to determine to what extent the frequency differences as between different meanings, and as between different periods, may have been produced by random fluctuations in the sample. For this purpose the author uses the well-known statistical χ^2 significance test. This test, which is easy and simple to apply, is indeed a useful tool for getting a rough estimate of the size of the statistically significant differences. But as a general rule, when we are dealing with language material, the χ^2 test will be too 'favourable'. It will sometimes class differences as significant which, on a more realistic view, are seen to fall within the range of random fluctuations. This is due to the fact that the χ^2 method assumes, not only that the material is a fair sample of the population it is taken to represent, but also that the individual instances within each class are drawn at random from a homogeneous material. But this condition will seldom be fulfilled in linguistic investigations, since the instances are excerpted from individual texts presenting wide differences of usage. The significance test should take this inhomogeneity into account. To construct a suitable test for ordinary linguistic material is still a work for the future: still, some rather rough and ready techniques are available, which avoid the doubtful, if not always definitely incorrect, assumption that the individual instances are drawn from a homogeneous universe. One way is to base the significance test on the actually observed range of variation as between texts, or as between groups of texts. Another way is to base the test

not on the size of the differences, but on their sign; i.e., whether positive or negative. Applying such techniques to the author's tables, I have found that some of the differences described in the book as significant cannot be admitted as such. All the really important results, however, remain significant on any test. Thus the author's statistical common sense has been sound.

Semasiologists will be interested in the author's distinction of two aspects of meaning, head meaning and content meaning. They may, however, regret that the distinction has not been made quite as clear as could be wished. Of the two terms, it is content that has been most strictly defined, as 'what in practice constitutes' the behaviour or thing denoted by the word (pp. 11,15,47). Now *honour*, especially in the 17th century, was very palpably a value term, and as the author's declared aim is to study changes in the 'attitudes and scale of values' (p. 11), one might have expected him to employ, say, value meaning and factual meaning as his two basic variables. Content seems indeed to answer fairly well to factual meaning, and the head meaning is usually defined by means of value terms; but it also includes both relational and factual elements. 'Chastity' appears somewhat anomalously as a head meaning of *honour*: logically it ought rather to be classed as a content meaning of such head meanings as 'honourableness of character', 'reputation'. For the author's particular purpose these points of classification perhaps matter little. They are, however, of importance to semasiologists trying to find answers to questions like the following. How are value meanings to be defined? What contextual criteria can be used? To what extent can value meanings attached to different factual meanings be compared?

The points discussed so far are of special interest to linguists. Linguistics may, however, be regarded as a branch of sociology: and it is one of the merits of the present book to exhibit the close connection between the two. Dr. Barber's method of attacking a problem in what may be called historical sociology provides cultural historians with a new tool which seems capable of leading to fruitful results. No doubt the tool can be further refined. From the sociological point of view, one of the vital points is the validity of conclusions from conditions in literature to those in society at large, or, as in the present case, a particular section of that society. The author has considered this point carefully and realistically, and has gone out of his way to collect what factual evidence there is. Yet one possible source of bias might have been given more attention; namely, the fact that the distribution of the content meanings of a word will be largely influenced by the subject matter of the text. The marked difference between tragedy and comedy which the author finds in his material most probably reflects such a subject-matter difference. We should in fact distinguish two main ways in which, say, the content meaning of 'military glory' may become relatively less frequent for the word *honour* in our material. First, military exploits may come to evoke the honour response less and less; this we may call a response

change. Second, situations involving military glory, while continuing to evoke the same honour response, may simply come to occur less frequently. If this, which we may call frequency change, occurs in the society at large, it may of course often lead to a response change also. But a frequency change *in literature* may indicate only changes of fashion as regards the choice of subject matter for the particular genre studied. It is therefore desirable to ascertain which kind of change — or what mixture of the two — we are dealing with in each particular case. Certainly this will not be easy; it may, however, be possible, for instance, to prove a response change in a group of texts by means of some sort of 'content analysis' on the lines suggested by H. D. Lasswell and his associates (see e.g. *Language of Politics*, George W. Stewart, New York, 1949).

This, however, is for the future. For the present, we are grateful for a well-written and stimulating contribution both to our knowledge of 17th century English culture and to the methodology of linguistic and sociological science.

Gothenburg.

ALVAR ELLEGÅRD.

The Life Records of John Milton. Volume IV, 1655-1669. Volume V, 1670-1674 and Additions. Edited by J. MILTON FRENCH. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1956-1958. Vol. IV: pp. [vi] + 482; Vol. V: pp. viii + 512. Price \$7.50 each.

With Vol. IV *The Life Records of John Milton* take a large stride forward and with Vol. V reach a monumental completion. Here, as in the previous volumes, the editor has lavished the same loving care and minute scholarly attention on every single item, however insignificant in itself. The completeness and exactitude of the indexes alone (unfortunately five separate ones) would be sufficient to establish the high value of these volumes to scholars of Milton. There can be no doubt about the editor's achievement which can now be seen in its imposing entirety. His five volumes will always be indispensable for the wealth of information they contain, and it is no small matter to have assembled in one work of reference all that is known about Milton's life and worldly affairs. So impressive indeed is the result that it puts criticism to shame. It is not that objections might not be raised to many of the editor's methods and practices, but in view of the ultimate achievement they are recognized as unobstructive to it.

The doubt that remains is this: might not a tidier effect have been obtained at less expense? Negative information, for instance, is valuable and constitutes one of the positive features of Dr. French's work, but need

it be quite so elaborate? On the very first page of Vol. IV a portrait is recorded only in order to be convincingly shown not to represent Milton. A list of portraits, genuine and doubtful, is given in any case in Vol. V, pp. 136-46, and others are recorded as posthumous events. Would it not have been better to assemble all such information in one place instead of sticking wrong-headedly to a dubious chronology? In Vol. IV this item is followed by material, covering the next twelve pages, which, like so much in these volumes, cannot be precisely dated. But in 'Life Records' it is exact information that is wanted, supplementary to the 'Early Lives', rather than a reprinting of all the various versions of these under arbitrary dates. Are so many indifferent and wrong translations pardonable? And if a demonstration were necessary of how to waste space, this is convincingly given in Vol. IV, p. 18, in a paragraph devoted to a signature which may or may not be Milton's, pasted into a book which was certainly not his at the time. Nearly the whole of p. 59 in the same volume is given to the reproduction and detailed discussion of an entry which is then neatly summarized as follows: 'The date, the authorship, and the reference to Milton are all uncertain'. Unfortunately the entertainment value of these volumes is not consistently on this level.

The repetitions go on to the bitter end. Thus, for instance, on p. 346, Vol. V, the same item is reproduced twice over. Aubrey's account of Dryden's visit to Milton is given both under the year 1673 and under undated material (V, 46 and 116). The brother's and servant's depositions to the poet's will are found both under the conjectural dates of the events (V, 82 and 90) and under those of the actual documents (V, 212 and 220). These are only a few instances out of what must amount to hundreds, the result of a policy as perverse as it has been deliberate. Only rarely, but commendably, are cross references used instead of repetition (e.g. V, 37), and some little economy is achieved by not printing more than one version of two similar documents (V, 228). One cannot help admiring the editor for such instances of self-imposed restraint. Otherwise his passion for facts is such that, where documents are missing, he comes as near to manufacturing them as a scholarly conscience will admit. Thus in Vol. V, p. 167, we read:

1600. FATHER MARRIES SARAH JEFFREY.

No record of this marriage has been found, but since the first child of the union of which we know was an infant buried on May 12, 1601, the year 1600 is as good a guess as any. For a brief characterization of the poet's mother, see below under 1608. For a careful discussion of Sarah Jeffrey's pedigree, see under various entries about her family above, and Masson, I (1881), 30-39.

Hardly less startling as a 'Life Record' is the following item, Vol. V, p. 327:

1727. ABOUT AUGUST 23. WIDOW DIES.

A True and Perfect Inventory of of [*sic*]¹ ye Goods & Chattels of late Mrs Eliz Miltoon . . . this twenty sixth day of August 1727.

¹ The '[*sic*]' is the present writer's. Professor French consistently (re-?)produces errors without warning.

From the heading of the inventory of Elizabeth Milton's goods dated August 26, 1727, *q.v.* Since she was alive to sign her will on August 22 (*q.v.*), and is called the "late" Mrs. Milton on August 26, she must have died between those two dates. The 23rd is merely a chance selection of one.

Though the details of Mrs. Milton's death and burial are not known, Joseph Hunter said in 1857 (*Archaeological Journal*, XIV, 1857, 91) that the general tradition in Nantwich was that she was buried in the ground adjoining the chapel of the Anabaptists in Barker Street.

However useful such information may be, it does not constitute 'Life Records' in Dr. French's or any other meaning of the term and serves to illustrate how misapplied is in fact his 'day-by-day guide' to the life of Milton and would be to any poet whose exact dates are missing. If we were to accept Dr. French's method, why not a 'day-by-day guide' to Shakespeare? Why not to Webster?

On the whole the volumes under review tend to become an Allusion Book as much as a chronological record of events, but there is of course no valid reason why an Allusion Book should be brought to a close with Milton's death. If, however, the work seems to fall a little between two stools, this impression is more apparent than real. It is caused by the editor's wish to include all available documentary evidence concerning Milton's life, family, ancestry, descendants, relics even, and earthly belongings. If in the course of his task he has partly forgotten his original purpose 'to provide a day-by-day guide to the known facts in the life of a great poet' or perhaps, rather, overshot the mark and forced his evidence into his preconceived plan, he must be excused on the plea of having produced instead a magnificent reference work where all facts, guesses and misrepresentations concerning the poet may be found either verified or corrected under any possible conjectural date.

The completeness is admirable. Perhaps mention might have been made at V, 205, of Professor Ants Oras's rare work on *Milton's Editors and Commentators, 1685-1801*, Tartu, 1931? Otherwise the editor has given more than a full measure, 'pressed down, running over now', and some of the new material is of considerable interest, like the letters from Oldenburg in Volume IV, printed for the first time. The additions to previous volumes are valuable (V, 357-468). Moreover, some of the material, previously well known, strikes a human note, all the more welcome because it stands out against a background overcrowded with merely factual statements and discussions. Thus the lonely figure of the blind poet, in whose character sweetness and harshness seem to have been mingled to the end, dominates the opening pages of the last volume, which closes pathetically with the penury of his daughter and granddaughter.

Dr. French must be congratulated on the completion of a giant task. His *Life Records of John Milton* will constitute a monument not only to the poet but also to the editor.

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¹ See *E. S.*, June 1959, p. 192.

² See *E. S.*, Oct. 1958, p. 237.

³ See *E. S.*, April 1952, pp. 95-96.

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The Function of the Definite Article in Modern English

§ 1. *The linguistic sign.* A linguistic sign consists of a designator (a *signifiant* (Saussure)) and a designatum or meaning (a *signifié* (Saussure)). The sign 'a mother' consists of the designator *a maðə* and the meaning correlated with that designator.

Let us call the extra-linguistic entities we refer to by means of signs the *denotata* of signs. The denotata of 'a mother' are the well-known entities of flesh and blood which have given birth to at least one child. 'A mother' *denotes* these entities. The denotatum of 'Churchill', the extra-linguistic entity denoted by 'Churchill', is (the person) Churchill. A sign, the combination of a designator and a designatum (meaning), is thus a denotator. More correctly: a sign is a potential denotator; for not all signs denote; 'a centaur', for instance, does not denote — but it should be noted that there is nothing linguistic to prevent it from denoting.¹

We must distinguish between autcategorematic and syncategorematic denotators. An autcategorematic denotator is a sign which denotes independently of other signs. 'A mother' ('the mother(s)', etc.), 'a horse', etc. are (simplex) autcategorematic denotators. A syncategorematic denotator is a sign which does not denote independently of other signs. 'Good', 'very', etc. are syncategorematic denotators: there is no such thing as good, very, etc. 'A good mother', 'a very good mother', etc. are (complex) autcategorematic denotators.²

§ 2. *'The' and its relation to the other articles and the determinatives.* I have called this article *The function of the definite article in modern English*. The implication is this: I shall describe 'the', in terms of its function, see below, and only 'the'. To say that I shall describe 'the' and only 'the' is to say this: There is a function which is the function of 'the' and which is the function of no other sign (in modern English). In other words, 'the' constitutes a class, a one-member class. If 'the' did not constitute a class, it would be highly misleading to describe the function of 'the' and only 'the', for in that case the function of 'the' would also

¹ Denotata and meanings are often confused. The necessity of distinguishing between denotata and meanings is proved — if proof be necessary — by the simple fact that there are signs which denote (e.g. 'a mother') and signs which do not denote (e.g. 'a centaur'). If the meaning of a sign S was identical with the denotata of S, the sign 'a centaur' would have no meaning — which it has, for the simple reason that we understand the sentence 'there are no centaurs' and its equivalent "'a centaur" does not denote'.

² For a distinction between entity-denoting signs and fact-denoting signs (or state-of-affairs-denoting signs), see my book *Word-classes in modern English*, § 5.2.

be the function of the signs S_1, S_2, \dots . Therefore, if 'the' did not constitute a class, the title of the present paper ought to have been *The function of 'the', S_1, S_2, \dots in modern English*.

I have just said that 'the' constitutes a class C. Now it is to be emphasized that C is not a subclass of the class of articles, if 'the class of articles' is meant to apply to 'the', 'a' (and the so-called zero article), for the simple reason that the 'class' of articles is not a class. It is, indeed, common practice to treat the articles ('the', 'a' (and the zero article)) as class-constituting, but this practice is merely founded on tradition, for there are no (synchronic) properties which can be attributed to 'the', 'a' (and zero) and 'the', 'a' (and zero) only. The class of articles, when correctly analysed, is identical with the class of determinatives (see *op. cit.*, § 67) — of which class 'the', 'a' (and zero) are members — the class of determinatives being constituted by (a) 'the', the demonstratives, the bound possessives, (the interrogative) 'which', 'either', 'neither', and 'each' (the definite determinatives), (b) 'a', 'one', 'some', 'any', 'no', 'every', and 'what' (the indefinite determinatives), and (c) (the generic) 'the', (the generic) 'a', and the sign whose designator is zero in 'milk' in 'milk is better than beer'³ (the generic determinatives).⁴ (For a detailed account, see *op. cit.*, §§ 67-69.)

The 'class' of articles ('the', 'a' (and zero)) is not a subclass of the class of determinatives, either from a formal point of view (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 150) or from a non-formal point of view (see *op. cit.*, § 67). 'The', however, is a subclass of the definite determinatives (whereas 'a' and zero do not appear to be subclasses of the indefinite and the generic determinatives respectively).

In *op. cit.* (p. 150) I have given a formal description of 'the' — establishing 'the' as a one-member class — i.e., a description in terms of its 'behaviour' towards other linguistic signs. Here I shall describe it functionally; and I shall show that the formally described 'the' and the functionally described 'the' cover each other exactly.

§ 3. *Explanation of the term 'function'.* In this article the term 'function' is not used in the sense in which it is often used in modern linguistics, i.e., as a synonym of 'relation'. The phrase 'the function of the sign S' thus does not mean 'the relation S has to ...'. According to the meaning assigned to the term 'function' in this article, the statement 'the sign S has a function' is the equivalent of the statement 'S relates something A to something B' (where A and B are non-linguistic entities). To say that S has a function is thus to say that S is a relation sign, in the sense that

³ And any sign which is the semantic equivalent of the sign whose designator is zero in 'milk' in 'milk is better than beer'.

⁴ To the signs mentioned here must be added the genitives ('a boy's', 'the boy's', etc.), which are definite, indefinite, or generic (complex) determinatives according to which of the above-mentioned signs they contain.

it relates (A to B), or rather: is used to relate (A to B), not in the sense that it has (a) relation(s) to

Not all signs have a function in this sense. As a matter of fact there are very few signs which have a function, i.e., which are relation signs. Conjunctions are relation signs. By means of the conjunction 'and', the denotatum of 'Peter', viz. Peter, and the denotatum of 'Joan', viz. Joan, in 'Peter and Joan love each other' are conjoined.⁵ Case signs and prepositions are other instances of signs which have a function.⁶

In this article I shall show that 'the' has a function, and I shall show what function it has. (The indefinite article and the so-called zero article have no function.)

§ 4. *Previous attempts.* Bodelsen says that 'reading any account of the articles one cannot help wondering that it should be so difficult to analyse the meaning of a category which is so firmly fixed in the minds of speakers that they hardly ever make mistakes in it. No existing account of the English articles appears to be completely satisfactory' (*English Studies*, 30, p. 284). I agree with Bodelsen, and it seems to me that this state of affairs is due to the following facts: (1) Practically all occurrences of 'the' are regarded as occurrences of the definite article, i.e., the 'the' we have in '(yesterday Anderson kissed a girl;) the girl ...', 'the lion (is a vigilant animal)', 'the wretch! (exclaimed the spinster)', 'the more we are together the ...', etc. is regarded as one and the same sign (the definite article). (2) The 'function'⁷ of the articles is explained by means of notions whose meaning is often very obscure, i.e., the students of the theory of the articles often answer questions by means of words which are either not explained or not sufficiently explained. (3) The solution of the problem (of the definite article, which is my only concern here, explicitly at any rate) is much simpler than is generally assumed. (To show that a fact which is a trivial fact is trivial is often very difficult.)

I shall now examine some of the previous attempts at a solution. The ones I select for examination are, I believe, typical, in the sense that they cover, when taken in conjunction, most of what has been said about 'the' (and 'a' and the so-called zero article).

I. *Guillaume.* Guillaume, in his *Le problème de l'article*, distinguishes between substantives in language, in the (supposedly) Saussurean sense, and substantives in speech, in the (supposedly) Saussurean sense. A substantive in language is a 'nom en puissance' (a 'nom avant emploi'), whereas a substantive in speech is a 'nom en effet'. The 'meaning' of a substantive in language ('en puissance') is potential and unrestricted. That is, it applies, potentially, to any one and any two (etc.) of the

⁵ Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁶ See *op. cit.*, § 78.

⁷ I enclose 'function' in quotation marks, since — in treatises on the articles — it is not used in the sense explained in § 3.

members of the species of which it is supposed to be the name, as well as to the species itself. Thus 'dog' applies potentially to any dog and to any two dogs (etc.) as well as to the dog (understood generically). The 'meaning' of a substantive in speech, on the other hand, is actual and restricted. That is, if the potential 'meaning' of a substantive S in language is A and B and C (etc.) — where A is the whole species, B a single individual, and C five individuals, for instance (etc.) — then, in speech, the 'meaning' of S is A (or B, etc.) and only A, and actually A, i.e., S applies to A, whereas in language S does not apply to A (and B, etc.): it has 'puissance' to apply to A (and B, etc.).⁸

Let S be an arbitrary substantive. Now, in Guillaume's opinion, the 'function' of the articles — 'le' and 'un', and 'the' and 'a' — is to indicate the transition of S from language to speech, from 'nom en puissance' to 'nom en effet', from potentiality and the state of being unrestricted to actuality and restriction. 'Ce "resserrement" de l'idée nominale constitue la transition du nom en puissance au nom en effet, transition dont le signe est l'article' (*op. cit.*, p. 91).⁹ (The reason why, in English, for instance, in contrast to French, we say 'gold is more expensive than silver', 'children are often up to mischief' (etc.) without an article is, according to Guillaume, that the difference between 'nom en puissance' and 'nom en effet' is here very slight.)

(The difference between 'the' and 'a' is, according to Guillaume, this: 'The' expresses that a 'nom est répandu sur tout un champ de vision', while 'a' expresses something 'ponctuel'.¹⁰ What Guillaume means appears to be this: When we say 'the x', one and only one x is in the 'centre of attention', all the other x's being excluded from the 'field of vision' — for a comment, see § 5 — whereas in the case of 'an x' a given x is in the 'centre of attention', but not to the exclusion of all the other x's (of which the speaker and the listener remain aware), the given x being merely placed in relief.)

Comments on Guillaume's theory:

By 'noms' Guillaume understands substantive *stems*, i.e., 'dog', 'boy', 'love', 'gold', etc. These signs are elements of language. The same is true of the articles, whose 'function' is to turn 'dog', 'boy', etc. into speech signs. This 'function' they perform by being attached to 'dog', 'boy', etc. 'A boy', 'the boy(s)', etc. are thus speech signs, and they are speech signs only, i.e., they are not elements of language. This is one of the (two principal) assumptions on which Guillaume's theory rests — and it is an assumption without which his theory would hardly make sense. The other (principal) assumption on which Guillaume's theory rests is

⁸ Guillaume uses both 'nommer' ('désigner', 'appliquer') and 'signifier' ('signification'). This is the reason why I have enclosed 'meaning' in quotation marks.

⁹ This, I believe, is a fairly accurate summary of Guillaume's views, although I am afraid it does not do justice to the almost apocalyptically fanciful language in which they are couched.

¹⁰ See e.g. p. 42 and p. 59 in *op. cit.*

that 'dog', 'boy', etc. — as elements of language — denote potentially what 'a dog' and 'the dog(s)', etc. denote actually. If these two assumptions (or either of them) are false, Guillaume's theory is false. These two assumptions, it seems to me, are clearly false.

1. It is true that the Saussurean notions of *langue* and *parole* are ambiguous; but to say that 'the', 'a', 'dog', 'boy', etc. are elements of language, but not the combination 'the dog', 'a dog', etc., is to say something to which de Saussure would hardly have subscribed. He would have subscribed to that statement no more than he would have subscribed to this: 'love' and 's' are elements of language, but not 'loves'. It may be said that it is irrelevant what de Saussure would and would not have subscribed to, if Guillaume's interpretation of de Saussure made sense. It seems to me that it does not. First: If Guillaume was consistent, he would have to say that only signs which are not constituted by signs — i.e., only signs which cannot be divided into signs — are elements of language. On this consistent view 'the dog' would not be an element of language. But nor would the stems 'traveller', 'reorganization', 'happiness', etc. — these signs can be divided into signs: into 'travel'-'(1)er', 're'-'organize'-'ation', 'happy'-'ness', etc. — which stems are elements of language ('noms en puissance'), according to Guillaume. Second: On what grounds could the view that only indivisible signs are elements of language be maintained? Is it a fact of speech, and of speech only, that 'scream' and 'ed' are combinable ('screamed')? If not — if it is also a fact of language, or (I think this correction is justifiable): if it is only a fact of language — is the combination 'screamed' a phenomenon of speech, and of speech only? If it is, is it a fact of speech, and of speech only, that 'screamed' is combinable with 'the boy' (but not with 'boy' alone)? If not, how can 'the boy' be a phenomenon of speech, and of speech only? (To say that the fact that 'screamed' is combinable with 'the boy' is a fact of language, but that the constituents of that fact are not phenomena of language, appears to me to be devoid of meaning.)

I think we may conclude that the first of the above-mentioned assumptions is false.

2. The second of the above-mentioned assumptions has many implications which I should like to analyse. However, owing to considerations of space I shall confine myself to this question: Do the stems 'dog', 'love',¹¹ etc. denote (potentially or actually)? They do not: No stem is an autocategorematic denotator (see § 1) — there is no such thing as boy, i.e., there is no denotatum of 'boy'. All stems are syncategorematic, whereas (substantive) stem + determinative ('the', 'a', 'my', etc.) + number flexive¹² (in the case of countables) are autocategorematic. And the distinction between potential and actual denotation is entirely different from Guillaume's distinction. Apart from signs like 'a round square' (which

¹¹ I.e., 'love' minus generic determinative (the so-called zero article).

¹² The class of flexives is constituted by the determinatives, case signs, number signs, tense signs, etc.

have meaning, unlike nonsense locutions such as '(a) zuke', but no possible denotata) all autocategorematic denotators are potential denotators (from a linguistic point of view). Not all autocategorematic denotators are actual denotators. 'A mother' denotes (actually) — for there are mothers — whereas 'a centaur' does not denote (actually) — for there are no centaurs — and it is controversial whether 'God' denotes (actually).

Since Guillaume's two principal assumptions are false, we may conclude that his theory is false.

II. *Hjelmslev*. According to Hjelmslev — see his *Principes de grammaire générale* — the grammatical role of the articles, i.e., 'the' and 'a', is to concretize semantemes, i.e., stems. (The zero article, on the other hand, is a 'morphème¹³ d'abstraction'.) Hjelmslev defines his terms (and this is one of the reasons why he is one of the really great linguists of our time): 'Une notion concrète est une notion qui implique toutes les qualités, et une notion abstraite est une notion qui fait abstraction d'une ou de plusieurs des qualités de l'objet envisagé' (*op. cit.*, p. 336). The 'signification' of a morpheme, says Hjelmslev, is always abstract. The same is true of the 'signification' of a semanteme: 'Ce n'est que la combinaison avec d'autres éléments grammaticaux, sémantèmes ou morphèmes, qui peut établir une signification concrète de l'ensemble, c'est-à-dire, du mot ou de la combinaison de mots' (*op. cit.*, pp. 336 f.). These are the premisses on which rests the statement: 'le rôle grammatical de l'article est ... de concrétiser le sémantème' (*op. cit.*, p. 337).

Comments on Hjelmslev's theory:

According to the definitions the predicates *abstract* and *concrete* are attributable to notions only in case there is an 'objet envisagé'. (The 'objet envisagé' in the case of a sign S is what is denoted by S.)¹⁴ In the case of 'the' there is an 'objet envisagé' when 'the' is combined with stem + number flexive or with stem alone if the stem is an uncountable. Examples: (a) 'Yesterday Churchill smoked a (some) cigar(s) (drank some whisky).' The cigar(s) (the whisky) did not ...'. In the case of the zero article, which, according to Hjelmslev, is an abstraction morpheme, there is an 'objet envisagé' when the zero article is combined with stem + plural flexive or with stem alone if the stem is an uncountable. Examples: (b) 'Cigarettes (whisky) (may cause cancer of the lungs (is better than beer))'. The 'signification' of (a), i.e., of 'the cigar(s) (Churchill smoked yesterday)' and 'the whisky (Churchill drank yesterday)' is concrete, says Hjelmslev, whereas the 'signification' of (b), i.e., of 'cigarettes' and 'whisky', is abstract. Let us compare (a) and (b).

¹³ The class of morphemes is, for all practical purposes, identical with the class of flexives. See footnote 12.

¹⁴ Therefore, on Hjelmslev's premisses it does not appear to be correct to say that the 'signification' of a morpheme and a semanteme is abstract: morphemes and semantemes do not denote separately — they are syncategorematic denotators. The 'signification' of a morpheme and a semanteme is neither abstract nor concrete.

Is the 'signification' of (or the notions expressed by) (b) abstract? That does not appear to be the case. For what is denoted is cigarettes and whisky in general, i.e., that particular species and that particular fluid, and we do not abstract from one or more of the qualities characteristic of cigarettes and whisky. The 'signification' of (b) is therefore concrete, according to Hjelmlev's definition of 'concrete'. Is the 'signification' of (a) concrete? I do not know. The denotata — let us call them A and B — are the cigar(s) Churchill smoked yesterday and the whisky Churchill drank yesterday. Since A is a particular (set of) cigar(s) and B a particular quantity of whisky, A and B have (or had) an infinite number of qualities, in point of principle; but to these qualities no reference is made linguistically. Therefore, if the 'signification' of (a) is to be concrete, in Hjelmlev's sense, we must confine ourselves to those of the qualities to which reference is made linguistically, viz. (in the case of A) the qualities of being a (set of) cigar(s) and being smoked by Churchill yesterday, and (in the case of B) the qualities of being whisky and being drunk by Churchill yesterday.

It will be understood that Hjelmlev is right when he says that the 'signification' of (a) is concrete — on the assumption that we confine ourselves to the linguistically relevant properties. But it will also be understood that whenever there is an 'objet envisagé', i.e., whenever there is something denoted, then the 'signification' of the denoting sign (no matter whether it contains 'the' or 'a' or the zero article, or 'my' or 'this', etc.) is concrete, in Hjelmlev's sense, if we confine ourselves to the qualities to which reference is made linguistically, for the (linguistically relevant) qualities of what is denoted are determined by the denoting sign¹⁵ — and abstraction cannot possibly be made from any of these qualities: abstraction would necessarily imply abstraction from the very sign.

I think we may conclude that Hjelmlev's theory does not separate 'the' (and 'a')¹⁶ from the so-called zero article (or from any other determinative).

We may interpret Hjelmlev's theory as a theory according to which a distinction must be made between species and member of species, but if we do, we shall not be able to account for 'cigars', for instance, in 'Churchill smokes cigars', for that statement is certainly not to the effect that Churchill smokes a species (— and we shall not have distinguished 'the' (and 'a') from any of the other (non-generic) determinatives).¹⁷

¹⁵ I should like to point out that, in the case of '(Yesterday Churchill smoked a cigar.) The cigar ...', etc., we can always interpolate a (so-called) restrictive relative clause (or a prepositional group); in my example: 'that Churchill smoked yesterday' ('the cigar that Churchill smoked yesterday').

¹⁶ The difference between 'the' and 'a' is this: 'the' 'indique que l'objet ou sa qualité est supposé connu à l'interlocuteur'; 'a' 'indique que l'objet ou sa qualité est supposé inconnu à l'interlocuteur' (*op. cit.*, p. 337). I shall discuss this view below.

¹⁷ Incidentally, I should like to point out that a distinction between species and member of species is not a distinction between what is particular (definite, special, etc.) and what is not, for a species, as species, is as particular (definite, special, etc.) as anything else in this world. Cf. p. 410.

III. *The substance theory.* It is often said of 'the' (and sometimes of 'a') that its 'function' is to indicate 'substance'. By this must be meant that 'substance' is what is denoted by 'the x' (and 'an x'). The term 'substance' or 'quiddity' is not to be taken in a material sense. It is sometimes explained in this way: Substance is that which answers the question 'quid est'. It would be better to explain it in this way: Anything x is substance if the sign for x can be substituted for S in 'quid est S?'.

Now it is said not only that 'the' (and 'a') indicate substance — which is true, and not only of 'the' and 'a', but of *any* determinative ('the boy(s)', 'a boy', 'boys', 'the gold', 'gold',¹⁸ etc. as well as 'my (this, etc.) boy(s)', 'some (what, etc.) boy(s)', etc. denote substance in the sense specified above), wherefore the notion of substance does not appear to be distinctive — but also that this fact explains why verbs, adverbs, conjunctions, etc. are never accompanied by 'the' (and 'a') and, moreover, why 'the' (and 'a') is found more frequently in certain syntactic positions than in certain others.

It seems strange to me that the fact that 'the' (and 'a') indicate substance should have been adduced as an explanation of anything. For, clearly, the 'explanation', in this case, amounts, in simplified form, to this: The signs together with which 'the' is found, which signs do not comprise verbs, denote substance in conjunction with 'the' — and this is the reason why 'the' is not found together with verbs, for verbs do not denote substance.

IV. *'The' indicates familiarity.* This is one of the most common theories of the definite article. What does 'familiarity' mean? According to the dictionary 'familiar' means (1) 'acquainted (with)' ('I am familiar with the structural approach'), (2) 'well-known' ('the familiar scenes of one's childhood'), (3) 'intimate' ('he has very few familiar friends'), and (4) 'bold' or 'impudent' ('he made himself much too familiar with my wife'). Obviously, meanings 2, 3, and 4 are irrelevant in this connexion. Therefore, 'familiar' would seem to mean 'acquainted' and 'familiarity' 'acquaintance'. The statement "'the" indicates familiarity' thus appears to be equivalent to this statement: 'The' indicates that the listener (and the speaker) is acquainted with what is denoted by 'the x'.

Interpretation 1. This interpretation I shall call interpretation 1 (for there is an interpretation 2), and I shall now prove that 'the' has nothing to do with familiarity in this sense (and that 'a' has nothing to do with absence of familiarity). The proof is simple. It is this: It is not contradictory to let 'the' be accompanied by the sign 'unacquaintance' ('unacquainted', etc.) and it is not tautological to let 'the' be accompanied by 'acquaintance' (and it is contradictory to let 'a' be accompanied by the sign 'acquaintance' no more than it is tautological to let 'a' be

¹⁸ It is sometimes said that 'gold' (etc.) in 'gold is rather expensive' (etc.) is very close to expressing the mere notion. This view is hardly tenable. When I say, 'Gold is rather expensive', I attribute the predicate *expensive* to a notion no more than I do when I say, 'This factory is rather expensive'.

accompanied by 'unacquaintance'. Example 1: 'Yesterday I met a man with whom you are not acquainted. *The man (I met yesterday and with whom you are not acquainted) told me that ...*'. The italicized sentence is not contradictory (and the unitalicized sentence is not tautological). Example 2: 'Yesterday I met a man with whom you are acquainted. *The man (I met yesterday and with whom you are acquainted) told me, that ...*'. The italicized sentence is not tautological (and the unitalicized sentence is not contradictory). Clearly, if 'the' indicated (implied) familiarity, it would be contradictory to say 'the man with whom you are not familiar (acquainted)'.¹⁹

Interpretation 2. The statement "'the" indicates familiarity' may also be interpreted in this way: 'The' indicates, not that the listener is acquainted with what is denoted by 'the x', but that he is acquainted with *the fact that* there is an x of which such and such is true.²⁰

To my knowledge interpretations 1 and 2 have never been clearly distinguished and neither of them has been clearly formulated. Both of them are used in treatises on the definite article, and they are used, both of them, by the same author.²¹ And these, it appears to me, are the reasons why the notion of familiarity has proved less useful than might have been the case. For while interpretation 1 is entirely useless,²² interpretation 2 is not: if we combine it with statements like 'when "the" is used, "the hearer's attention is focused" on something' (see Christophersen, *The Articles*, p. 28) and 'when "the" is used a "searchlight" is flashed on something to the exclusion of everything else' (Bodelsen in *English Studies*, 30, p. 286 f.), we shall, I believe, arrive at the psychologically formulated counterpart of the simple solution of the problem of the definite article (see § 5).

V. '*The' is the definite article.* In *The Articles* (p. 51) Christophersen says that 'the name "definite" is presumably meant to signify that

¹⁹ To say that, although the person addressed was not acquainted with the man A before A was mentioned, he is, nevertheless, acquainted with A now, would be to obfuscate the issue, for the mere mentioning of a man A does not entail acquaintance with A (on the part of the listener): the statement 'the man I met yesterday and with whom you are not acquainted but with whom you are now acquainted' is contradictory.

²⁰ This x being the x we talk about when 'the (x)' is used.

²¹ Compare, for instance, the following quotations from Christophersen's (otherwise very useful) book *The Articles*: '... *the* brings it about that to the potential meaning ... of the word is attached a certain association with previously acquired knowledge, by which it can be inferred that only one definite individual is meant. This is what is understood by familiarity' (p. 72); '... *a* is neutral with regard to familiarity Take such a phrase as *I wonder if you have come across a fellow called James Birch. We were at Eton together*: it is about one definite person whom the speaker knows [my italics] and whom he supposes the hearer too to know. As it is only a supposition the neutral form must be used ...' (p. 74); 'The use of *the* in these cases ["the lion is the king of beasts", etc.] is not different from that before ordinary unit-words. If a person is at all familiar with a unique, he must necessarily *know the only individual* [my italics] answering to its idea, since species and individual are here one and the same thing' (p. 76).

²² Or rather: is false — since it is formulated as a sentence.

the noun to which it is attached stands for something definite. It is thus in effect almost equivalent to "determinative" and "defining", which express that the article renders the noun that it accompanies definite'. Strictly speaking, a noun does not stand in need of being rendered definite — the noun 'boy' is, *qua* noun, a definite noun. Moreover, a noun (a substantive stem) could not possibly stand for something definite: it does not stand for anything, for it is not an autcategorematic denotator. Therefore, 'which express that the article renders the noun that it accompanies definite' must be taken to mean 'which express that what is denoted by "the" + noun is something definite'. The statement "'the" is the definite article' thus appears to be equivalent to this statement: 'the x' denotes something definite. Is the latter statement a true statement? It is, I believe, tautological. If a sign S denotes something, then that something (or these 'somethings') is necessarily a definite something. To say that there is something (of which it is true that it is denoted by S and) of which it is true that it is an indefinite something is clearly a contradiction in terms. When I say that I met a man yesterday, I do not say that I met an indefinite man. (One cannot meet an indefinite man: a man cannot be an indefinite man, neither to the speaker nor to the listener.) And when I say that gold is more expensive than silver, I do not say that something indefinite is more expensive than something else which is also indefinite. What I say is this: If there is something x which is gold and if there is something y which is silver, then x is more expensive than y.²³ (The above remarks also apply to the terms 'particular', 'special', 'concrete' (unless 'concrete' is taken in a robust material sense, in which case what is denoted by 'the admiration (I feel for him)' is not concrete), etc.)

We may conclude that the statement "'the" is the definite article' ("the" indicates definiteness') must be reinterpreted. Suppose we replace the statement "'the x" denotes something definite' by this statement: What is denoted by 'the x' is something *specified*. This appears to be a true statement, for 'the girl(s) (whisky)' in '(Yesterday Anderson kissed a (some) girl(s) (bought some whisky).)' The girl(s) (whisky) (Anderson kissed (bought) yesterday) ...' denotes something specified, the girl(s) and the whisky in question being the girl(s) and the whisky Anderson kissed (bought) yesterday. Let me be explicit. To say that we can identify — in the strict sense of the word — a murderer A is to say that we have

²³ In connexion with this conditional formulation I should like to call attention to the notion of quantitative presence or existence operated with by Bodelsen. (See *English Studies*, 21, pp. 235 f., and 30, pp. 285 ff.) He says that 'the' and 'a' indicate quantitative existence (presence) in contrast to the zero article. This notion seems to me to be very useful, if we underline *existence* (*presence*), with regard to distinguishing the generic determinatives from the indefinite and the definite determinatives. For linguistically 'gold is expensive' implies no assertion that there is (exists) gold (the sentence 'gold, if there is such a thing, is expensive' is not contradictory), in contrast to 'some gold is expensive' (which implies the statement 'there is some gold of which it is true that it is expensive') and 'the gold (I bought yesterday) was expensive' (which implies the statement 'there is some gold of which it is true that I bought it yesterday').

a description of A to which A, and only A, answers. To say that 'the x' denotes something B which is specified is to say that B is identifiable, which, then, is to say that we have a description of B to which B, and only B, answers. That 'the x' denotes something specified is true in virtue of the fact that the very sign 'the x (that ...)'²⁴ contains the identifying description. If I say: '(Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl.) The girl (that Anderson ...) ...', then Joan (or Jennifer or Mildred, etc.) is the denotatum of 'the girl (that Anderson ...)' if, and only if, Joan was kissed yesterday and Anderson was the one who kissed her.

Now it is quite obvious that 'an x', 'some x(s)', 'what x(s)', etc. and 'x' (e.g. 'gold'), 'x's' (e.g. 'girls'), etc. — that is, the indefinite and the generic determinatives — do not denote something specified. The same, however, is hardly true of 'this x', 'my x(s)', etc. That is, *all* the definite determinatives denote something specified, including 'which' (questions introduced by 'which' refer to a group of specified 'somethings', in contrast to questions introduced by 'what'), 'either' (which means 'both this and that' ('either side') or 'this or that': 'either x' = 'both this x and that x' or 'this x or that x'), 'neither' (which means 'not this and not that': 'neither x' = 'not this x and not that x'), and 'each' (which seems to stand in the same relation to 'every' as 'which' to 'what').

We may conclude that "'...' indicates definiteness' may be interpreted so as to cover 'the (x)', but not 'the (x)' to the exclusion of the other definite determinatives (+ stem and, in the case of countables, number flexive).

§ 5. *The function of the definite article.* Consider the following sentences:

- (1) (a) Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl with blue eyes. (b) The girl called the police.
 (2) (a) Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl with blue eyes. (b) A girl called the police.

The only difference between (1) and (2) is that in (b) in (1) we have 'the', whereas in (b) in (2) we have 'a'. Therefore, no matter in what way (1) differs from (2), as regards the information conveyed to the listener, the difference is due to 'the', and to 'the' only. Consequently, if we can state precisely what is conveyed by (1), and what is conveyed by (2) as compared with (1), we can state precisely what is conveyed by 'the' as compared with 'a'.

The difference between (1) and (2) is identical with the difference between (b) in (1) and (b) in (2). (b) in (2) is to the effect that there was a girl who called the police. (b) in (1) is also to the effect that there was a girl who called the police. However, this is not all that is conveyed by (b) in (1). What is conveyed by (b) in (1) is this: There was a girl who called the police, *and that girl was identical with the girl introduced in (a)*. (b) in (2), on the other hand, only conveys that there was a girl who called the police. It does not imply that the

²⁴ Concerning the parenthesis, see p. 407, footnote 15.

girl who called the police was identical with the girl introduced in (a); nor does it imply that the latter girl was a person different from the former; it is neutral as regards the identity of the two girls, i.e., as to whether the two girls were one and the same girl. (It is quite true that (b) in (2) will generally be taken, by the listener, to be to the effect that the girl who called the police was not the same as the girl introduced in (a), but linguistically it does not follow that the two girls were not one and the same girl, for the listener may certainly say, 'I hope, for Anderson's sake, that the girl who called the police was not the girl Anderson kissed'. Note that, in the case of (1), it would be nonsensical to say, 'I hope, for Anderson's sake, that the girl who called the police was not the girl Anderson kissed', and that it would be equally nonsensical to say, 'I hope, for morality's sake, that the girl who called the police was the girl Anderson kissed' — for purely linguistic reasons.)

Let us take uncountables and plurals as examples:

- (3) (a) Yesterday Anderson bought some whisky. (b) The whisky was found in the kitchen.
- (4) (a) Yesterday Anderson bought some whisky. (b) (Some) whisky was found in the kitchen.
- (5) (a) Yesterday Anderson bought some cigars. (b) The cigars were found in the kitchen.
- (6) (a) Yesterday Anderson bought some cigars. (b) (Some) cigars were found in the kitchen.

It will be seen that the difference between (3) and (4) and between (5) and (6) is exactly the same as the difference between (1) and (2).

My thesis, then, is this: The function — in the sense specified in § 3 — of the definite article is to *identify* what is denoted by 'the x(s)' with the x(s) that has (have) just been introduced. And this is the only *function* of the definite article. In other words, 'the' serves to indicate *cross-reference*.

It follows that when 'the (x)' ('the (x's)') is used, something, viz. an (some) x or some x's, must have been introduced. That with which the denotatum of 'the x' is identified, i.e., that to which cross-reference is made, may be introduced in two ways:

1. Explicitly, i.e., by means of a sign which is identical with 'x' in 'the x'. Examples: 'Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl. The girl ...', etc.
2. Implicitly, i.e., (α) by means of a sign which is not identical with 'x' in 'the x' but which implies (often in a loose sense) 'x', or (β) by the speech-situation. Examples: (α) '... an elephant The trunk (the legs, etc.) ...', '... a gardenia The colour (the petals, etc.) ...', '... a war The causes (the outbreak, etc.) ...', '... swore The oath ...', etc.; (β) (Sitting in a car) 'The mudguards (the engine, etc.) ...', etc.

It should be noted that implicit introduction can always be made explicit, by interpolation. Thus: 'yesterday I saw an elephant which, like all other elephants, had a trunk; the trunk, viz. the trunk of the elephant I saw

yesterday, ...'; 'this is a car, and like most other cars this car has mudguards; the mudguards, viz. the mudguards of this car, ...'.

Comments:

1. In § 4 (V) I said (1) that 'the x' denotes something B which is specified, by which I mean that B is identifiable in the sense that we have a description — contained in 'the x (that ...)' — to which B, and only B, answers. In this paragraph I have said (2) that 'the' identifies what is denoted by 'the x' with that which has just been introduced. It will be understood that (1) and (2) are different statements. (According to (1) we are able to establish the identity of what we talk about. (2) is to this effect: No matter what entity B is denoted by 'the x' and no matter what entity A has just been introduced, A and B are the same entity.) But they are, of course, connected: (1) follows from (2), which is easy to see, for in: (a) '*Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl with blue eyes.*' (b) 'The girl (that ...) ...', 'the' cross-refers to (the entity introduced in) (a), and it is (a) that contains the identifying description — viz. the description contained in the italicized words — which description is also contained in (b), explicitly (when the italicized words are repeated in a relative clause or a prepositional group) or implicitly (when they are left out, for reasons of speech economy (see p. 416, footnote 33)).

2. I said above (§ 4, IV) that if we combine interpretation 2 of "'the" indicates familiarity' with statements like 'when "the" is used, "the hearer's attention is focused" on something' and 'when "the" is used, a "search-light" is flashed on something', we shall arrive at the psychologically formulated counterpart of the simple solution of the problem of the function of the definite article. Interpretation 2, when combined with these statements, reads like this: 'The' indicates that the listener is acquainted with the fact that there is an x of which such and such is true — this x being the x on which the listener focuses his attention (or on which he 'répand tout son champ de vision'²⁵) or on which the search-light is flashed when 'the (x)' is used. Since (1) the function of 'the' is to identify what is denoted by 'the x' with the x that has just been introduced, and since (2) it follows from (1) that something, viz. an x, must have been introduced when 'the (x)' is used, it will be seen that my theory is the complete non-psychological equivalent of interpretation 2 + 'this x being the x ...'.

3. In a review of Jespersen's *A Modern English Grammar*, VII, in *English Studies*, 30, pp. 281 ff. (cf. *English Studies*, 21, pp. 232 ff.) Bodelsen has given some examples which seem to imply that 'the' does not require that something has been introduced.

Bodelsen says that we can say 'the crimes of John Smith' even if the person addressed does not know that Smith is a criminal.²⁶ I do not think

²⁵ Interpreted in this way there is some truth in Guillaume's statement that l'article *le* exprime seulement qu'un nom est répandu sur tout un champ de vision'.

²⁶ And that we can say 'the influence of word-order in Eskimo' even if the person addressed is totally ignorant of Eskimo.

that Bodelsen is right. If the speaker *knows* that the person addressed does not know that Smith has committed some crimes (or, which is the same thing, that Smith is a criminal), he (the speaker) does not use 'the' correctly. For suppose I am the person addressed and that I know Smith but not that he is a criminal, then, if the speaker says to me that the crimes of Smith created a sensation in the early twenties, it would seem that I am perfectly justified, linguistically, in saying to myself, 'The speaker seems to *take it for granted* that I know that Smith is a criminal'.²⁷

Bodelsen has another example which might conceivably be adduced against the implication of my theory: that something must have been introduced. It is this: We can say 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of which an ignorant person like you has probably never heard'. Now, this example is adduced against the familiarity theory in general and as such it appears to me to be valid. But it does not invalidate my theory. For what does the statement 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of which an ignorant person like you has probably never heard, is ...' imply? It does not imply that the listener does not know (= is not acquainted with the fact) that (there is some) gold (which) is stored in the Bank of England, for in that case the 'which' in the relative clause would have to be a sentence relative, i.e., the statement would be equivalent to 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, a fact of which (which is a fact of which) an ignorant person like you has probably never heard, is ...', but the latter sentence is grammatically impossible (in contrast to 'some gold is stored in the Bank of England, a fact of which (which is a fact of which) an ignorant person like you has probably never heard'). Therefore, 'which' necessarily refers to 'gold', and the statement is equivalent to 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of which gold an ignorant person like you has probably never heard, is ...'. And again, this statement is not equivalent to 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of the presence (in the Bank of England) of which gold an ignorant person like you has probably never heard, is ...',²⁸ for that

²⁷ The following sentence (also cited by Bodelsen): 'I will now tell you about a man about whom nobody has ever heard: the illegitimate son of Lord X', exemplifies a frequent *stylistic* use of 'the': anticipatory 'the'. ('I will now tell you about a man about whom nobody has ever heard. I will tell you about the illegitimate son of Lord X. (And you did not know Lord X had an illegitimate son).') Cf. 'That remarkably industrious and versatile writer, Daniel Defoe' as against 'Daniel Defoe, that remarkably industrious and versatile writer'. Examples such as '*The Hind and the Panther*', '*The Loves of the Angels*', etc. (also cited by Bodelsen) do not appear to me to be examples of 'the hind and the panther', etc. (without introduction). Note that we cannot say, '*The Hind and the Panther* were not on good terms', whereas we can say, 'The hind and the panther in (Dryden's poem) *The Hind and the Panther* were not on good terms'. Here 'the hind and the panther in *The Hind and the Panther*' is parallel to 'the crimes of Jones'. I refer the reader to *Word-classes in modern English*, § 83.

²⁸ That is, it is not equivalent to this statement: 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of which gold, incidentally, it is probably true that you, who are an ignorant person, have never heard that it is stored in the Bank of England, is ...'.

statement does not appear to be semantically possible. It is equivalent to this statement: 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, of which gold an ignorant person like you has probably never heard anything, is ...', and the latter statement means: 'the gold stored in the Bank of England, which gold an ignorant person like you probably does not know anything about'. To sum up: The statement does not imply that the listener is not familiar with the fact that there is some gold which is stored in the Bank of England.²⁹ It merely implies that the listener is not familiar with that gold, i.e., does not know anything about it (how it came there, how much it is worth, etc.).

§ 6. *The functionally described 'the' has its exact formal counterpart.*

I. The identifying 'the' does not cover all occurrences of 'the'. That is, if the identifying 'the' is called the definite article — and since the identifying 'the'-occurrences comprise all undisputed occurrences of the definite article, there is every reason to call the identifying 'the' the definite article — then the occurrences of 'the' which are not identifying are not occurrences of the definite article, unless, of course, it is possible to construct a common denominator for both the identifying and (some of) the non-identifying 'the'-occurrences, a common denominator, that is, which does not comprise other entities (i.e., entities which would never be called occurrences of the definite article) — but the construction of such a common denominator is not known to be possible.

The following occurrences of 'the' are not identifying:

a. The so-called emphatic 'the'. ('So superlative is his vigour ... we might even designate him *the* playwright.'))

b. 'The' before comparatives. ('The more we are together the ...')

c. Exclamatory 'the'. ('The wretch! exclaimed the spinster.')

d. The 'the' we have in 'the Thames', 'The Hague', etc. (Historically this 'the' is the definite article, but not synchronically; cf. *Word-classes in modern English*, § 71.)

e. The 'the' we have in 'the moral Gower'; that is, the 'the' we have before non-contrastive adjective + proper name. This 'the' indicates an attitude on the part of the speaker towards Gower and/or towards Gower as bearer of the property expressed by the adjective, an attitude which is different from the one indicated when 'the' is left out ('moral Gower'); see *op. cit.*, § 72. (The 'the' we have before contrastive adjective + (supposed) proper name — i.e., the 'the' we have in 'it was the moral Gower, not the immoral Gower, that called yesterday' (about two different persons called *Gower*) and in 'the young Milton as opposed to the old Milton was not very ...' (about the same person) — is identifying. For an analysis of these contrastive constructions, see *op. cit.*, § 85.)

f. Generic 'the'. ('The newspaper is a strong influence on our social life.')

²⁹ The example is an example of implicit introduction.

g. The 'the' we have in the type exemplified by 'the rich (are not always to blame)' and 'to mix the useful (= that which is useful) with the agreeable if often ...'.

h. The 'the' we have in the type: the y of an x. ('Then we heard the roar of a tiger.')

i. The 'the' we have in the types exemplified by 'he is the intimate friend of John Smith' and 'he is the brother of Anthony Quayle'.

II. In *Word-classes in modern English* I have given a formal description of 'the' (the definite article). I shall now show that the occurrences of 'the' which are not covered by the identifying 'the' are the very same occurrences which are not covered by the formal description given there. In other words, the functionally described 'the' has its exact formal counterpart.

The formal description of 'the' (the definite article): 'The' is the definite article if and only if (1) it requires the (explicit or implicit) presence of a restrictive relative clause (or a prepositional group) in the primaries of which it is a constituent,³⁰ (2) the primaries of which it is a constituent are compatible with non-restrictive relative clauses but not with restrictive relative clauses, and (3) the primaries of which it is a constituent are in all constructions compatible with the perfect tenses (i.e., the perfect, the pluperfect, and the future perfect tenses).³¹

To say that 'the' requires the (explicit or implicit) presence of a restrictive³² relative clause x (or a prepositional group) in the primary P of which it is a constituent is to say that x is a constituent of P (not a secondary relative to P).³³ Condition 2, then, is to this effect: P (containing a restrictive relative clause as a constituent) can be accompanied by a non-restrictive relative clause (occurring as a secondary) but not by a restrictive relative clause. Let me illustrate: In '(Yesterday Anderson

³⁰ That 'the' is a constituent of primaries — and not a secondary, as generally maintained ('primary' and 'secondary' are here taken in Jespersen's sense) — is easy to see: 'The' is a necessary constituent of the subject in 'the boy went away', i.e., 'the' is not a secondary relative to 'boy' and 'boy' is not a primary (nor a secondary) relative to 'the'; the primary consists of 'the' + 'boy'. 'Old', on the other hand, in 'the old boy went away' is not a necessary constituent of the subject, i.e., 'old' is a secondary relative to 'the boy', which is a primary relative to 'old'. (We can say 'the old boy went away' and 'the boy went away', but we cannot say 'boy went away' nor 'the went away'.) I refer the reader to *op. cit.*, § 30. 3b.

³¹ Condition 3 — for details, see *op. cit.*, p. 144 f. — may be left out of account. It is not necessary for my purpose here.

³² 'Restrictive' (and 'non-restrictive') to be taken in Jespersen's sense.

³³ The reason why I add 'implicit' is that the relative clause is often left out, for reasons of *speech economy*. We generally say, 'Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl. The girl was very nice'. But we could equally well have said, 'Yesterday Anderson kissed a girl. The girl that Anderson kissed yesterday was very nice'. 'The girl that Anderson kissed yesterday' is the complete equivalent of 'the girl', which is to say that 'the girl' is short for 'the girl that Anderson kissed yesterday', which, again, is to say that 'that Anderson kissed yesterday' is present implicitly when we merely say 'the girl'. And to say that something is present implicitly is to say that its presence can be made explicit, by interpolation.

kissed a blonde girl.) 'The blonde girl that Anderson kissed was very nice', 'that Anderson kissed' is a constituent of the primary, which, then, is 'the' + 'girl' + 'that Anderson kissed'. This primary may be accompanied by a non-restrictive relative clause (occurring as a secondary relative to 'the girl that Anderson kissed'): 'The blonde girl that Anderson kissed, who, by the way, appeared to be the cousin of Mr. Quarles, was very nice'. But it cannot be accompanied by a restrictive relative clause. (Cf. 'my (this, ...) house', etc.: we can say 'my (this, ...) house, which is very old', but we cannot say 'my (this, ...) house that is very old'.)

To say that 'that Anderson kissed' is a constituent of the primary is to say something which is contrary to traditional analysis, according to which it is a secondary. The traditional analysis, however, appears to me to be inconsistent, for I believe that the traditional syntactician will say that 'who ... appeared to ...' in 'the girl that Anderson kissed, who, by the way, appeared to ..., was ...', is a secondary relative to 'the girl that Anderson kissed', which is consequently a primary; whence it follows that 'that Anderson kissed' is a constituent of a primary. And if 'that Anderson kissed' is a constituent of a primary in 'the girl that Anderson kissed, who ... appeared to ..., was ...', then it is also a constituent of a primary in 'the girl that Anderson kissed was ...', for if it be said that 'that Anderson kissed' is turned into a secondary by the removal of 'who ... appeared to ...', then an inference is made for which there are no rules of inference, and which would not be made in other, analogous, cases.

III. It is easy to see that the non-identifying 'the'-occurrences — listed under (I) — are not covered by the formal description of the definite article. None of them satisfy both condition 1 and (the conjunction of the conditions contained in) condition 2. Those listed under (a), (b), (c), (d), and (e) need no comment. The generic 'the' does not require the presence of a restrictive relative clause (or a prepositional group) in the (generic) primaries of which it is a constituent. (It is incompatible with a restrictive relative clause as a co-constituent.) And the (generic) primaries in which 'the' occurs are compatible with restrictive relative clauses (occurring as secondaries): 'The newspaper that caters to the masses is a strong influence on our social life'. (They are also compatible with non-restrictive relative clauses (occurring as secondaries): 'the newspaper, which is a product of ..., is ...'.) 'The rich' and 'the useful' satisfy condition 2 — we can say 'the rich, who ...', but we cannot say 'the rich that ...' — but 'the' in 'the rich' and 'the useful' does not satisfy condition 1. 'The' in 'the y of an x' ('then we heard the roar of a tiger') satisfies condition 1 ('the y of an x' contains a prepositional group as a constituent), but 'the y of an x' does not satisfy condition 2: we cannot say 'then we heard the roar of a tiger, which, by the way, ...'. (We can, of course, say 'then we heard the roar of a tiger, which scared us out of our wits', but here 'which' is a sentence relative.) (That the grammar of 'the' in 'the y of an x' is different from the grammar of 'the' in: 'Then we heard a roar. The roar was ...', is a corollary of the fact that 'the

y of an x' is the semantic equivalent of 'an x y' ('the roar of a tiger' = 'a tiger roar'). The meaning conveyed by the phrase 'the y of an x' is not very different from the one conveyed by 'a y of an x' ('a roar of a tiger'). There is, however, a difference between the two phrases.³⁴ The difference is this: When we say 'the y of an x', we speak about a member of a subclass; we speak about a member of a subclass of the class of y's, the subclass being the class of x y's. When we say 'a y of an x', we do not speak about a member of a subclass. We speak about a member p of the class of y's and a member q of the class of x's, and we say that p and q stand in a certain relation to each other, viz. the relation of coming from (or the like): p comes from q.) 'The' in '(he is) the brother (intimate friend) of Anthony Quayle' satisfies condition 1, but 'the brother (intimate friend) of Anthony Quayle' does not satisfy condition 2. We can, indeed, say 'he is the brother of Anthony Quayle, who (which person) is married to my cousin', but here 'who' ('which person') necessarily refers to a part of the primary, viz. Anthony Quayle. We cannot say 'he is the brother of Anthony Quayle, which brother ...'. In order to get a non-restrictive relative clause which refers to the primary, we shall have to say 'he is identical with the brother of Anthony Quayle, which brother is married to my cousin'. But the meaning conveyed by 'the' in 'he is identical with the brother of Anthony Quayle' is entirely different from the one conveyed by 'the' in 'he is the brother of Anthony Quayle': the 'the' of the former sentence is an ordinary occurrence of the identifying 'the'. '(He is) the brother (intimate friend) of Anthony Quayle' is closely related to 'the y of an x'. Just as 'the y of an x' is the semantic equivalent of 'an x y', so 'the brother of Anthony Quayle' is the semantic equivalent of 'an Anthony-Quayle-brother'. Space forbids more detailed analysis.

Conclusion: Since the non-identifying 'the'-occurrences are not covered by the formal description of the definite article, and since the identifying 'the' is covered by the formal description,³⁵ I have shown that the functionally described 'the' has its exact formal counterpart.

§ 7. *Note on definitional hygiene.* I said above that if the identifying 'the' is called the definite article, then the occurrences of 'the' which are

³⁴ I here ignore that the latter is much less frequent than the former.

³⁵ Comment on the type exemplified by 'English literature in (of) the 18th century' and 'literature that deals with our inner life' as compared with the type exemplified by 'the English literature of (in) the 18th century' and 'the literature that deals with our inner life': With prepositional group or restrictive relative clause + uncountable it often makes little difference, pragmatically, whether 'the' is omitted or not. There is, however, a difference between the two types of construction. The difference is this (I remind the reader of what was said on p. 410 (footnote)): The 'the'-construction implies postulate of existence. If 'the' is omitted, no postulate of existence is implied. Thus 'the literature that deals with our inner life' implies the following statement: 'There is some literature which deals with our inner life', which statement is the implicit introduction to the (identifying) 'the' in 'the literature that deals with our inner life'.

not identifying are not occurrences of the definite article. It is customary in treatises on the definite article to speak of special applications of 'the', the special applications being the ones that are not covered by the definition. It is even common practice, in cases where the definition does not cover, to speak of the definite article without the modification 'special application'. Now it appears to me that if we have defined the definite article in such and such a way, and if such and such occurrences of 'the' are not covered by the definition, then the definition is *not* a definition of the definite article if the occurrences in question are called (or are to be called) occurrences of the definite article, or the occurrences in question are *not* occurrences of the definite article if the definition is called (or is to be called) a definition of the definite article. To put it point-blank: One cannot eat one's cake and have it.

Now, although it is not known to be possible, it may, nevertheless, be possible to construct a definition of the definite article according to which some of the non-identifying occurrences of 'the' are also occurrences of the definite article. (I very much doubt that it should be possible to construct a definition according to which all 'the'-occurrences, and *only* 'the'-occurrences, are occurrences of the definite article.) The implication, as regards my theory, is merely this: Such and such occurrences of 'the' are occurrences of the definite article. Of the occurrences in question some are identifying and some are not. That is, the class of occurrences of the definite article is divisible into two (or more) subclasses, one of which is the class of identifying occurrences. The identifying 'the'-occurrences remain a well-defined group — and a group with its exact formal counterpart. Therefore, should such a definition be forthcoming, I ask the reader to look upon my definition merely as a definition of a subclass of occurrences of the definite article. But until it is forthcoming, I do ask him to look upon it as a definition of (the function of) the definite article. (I wish to point out, in case the reader should be familiar with the terminology adopted in *Word-classes in modern English*, that I have used, in this paragraph, the term 'definition' in its ordinary wide sense.)

§ 8. *Comment on the rise of the definite article.* 'L'article prend valeur relativement à un problème qui n'existe pas seulement pour l'esprit d'un peuple, mais universellement pour l'esprit humain, par le fait même du langage. Ce problème date du jour où un esprit d'homme a senti qu'une différence existe entre le nom avant emploi ... et le nom qui nomme en effet Il s'est posé avec plus de force, à mesure que ce sentiment devenait plus net, et il a été résolu, à un moment donné, dans nombre de langues, par l'invention de relations systématiques entre le nom virtuel et le nom réel. Les articles sont, dans la langue, le signe apparent de ces relations', says Guillaume (*op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.), thus assigning an almost august role to the articles. And Christophersen says: 'Still, it is quite possible that the article does serve the purpose of clarity and that misunderstandings are avoided by its use. Its chief justification, however,

lies in the fact that its rise marks a progressive advance in the evolution from concrete to abstract The definite article arose out of a need to indicate this use of an appellative in the capacity of a proper name' (*op. cit.*, pp. 20, 83).

In the early stages of the English language there were sentences corresponding to the pattern exemplified by this sentence: 'Yesterday Anderson kissed girl. Girl did not like it'. The first occurrence of 'girl' corresponds to 'a girl' in modern English; the second occurrence corresponds both to 'a girl' and 'the girl'. If I were to offer an explanation of the rise of the definite article, it would, in consequence of my theory, have to be this: The definite article arose out of a need to indicate to the listener *explicitly* that the two entities talked about are one and the same entity. In other words, it arose out of a need to indicate cross-reference. The task of the definite article is a modest one, and if it did arise out of a *need* to indicate cross-reference — we cannot possibly *know* — the need was equally modest, but it was a need for clarity. But whether the definite article arose teleologically or not, it seems to me to be a source of intellectual gratification that this elegant little word should have arisen.

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Some Notes on Dickens' Symbolism

Dickens' contemporaries read him for other reasons than we do now. No doubt the story itself was the chief attraction; Dickens clearly thought so himself. Next, probably, came the characters, especially the humorous and the pathetic ones, and then, a good way behind, the descriptions of atmosphere and the reformatory social ideas, the latter being of course repugnant to a considerable section of his public and critics. In assessing the artistic merits of his novels, the latter were apt to compare them with those of his Victorian fellow-novelists, very often to his detriment, as if he were attempting, or ought to attempt, to write books like *Adam Bede* or *Vanity Fair*, and failing to come up to their standard. It was hardly realized at all that Dickens' conception of novel-writing was quite different from that of the run of 18th and 19th century writers, that his technique had as strong affinities with poetry as with narrative, and that, running through his work side by side with the action, there is a symbolic pattern.

As late as 1898 a sensitive and sympathetic critic like Gissing could observe (*Charles Dickens*, ch. VIII), in discussing the character of Little

Nell: 'Heaven forbid that I should attribute to Dickens a deliberate allegory; but, having in mind those hapless children who were then being tortured in England's mines and factories, I like to see in Little Nell a type of their suffering.' One notes that Gissing propounds this as his own, and not as Dickens' reading of the character.¹ It is surprising that it should not have occurred to him that Dickens' recurrent symbol of the maltreated and persecuted child might be a projection of his own memory of having once been one of the 'hapless children' referred to, and that Little Nell thus in a sense does stand for these little victims of society.

It is to the symbolic pattern, rather than the plot, that one must look in any of Dickens' books after *Pickwick* in order to find its real meaning, though the plot also generally serves a symbolic purpose.

Dickens was obviously disinclined to talk of this side of his work to his friends, possibly because he thought they would not understand it.² But it appears, *i. a.* from his notebooks, that when he conceived an idea for a new novel, what he was principally thinking of was not the plot: it was a new light to be thrown on a scene, a presentation of a subject from an angle different from that of everyday life, and a mood that was to run through the whole book. (Cf. his notes for two projected novels, *Downhills* and the one about a city, in Forster, Book 9, Ch. VII.) At the earliest stage the action was, I think, something subsidiary, serving chiefly as a means to convey the mood in question. The first conception of the book must have been something like waking up with the vivid memory of a dream, whose emotional colouring seems to one strange and significant, but which evaporates as the morning wears on.

In all the novels after *Pickwick* (with the partial exception of *Nickleby* and *Barnaby Rudge*) the symbolic pattern is interwoven with that of the action. It is the former that is the most important. It expresses the real meaning of the book much more adequately than the latter, and it constitutes a separate structure with a unity of its own, which keeps the book together.

The handling of the symbolism is radically different from the dream-symbolism of writers like Kafka and Strindberg, though both of these

¹ It is true that Gissing may be using 'allegory' in a more specialized sense than 'symbol'. (He says in the same connexion that 'her death is purely symbolical, signifying the premature close of any sweet and delicate life'.)

² An example of Dickens' determined silence as regards his symbolic effects is provided by his reply to critics who had objected to Krook's death by spontaneous combustion in *Bleak House*. He defends himself by citing a number of not very convincing accounts of the phenomenon. But he omits to give the real reason why he killed off this character in this particular manner. Krook is a rag-and-bone dealer. His stock consists partly of old legal documents. His nickname is 'the Lord Chancellor'. The symbolic meaning is thus, one would think, quite unmistakable: his death is a prophetic warning that institutions which, like Chancery, have become travesties of themselves will be overtaken by a retribution, the seeds of which they carry in themselves. That this was apparently overlooked in his own time gives some measure of how little his symbolic technique was understood.

writers appear to have learnt from Dickens. In Dickens, the logic of the events which are described symbolically is not that of a dream, but of ordinary narrative. The essence of the technique is that one set of events which might actually have taken place, and for which the writer at any rate invites a suspension of disbelief, is used to symbolize an underlying meaning. Thus *Bleak House* is, on one level, a picture of Victorian England, visualized as a system threatened by dissolution because of inner stresses and contradictions. This picture is presented by means of a set of symbols which are not abstractions or dream-fantasies, but 'real' in the sense that anything in a regular novel is real: a story about a law case, another about an aristocratic lady with a past, another about a street Arab, a description of a slum, a country seat, etc., all of them things which belong to the fictional reality of art. They can be read and enjoyed for their own sakes, but they mean more than themselves. And this particular meaning is given by a certain heightening of their emotional colouring and by a number of hints at a significance below the surface.

One example among hundreds may serve to illustrate the method: the first description of the rain at Chesney Wold in Chapter 2, which forms a recurrent motif in the book.

The waters are out in Lincolnshire. An arch of the bridge in the park has been sapped and sopped away. The adjacent low-lying ground, for half a mile in breadth, is a stagnant river, with melancholy trees for islands in it, and a surface punctured all over, all day long, with falling rain. My Lady Dedlock's 'place' has been extremely dreary. The weather, for many a day and night, has been so wet that the trees seem wet through, and the soft loppings and prunings of the woodman's axe can make no crash or crackle as they fall. The deer, looking soaked, leave quagmires where they pass. The shot of a rifle loses its sharpness in the moist air, and its smoke moves in a tardy little cloud towards the green rise, coppice-topped, that makes a background for the falling rain. The view from my Lady Dedlock's own windows is alternately a lead-coloured view and a view in Indian ink. The vases on the stone terrace in the foreground catch the rain all day, and the heavy drops fall, drip, drip, upon the broad flagged pavement, called, from old time, the Ghost's Walk, all night. On Sundays, the little church in the park is mouldy, the oaken pulpit breaks out into a cold sweat, and there is a general smell and taste as of the ancient Dedlocks in their graves. My Lady Dedlock (who is childless), looking out in the early twilight from her boudoir at a keeper's lodge, and seeing the light of a fire upon the latticed panes, and smoke rising from the chimney, and a child, chased by a woman, running out into the rain to meet the shining figure of a wrapped-up man coming through the gate, has been put quite out of temper. My Lady Dedlock says she has been 'bored to death'.

This is not only a magnificent evocation of a piece of atmosphere. It also summarises the boredom and futility of the fashionable life for which Lady Dedlock has given up her lover, and gives a premonition of the fate that awaits her. As in an overture, the principal themes to come are briefly played through: the undermined bridge, the sound of the axe, the shot, and the Dedlock graves.

The best way of showing how saturated Dickens' work is with symbolical meanings at different levels is perhaps to examine one of the novels from this point of view. *Great Expectations* may serve as our example.

Part of the symbolical structure of *Great Expectations* consists in the contrasting of symbols of security and menace, success and fear of some vaguely guessed-at disaster. Pip believes that the agent of his promotion to the rank of 'gentleman' is Miss Havisham, and that she intends him to marry her adopted daughter Estella. In reality, his benefactor is the convict Magwitch, whom as a little boy he helped to escape, greatly against his own wishes, and whom he afterwards remembers with horror and loathing. The real background of his success is intimated by recurrent hints at crime, prisons and executions, culminating with the scene where Magwitch reveals himself to him. The effect is like that of a sombre motif in a musical composition, only adumbrated at first, but becoming more and more insistent until at last it swallows up the rest.

There is a similar antithetical structure in the evocation of the atmosphere of the localities where the action takes place. In retrospect, one remembers the book as forming a pattern of contrasting colours: green and grey for the Thames marshes and the village of Pip's early childhood, and black for the sooty, crowded London, to which he is transferred. The two meet with an abrupt contrast in chapters 19 and 20 with Pip's departure from the forge: the homely sounds and smells of the house, the walk through the lane to the stage-coach, and the first sight of London: Smithfield 'all asmeared with filth and blood and foam' and Newgate, where the turnkey shows him the place where 'four on 'em would come out at that door the day after to-morrow at eight in the morning to be killed in a row'.

The story of Pip's expectations begins on the banks of the Thames, and reaches its tragic conclusion with his and Magwitch's flight down its lower reaches, and their capture. In between, the river makes many appearances, which serve as forebodings of the final catastrophe. It thus becomes one of the central symbols of the book, an embodiment of its 'angst' motif. For on one level *Great Expectations* is a book about hidden fears underlying apparent success, and the end of the flight expresses the shattering realization that an event too terrible for the conscious mind to entertain the thought of it is actually happening.

The menace of some irruption from a nether world into a life of apparent security is a recurrent motif in Dickens and seems to express, consciously or unconsciously, his view of the common human lot. His temperament and experiences — the Marshalsea and the death of Mary Hogarth — had given him a fear of hubris and an apprehension that to count oneself happy and safe was to court nemesis. All his books after *Pickwick* are pervaded by the idea that there is a night side of reality, separated from the daylight scene only by a thin partition. In his very first regular novel, *Oliver Twist*, it tends to crowd out the latter, and it even intrudes into the gay world of *Pickwick* in some of the inset stories.

In later life this sense of hidden menace was no doubt reinforced by the double part he was forced to play as an emblem of the domestic virtues, at the same time as he was 'living in sin' with Ellen Ternan. One notes

the dual personality of Jasper in *Edwin Drood* — a respected artist and a murderer — and the part which fear of discovery of a damaging secret plays in the case of old Mr. Dorrit, at the back of whose mind his Marshalsea past rankles as a secret shame, until it at last breaks down his defences in the scene at the Roman dinner party.

But the plot of *Great Expectations* is also symbolic of the pessimistic view of Victorian society at which Dickens had by now arrived. At this level, even some of his most outrageous coincidences are seen to fall into place and to have a *raison d'être*. To Pip, the most wonderful thing about his good fortune is that he believes it to mean that Miss Havisham has chosen him as the husband of Estella, the embodiment of what seems to him another and higher world than his own, regarded with despairing frustration as long as he was a village boy. Estella turns out to be the daughter of Magwitch and a murderess: both Pip's fortune and his ambition are tainted at the source.

To the present-day reader, accustomed to look for such things, the meaning seems too obvious to be missed, though no doubt it escaped, and may even have been intended to escape, the generality of contemporary readers. With the exception of the Harmon heritage in *Our Mutual Friend*, consisting in mountains of garbage, this is the most drastic expression of his criticism of the Victorian ideal of success: Dickens had by now come to regard the very foundations of 19th century prosperity, the striving of everybody to 'better himself' in competition with everybody else, as repugnant to Christian morality, and even akin to criminality.

Almost wholly overlooked in his own time, the role played by symbolism in Dickens' work has attracted a good deal of attention during recent years. It would be impossible to cover the whole subject within a short paper, and the following pages only deal with a few characteristic aspects of it.³

The colour symbolism mentioned above in connexion with *Great Expectations* is not confined to that book. A similar pattern forms part of several of the other novels. Thus in *The Old Curiosity Shop* a contrast of black and green accompanies the vicissitudes of Nell and her grandfather: black for London and the perils that threaten them there, and green for the places where they find a brief respite from persecution, with a return to black when their wanderings take them through the Potteries. In *Little Dorrit* the contrast is between shadow and brilliant light. The story opens with a picture of Marseilles in blinding sunlight. In the first part, which is dominated by the Marshalsea, London is a dismal city of gloom and shadows. When the Dorrits leave their prison, they are transferred to the sunshine and bright colours of Italy. The passage describing how they come out of the Simplon Pass has the effect of an epitome of the above: 'The gorges of the Simplon, its enormous depths

³ Some of the points I make have been made by others before me, but are included because they form part of my general reasoning.

and thundering waterfalls . . . , the descent into Italy, the opening of that beautiful land, as the rugged mountain-chasm widened and let them out from a gloomy and dark imprisonment. (Book 2, ch. 3.) The darkened London scene is thus framed, as it were, in a blaze of light on each side.

In *A Tale of Two Cities* there is a recurrent colour effect: a scene which is suddenly transformed by an eruption of red, from a broken wine cask, a sunset, or a fire. The effect is always symbolic, and always stands for the same thing: the approaching revolution. Both *Bleak House* and *Our Mutual Friend* leave a general impression of darkness. A very large proportion of the scenes in the latter are night pieces. Boffin's house among the dust heaps is e.g. almost exclusively shown at night. The Wrayburn-Riderhood theme evolves in a nocturnal atmosphere, cf. the chase of Wrayburn by his rival through the London streets and his attempt to murder him on the towpath.

That the conspicuous role which prisons play in the novels is not only due to the exigencies of the plot has been remarked on by several critics: the prison is an emblem of the forces that cripple human lives.

In two of the later novels, *A Tale of Two Cities* and *Little Dorrit*, there is the curious motif that the prison is something more than a material object: its walls follow the prisoner after he has been set free. Dr. Manette has fits of amnesia during which he believes that he is still in the Bastille. The shadow of the Marshalsea accompanies the Dorrit family in the sunlight of Italy, the very name of the prison punctuates the description of their journey, and in the end old Mr. Dorrit's failing brain transforms the Roman palazzo into the gaol and the fashionable guests into his old 'fellow-collegians'.

But in the later books there are other kinds of prisons. The town house of Mr. Merdle, the financier, is like an over-sized cell, which he paces in complete isolation though surrounded by admiring guests, sidling along the walls, keeping his eyes on the floor, listening like a prisoner in the condemned cell for the knock at the door. Within this prison there is another: Mrs. Merdle's upholstered and gilded boudoir, which in its turn contains yet a third, the cage of the gaudy, screeching parrot — an effect like something being reflected interminably in a cabinet of mirrors.

By this time, Dickens' increasing social pessimism had led him to regard the whole of England as a prison. It had also given him the conviction that the evils he had attacked were due to impersonal forces too strong to combat with much hope of success. Such 'villains' as there are in his later novels are not the source, but the product, of evil. It is difficult to escape the impression that he is making a point when he makes the turnkey Chivery and his son decent, and even lovable, characters.

Miss Havisham's room is another kind of prison, a self-created one, from which she excludes the daylight and everything sane and natural that it stands for, in her cult of her own sufferings and grievances. It is curious to note that Dickens, who is usually regarded as not much interested in psychological subtleties, should have taken such pains to render what has

been called 'la passion du malheur'. Mrs. Clenham in *Little Dorrit* is a variation on the same theme. Her sick-room is another self-imposed prison; her paralysis is hysterical and caused by brooding over an old wrong, and a Puritanical preoccupation with retribution for Sin.

Dickens' prisons sometimes symbolize society and sometimes some individual life. No doubt there was a personal element in the latter case: his private prison was an unhappy marriage and the drudgery of providing for feckless sons and needy relations. It may not be too far-fetched, even, to see a personal touch in the above-mentioned motif of the prison walls that the ex-prisoner cannot escape from: his own feeling that the separation from his wife and his liaison with Ellen Ternan did not bring him the liberation he had expected.

In the later novels, written when his social pessimism was becoming more and more accentuated, the prison theme forms part of his criticism of the Victorian cult of competitive private enterprise, and, paradoxically, the prison is sometimes the world of the successful. Who, in the last resort, is inside the prison of society, and who is outside? Is Mr. Dombey freer than the Toodles? Does Pip's social promotion really qualify him better for the pursuit of liberty and happiness than Joe Gargery and Biddy? Dickens obviously means the answer to be No: it is part of the general falsification of values that what is really a life of perpetual confinement is regarded by the success-hunters as a glittering prize. It looks like a palace, but it is a gaol. And, once within their several luxurious cells, the lucky ones may look with something like nostalgia from behind the bars at the scene outside, as Lady Dedlock from her window in the rain, and the Gradgrind children catching a glimpse of the circus child Sissy Jupe's more exciting world, before their father sends them back to their dreary geometrical house.

When one thinks of the role which time plays in the work of most other novelists, as a means of exhibiting characters, and their development it is curious to note how little Dickens is concerned with time, for its own sake.

It is true that clocks figure among his symbols. They obviously held a fascination for him; they are often described in great detail and furnished with a personality as if they were human beings, and the description is invariably charged with an emotional quality. (Cf. *Little Dorrit* Ch. 3, *Hard Times* Ch. 15 & 16, and *Nicholas Nickleby* Ch. 51.) But they are not in any direct way emblems of time. In *Dombey and Son*, however, they stand for something that is connected with time, if only at one remove: in this novel they recur very often, and always as forewarnings of death. Their ticking accompanies the brief life of little Paul like metronomes. When he is born, the watches of the two doctors seem to race each other as they bend over his dying mother's bed. In the chapter where his father takes him to Dr. Blimber's Academy, the clock in the headmaster's study interminably repeats the question: 'How, is, my, lit, tle, friend'. Later, the clock has fallen silent, and Paul watches a man

rummaging in its mechanism. At Paul's deathbed the theme of the doctors' ticking watches is repeated: the same sound heralds his birth and his death. A clock strikes warningly in Carker's hotel-room as *Dombey's* pursuit is drawing to a close.

This, in other words, is the 'foreboding' symbolism which Dickens so often uses, and of which the passage about Chesney Wold printed above is an example. And this is practically the only way in which Dickens uses the concept of time: as a vehicle of a special kind of dramatic irony. Otherwise, time hardly seems to exist for him. With very few exceptions (the principal one being Richard Carstone in *Bleak House*) he never attempts to describe the effect of time on his characters.

His conception of time in relation to human life is a curious one, which no doubt reflects an attitude brought about by the shocks he received in early life. Underlying it, there is the idea that a person's life is like a journey during which he follows an itinerary, which is predestined or determined by his own previous actions. This in itself is perhaps not very remarkable. What is peculiar to Dickens is that the places that mark stages of the journey are there all the time, before he arrives at them: they lie in wait for him. An interesting light is thrown on this by the little-read Christmas story called *The Child's Story*, where a man's life is described as a journey through a wood, and his successive selves as persons whom he finds waiting for him on the way.

In most of the later novels an atmosphere of foreboding is built up by repeated hints, the cumulative effect of which is to give the reader a foreknowledge of something that is going to happen. Somewhere in the future something terrible is lying in wait for somebody, and the passage of time marks his approach towards the ambush. (Cf. the role played by the Thames in *Great Expectations* and the Chesney Wold scenes in *Bleak House*.)

This conception of life as a journey towards a catastrophic goal is symbolized in some of the novels by an actual journey. The device permits Dickens to combine several effects at which he is exceptionally good: the 'foreboding technique', dramatic irony, and the rendering of rapid movement through a landscape of which the reader is given a sort of synthesis. The most characteristic examples of this are the drive of the Marquis from Paris to his château in *A Tale of Two Cities* and Mr. Dorrit's journey to Rome, both of them among Dickens' greatest triumphs. In both, the point is that the traveller thinks himself secure and ensured of a happy future, while the reader is given to understand that he is driving into an ambush arranged by fate, and that the journey will be his last.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note how much less effective is the third of Dickens' journeys towards death, viz. Carker's flight in *Dombey and Son*. What is lacking here is the dramatic irony: Carker knows that he is in mortal danger, whereas the Marquis and Dorrit have no inkling of what is coming to them. In the result, Carker's flight is something of an artistic failure (like the whole of the Carker-Edith motif), or at

least reduced to a variation of Dickens' old theme of flight and punishment, for all the frenzy with which the writer tries to work up the reader's feelings, and his own.

In some of Dickens' later books there occurs a feature which seems to reflect, consciously or unconsciously, his deepening pessimism and disappointment, viz. the resumption of themes once associated with happiness or pathos, but now presented in a very different light.

One case where the contrast to his earlier work is obviously unintentional is his description of inns. Every reader of Dickens knows the almost cultic part they play in most of his novels. They are High Places of his creed of fellowship. The inn parlour is an island of security and comfort in an inclement world; the red light filtering through its curtains shines far into the dark like a friendly beacon.

Such an inn is the Maypole in *Barnaby Rudge*. Its architecture is more romantic (especially in Cattermole's illustrations), and its interior cosier and more festive, than any real inn can ever have been. Altogether, it is one of the most characteristic instances of those evocations of an atmosphere of warmth and security in which Dickens habitually took refuge from his sense of sinister powers. That this particular place should fall a victim to the rage of the mob is the supreme example of the latter's savagery — as if a French catholic writer were to make a Parisian mob burn down Notre Dame.

One of these lovingly described inns (The Six Jolly Fellowship Porters) makes a late appearance in *Our Mutual Friend*, but otherwise it is remarkable how much Dickens is concerned, in some of his later books, with describing cheerless dining rooms, wretched meals and slovenly service. In *The Uncommercial Traveller* the theme is so insistent, and introduced on such a querulous note, that it sounds like the airing of some personal grievance.⁴ Is it the inn that has changed, or is it the writer?

But there are other cases where it is difficult to escape the impression, once one has noticed them, that Dickens is deliberately travestyng some theme that was once dear to him. They are particularly frequent in his last book, *Edwin Drood*. Cloisterham is Rochester, his beloved childhood town, to which he often returned in grateful memory. In this book, it has become a symbol of death and decay, and of sinister forces at work behind a decorous façade. Christmas has become, not a season of fellowship and kindness, but of crime, and the red light in Jasper's window comes from a room where murder is being done. On the last pages of *Chuzzlewit* there is a scene where Tom Pinch, who is meant to be an embodiment of qualities that Dickens loved, plays the organ while dreaming of love

⁴ Dickens sometimes seems to connect the shortcomings he complains of with the Railway Age, cf. the description of the refreshment room in *A Lazy Tour*, and the essay called *Refreshment for Travellers* in *The Uncommercial Traveller*. It is significant that one of his worst places of refreshment is a former coaching inn that has come down in the world with the passing of the stage-coaches (*An Old Stage-Coaching House*, *op. cit.*).

and goodness. The passage is an apostrophe to Tom, written in the somewhat hectic style which Dickens was apt to fall into when dealing with this character, and not calculated to appeal to present-day readers, but the scene must have meant much to himself, for not only did he put it in a place where it sounds a note of farewell to the reader, but he also made Hablot Browne use it as the central subject of the frontispiece of the book. In *Edwin Drood* there is also a scene where a musician is dreaming over his keyboard. It is Jasper, and this time the music accompanies dreams of murder.

In the description of Jenny Wren and her wretched drunkard of a father in *Our Mutual Friend* the theme of Little Nell and her grandfather reappears with a horrible twist.

One of these sardonic treatments of earlier themes which to my knowledge has escaped notice occurs in *Great Expectations* in connexion with what one might call Dickens' Father Figure. It is obvious that the catastrophe that befell his family when he was a boy — the Marshalsea imprisonment and Warren's Blacking Factory — had repercussions as regards his feelings for his parents. They had failed him, he thought, at a critical moment, and left him to fight a hostile world alone. He never quite forgave his mother. His father he loved after a fashion, but he could not respect him, and never again came to regard him as a source of support.

It seems clear from his writings that, like most other people, he felt a need for sympathy and protection. No doubt it was a result of his early sufferings that he should have chosen as his stock symbol of cruelty and callousness a figure with whom he could identify himself as he once was: the abandoned child. His craving for some sort of substitute for his 'lost' parents also, I think, finds expression in his novels. They abound with persons who aid and comfort those who cannot fend for themselves.

But the curious thing is that, in the case of the major characters, the protector is never a parent of the person who needs support.⁵ Smike in *Nickleby* is actually driven to death by his father; his protector is a chance-met stranger: Nicholas. Pip in *Great Expectations* is an orphan; his source of protection is not his nearest relative, his abominable sister who 'brings him up by hand', but her husband, Joe Gargery. Paul Dombey is motherless, and his father's feelings for him resemble those of a potentate for a successor more than a father's for his child; Paul's protector is his sister, who in her turn has to look for protection, not to her father, who hates her, but to two humble and simple-minded persons on the fringe of the Dombey world: Solomon Giles and Captain Cuttle. David Copperfield is fatherless, and his mother is too weak to protest against the cruelties of his stepfather; the protectress he finds at last is Betsy Trotwood.

⁵ With the one exception of Barnaby Rudge's mother. Odd as it may seem, Dickens appears to have felt some sort of kinship with Barnaby, for in describing his madness he relies chiefly on a trait that he himself shared, viz. the habit of endowing inanimate objects with a frightening life.

In *Chuzzlewit*, the orphan hero's grandfather assumes the proportions of a mythological Father Figure, who directs the fates of the characters: an almost all-seeing and omnipotent dispenser of trials and rewards like a Jehova.

A curious illustration of what amounts to a systematic avoidance of parents in a protective relation to children is Will Fern in *The Chimes*. There is no apparent reason why the little girl whom he brings with him to London and whom he loves as his daughter should not *be* his daughter. In a story by any other writer it is fairly safe to say that she would have been; but Dickens makes her Fern's niece.

All this goes a good way beyond the preference for making the hero an orphan which Dickens found in the picaresque novels of the 18th century, and where it was largely a device to start him on his vicissitudes as early as possible. But Dickens goes further than avoidance: in some of the novels the role of the parent and child is reversed. Little Nell is the guardian of her senile grandfather, Jenny Wren in *Our Mutual Friend* has a drunken wreck of a father, whom she punishes like a naughty child, and young Turveydrop and his wife in *Bleak House* have to pinch and scrape to support his Prodigal father.

Especially in the earlier novels, the father substitute is often a benevolent elderly stranger, like Mr. Brownlow in *Oliver Twist*, the Cheeryble brothers in *Nickleby* and Mr. Jarndyce in *Bleak House*. Towards the end of the book, Mr. Pickwick also qualifies for entrance into this class. These characters are representatives of the benevolence which in the earlier books was Dickens' panacea for poverty and social injustice. With his increasing pessimism they tend to disappear, or are pointedly described as ineffectual: Snagby's compassion for the street Arab Jo in *Bleak House*, and the half-crowns he gives him when his wife is not looking do not save Jo from starvation; and the two objects of Boffin's charity in *Our Mutual Friend*, Betty Higden and the orphan Johnny, both die. There are no protectors in *Edwin Drood*, but there is a travesty of one: Jasper is one of the inversions of earlier, beloved themes mentioned above. He looks like the very exemplar of the benevolent father substitute — the childless uncle who loves his nephew as if he were his own son. But in actual fact he is his mortal enemy and (presumably) murders him.

Dickens was apt to idealize the things that life denied him. No one has glorified domestic happiness like this writer who had to go without it himself. Is it too far-fetched to see in his recurrent protector figure his picture of the kind of father he wished he had had? In a manner, he is in search of a father all through his work, like Marryat's Japhet. And here too one may notice one of his ironic presentations of a symbol charged with an emotional content for him. In *Great Expectations* Magwitch is, unknown to Pip, the power behind the scenes that promotes him to the status of 'gentleman'. The climax of this theme is the passage where Magwitch reveals himself to Pip (Chapter 39). He calls him 'dear boy', and says 'I'm your second father. You're my son — more to me nor

any son'. Magwith has devoted his life to making a fortune for Pip, and is now risking his head to see his 'son'; and the son shrinks from him in disgust. Whether Dickens intended it or not, the scene strikes one as a final, wry comment on his cult of the protector figure: the search is over; the father is found at last, and he turns out to be the embodiment of the son's secret fears.

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Subjective Narration in *Bleak House*

In narrating his story an author has several stylistic media at his disposal: he may use Direct Speech (D.), Indirect Speech (I.), Report (R.), or Represented Speech (RS.). This fourfold division is identical with the one found in B. Fehr's treatment,¹ except that his *Substitutionary Speech* is here termed Represented Speech (= *style indirect libre, erlebte Rede*²). The first two terms are probably unambiguous; it should be superfluous to remark that I. and RS. comprise both speech and thought. By R. is here understood an author's largely objective narration of the events of his story. The term RS. has caused some ambiguity and will be discussed below. The present article is particularly concerned with the relations between I. and RS.

The reason for the uncertainty as regards RS. is that it is not always easy to delimit it clearly, for instance in imperceptible transitions from I. to RS. or in cases where R. and RS. coincide formally. Several writers mention this difficulty; thus W. Bühler³ says: 'Oft finden sich Fälle, in denen I. in E. übergeht; da beide Ausdrucksweisen, was den Wortkörper anbelangt, einander sehr nahe, ja oft identisch miteinander sind, so hält es in manchen Stellen sehr schwer, sie mit Sicherheit zu scheiden.' E. Lerch⁴ speaks of 'ein unentwirrbares ... Ineinander von Bericht und Redewiedergabe', and F. Karpf⁵ emphasizes that what is apparently 'Tatsachenbericht' may in fact prove to be 'Wiedergabe von Reden und Gedanken'.

¹ 'Substitutionary Narration and Description', *English Studies* XX (1938), p. 97-107.

² Concerning terminology see e.g. W. Günther, 'Probleme der Rededarstellung', *Die neueren Sprachen*, Beiheft Nr. 13 (1928), p. 85, and O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar*, 1948, Ch. XXI; J. Brøndum-Nielsen has recently coined the term *Oratio Tecta* (in *Dækning — Oratio Tecta i dansk Litteratur før 1870*, Copenhagen 1953).

³ *Die 'Erlebte Rede' im englischen Roman. Ihre Vorstufen und ihre Ausbildung im Werke Jane Austens*, Zürich 1937, p. 84.

⁴ 'Ursprung und Bedeutung der sog. "Erlebten Rede" ("Rede als Tatsache")', *GRM* 16 (1928), p. 464.

⁵ 'Die erlebte Rede im Englischen', *Anglia* 57 (1933), p. 236.

In L. Spitzer's opinion⁶, RS. is pre-eminently characterized by being intonation and imitation, so that difficulties of interpretation only arise in its written form: 'Durch die schriftliche Fixierung entsteht erst das Äquivoque der Ausdrucksweise'.

RS. is generally defined as being independent of any governing sentence of the type 'he said'. Although Bühler shrinks from defining RS. explicitly, he seems in most cases to take the above definition for granted, but in doubtful instances he introduces another criterion: that of 'Erlebtheit' or subjectivity: 'Wenn eine Gestalt stark im Vordergrunde steht und mit ihrer Persönlichkeit einen grossen Teil der Handlung bestimmt, so werden wir in einem Zweifelsfalle eher auf E. als auf bloss indirekte Wiedergabe durch I. schliessen' (*op. cit.*, p. 85). Now there is general agreement as to the stylistic tone inherent in RS.: it is characterized as more vivid and emotional than I. and at the same time as more subdued than D., but as will be demonstrated below, this does not always hold true; for I. may be as subjective and emotional as RS. (at least in some writers), so that the element of subjectivity is not a sound criterion of RS.; the only valid criterion would seem to be that of formal independence.

The element of subjectivity characteristic of RS. has led some writers astray, terminologically as well as towards the pitfall set for all students of stylistics: that of over-interpretation. Thus O. Funke⁷ says of the shifted tenses in RS. and I.: 'Diese versetzten Tempora fungieren aber nicht bloss temporal, sondern vor allem modal; man sollte in solchen Fällen von *modalem praeteritum* oder *praeteritum obliquum* sprechen ...' Of course one realizes what Funke means, but it seems inadvisable to speak of mood in connexion with a language that has long ago discarded any extensive use of the subjunctive, and one gets a suspicion that here is a case of squinting grammar when one bears in mind that the author's native language is German. This suspicion is corroborated when one reads Günther's remarks on Bavarian I. in the indicative: 'Steht, wie im Bayrisch-Österreichischen, auch die konjunktionslose Rede im Indikativ ("Sie sagt, sie liebt die Freundinnen mehr als die Männer ..."), so wird dieser konjunktivisch empfunden'.⁸ Against Bühler's book the general objection can be raised that he reads too much into the occurrences of RS.; after citing examples from various contexts he proceeds to enumerate the several uses of RS., arriving at a very large number. Thus RS. is said to be a highly suitable medium for expressing e.g. contrasts, differentiation, *Andeutung verworrener Lage*, *Verhüllung der Gedanken*, *Unzufriedenheit*, *abwehrendes Ausweichen*, *Unwesentlichkeit*, *geheime Motive*, *Pläne*, etc., a really formidable array of uses that might be continued *ad infinitum*. Of course RS. may be found in contexts containing all these elements, but

⁶ 'Zur Entstehung der sog. "erlebten Rede"', GRM 16 (1928), p. 331.

⁷ 'Zur "Erlebten Rede" bei Galsworthy', *Englische Studien* 64 (1929), p. 454.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 54. An even worse instance of 'psychological' over-interpretation occurs on p. 74.

so may D., I., and R.; in other words, Bühler over-interprets RS. in the light of the context.

That the element of subjectivity and emotion is not a trait peculiar to RS., but may also occur in I., is a point that has so far received scant recognition. The general opinion seems to be that RS. takes over some of the characteristics of D., while in the case of I. this happens only occasionally — in Karpf's formulation: 'Ausserdem teilt die ER mit der DR das Festhalten von bestimmten, hauptsächlich gefühlsmässigen Elementen, die ein ganz objektiver Berichterstatter in der IR nur irgendwie weitläufig umschreiben könnte oder ganz fallen lassen müsste ...' (*op. cit.*, p. 229 f.). If that statement is correct, it will be the purpose of the following pages to show that at least the author of *Bleak House* is a most subjective reporter. This novel,⁹ which initiates the copious use which Dickens made of RS. in his later work, may presumably be considered representative of his later style.

Several passages in *Bleak House* are permeated by a peculiar impressionistic tone, of which the reader receives a foretaste already in the opening lines of the book:

London. Michaelmas Term lately over, and the Lord Chancellor sitting in Lincoln's Inn Hall. Implacable November weather. As much mud in the streets as if the waters had but newly retired from the face of the earth...

This peculiar atmosphere is created by several factors: the lapidary style, encompassing a wide range of objects at great speed; the preponderant use of the present tense, and of RS., both making for actualization and vividness; and an unusual kind of I. which approaches RS. in many respects. The stylistic difference normally obtaining between the two media is here largely effaced, so that it is possible to list a number of parallel cases of RS. and I. striking the same subjective note:

One of the devices contributing towards the vividness of RS. is frequent borrowing from D. Such loans may occur without any special indication, or they may be placed in inverted commas. The vacillating typographical practice does not seem to be of any consequence. In I., too, quotations from D. are not infrequently met with:

RS.: Mrs. Rouncewell is not quite sure as to that. Heaven forbid that she should say a syllable in dispraise of any member of that excellent family; above all, of my Lady, whom the whole world admires; but if my Lady would only be 'a little more free', not quite so cold and distant, Mrs. Rouncewell thinks she would be more affable. (p. 157.)

I.: 'Are those the fever-houses, Darby?' Mr. Bucket coolly asks, as he turns his bull's-eye on a line of stinking ruins.

Darby replies that 'all them are,' and further that in all, for months and months, the people 'have been down by dozens,' and have been carried out, dead and dying 'like sheep with the rot.' (p. 311.)

⁹ The edition referred to is The New Oxford Illustrated Dickens, 1951.

Another vivifying characteristic of RS.: it is not unusual for a person speaking in RS. to address people directly; such direct appeal also occurs in I.:

RS.: Now, Mrs. Piper — what have you got to say about this?

Why, Mrs. Piper has a good deal to say, chiefly in parentheses and without punctuation, but not much to tell. Mrs. Piper lives in the court (which her husband is a cabinet-maker), and it has long been well beknown among the neighbours counting from the day next but one before the half-baptising of Alexander James Piper aged eighteen months and four days old on accounts of not being expected to live such was the sufferings gentlemen of that child in his gums) as the Plaintiff — so Mrs. Piper insists on calling the deceased — was reported to have sold himself. (p. 147.)

I.: She began piteously declaring that she didn't mean any harm, she didn't mean any harm, Mrs. Snagsby! (p. 809.)

The former quotation is a mixture of Mrs. Piper's story and the author's comments, but somehow the transition to direct address is not felt to be so abrupt as in I. In the following quotation there is a complete leap from I. to D., indicated by means of inverted commas:

At last come the Coroner and his inquiry, like as before, except that the Coroner cherishes this case as being out of the common way, and tells the gentlemen of the Jury, in his private capacity, that 'that would seem to be an unlucky house next door, gentlemen, a destined house; but so we sometimes find it, and these are mysteries we can't account for!' (p. 468-469.)

Interjections, asseverations, etc., properly belonging to D., may be reproduced both in RS. and in I. with the effect that the reader is tricked into hearing more clearly the actual words uttered (even though the first quotation below is probably a case of reported reflection, not speech).

RS.: And here Mrs. Snagsby is seized with an inspiration.

He has no respect for Mr. Chadband. No, to be sure, and he wouldn't have, of course... Why did he never come? Because he was told not to come. Who told him not to come? Who? Ha, ha! Mrs. Snagsby sees it all. (p. 356.)

I.: (Mr. Snagsby loving)... to remark (if in good spirits) that there were old times once, and that you'd find a stone coffin or two, now, under that chapel, he'll be bound, if you was to dig for it. (p. 130.)

In RS. we find the peculiar kind of syntactically independent questions which, compared with direct questions, are only characterized by the shifting of tense and person:

Would she go with me? Yes, Ada thought she had better go with me. Should we go now? (p. 694.)

Compare also the following quotation, instancing a wide-spread way of conveying a message:

... 'but it's a gentleman, miss, and his compliments, and will you please to come without saying anything about it.' (p. 519.)

If the speaker is in the first person, there need be no deviation from D.:

...I began to get older, and to ask myself why should I ever write? (p. 749.)

In I. we find, of course, the ordinary dependent question with a conjunction and normal word-order, but the less dragging independent questions are also very frequent:

She clung round my neck... saying what should she do without me! (p. 698.)

In the quotation below there is a curious contamination of the two types of question, probably caused by the rather long parenthetical remark:

...And I considered whether, if it should signify any one of these meanings, which was so very likely, could I quite answer for myself? (p. 516.)

As will have appeared from some of the examples adduced, the speaker in RS. may be linguistically characterized as vulgar; this is also extremely frequent in I., and the stylistic effect is similar to the one resulting from the adoption of interjections, etc.:

Jo suddenly comes out of his resignation, and excitedly declares, addressing the woman, that he never known about the young lady, that he never heern about it, that he never went fur to hurt her, that he would sooner have hurt his own self, that he'd sooner have had his unfortnet ed chopped off than ever gone a-nigh her, and that she wos wery good to him, she wos. (p. 633.)

Other linguistic idiosyncrasies may find expression in RS. as well as in I.:

RS.: (A French maid speaking)

Ha, ha, ha! She, Hortense, been in my Lady's service since five years, and always kept at the distance, and this doll, this puppet, caressed — absolutely caressed — by my Lady on the moment of her arriving at the house. (p. 158.)

I.: Sir Leicester is majestically wroth... The debilitated cousin holds that it's — sort of thing that's sure tapn slong votes — giv'n — Mob. (p. 570.)

F. Karpf has gone into the problem of the intonation of RS.¹⁰ and after consulting prominent British phoneticians arrives at the conclusion that the intonation of RS. is exactly identical with the one used in actual conversation. This result tallies well with Spitzer's emphasizing of imitation as an all-important element of RS. (I may add that my own observation of Danish corroborates Karpf's conclusion.) Now it is of course almost impossible to convey in print the intonation of a statement; there is, however, the use of italics or capitals to indicate emphasis, which is closely bound up with intonation. First an example in RS.:

'...If your ladyship would wish to have the boy produced in corroboration of this statement, I can lay my hand upon him at any time.'

The wretched boy is nothing to my Lady, and she does *not* wish to have him produced. (p. 408.)

In I., too, this typographical device occurs, and in such cases it is probably permissible to conclude that the intonation approaches D.:

...he feels that it is in his nature to be an unimprovable reprobate, and that it's no good *his* trying to keep awake, for *he* won't never know nothink. (p. 361)

¹⁰ 'Die klangliche Form der erlebten Rede', *Die Neueren Sprachen*, 39 (1931), p. 180.

A final point that calls for comment in this comparison of RS. and I. is Dickens's use of 'situational words'. In principle, English possesses two sets of words (adverbs, pronouns, and a few adjectives) indicating time and place, the 'here-and-now' words, and the 'there-and-then' words,¹¹ whose use is determined by the attitude of the speaker or writer. The words of the former category are used with reference to the present time and place, thus making for greater vividness, those of the latter group are used with the connotation of distance in time or place and strike a more objective note. In theory, then, we may expect to come across 'here-and-now' words primarily in RS., 'there-and-then' words primarily in I., but it should be added that the difference is far from being clear-cut, although the following quotation affords an instance:

My guardian called me into his room next morning, and then I told him what had been left untold *on the previous night*. There was nothing to be done, he said, but to keep the secret, and to avoid another such encounter as that of *yesterday*.
(p. 607; my italics.)

But in view of Dickens's peculiar I. it is not surprising that we should find *to-morrow morning*, which is properly a 'here-and-now' phrase, in I.:

Mr. Bucket (still grave) inquires if to-morrow morning, now, would suit... (p. 720.)

Shiftings of tense and person are common to RS. and I. and are so familiar phenomena that they will be passed over here.

As has been demonstrated by the examples cited above, the only difference between I. and RS. is in many cases that of dependence vs. non-dependence on a governing sentence. If it is further borne in mind that it is not always easy to define the exact limits between I. and RS., it might be tempting to reshuffle the terminology by saying that the indirect reproduction of speech and thought may be either (a) largely subjective or (b) largely objective, in view of the fact that in a text like the one under consideration it is hardly possible to demonstrate that a change of the stylistic tone has occurred simultaneously with a transition from I. to RS. However, this is a mere suggestion which may prove untenable in the light of a larger material.

The gradual transition from I. to RS. may be illustrated by the following quotation:

It was not a love letter though it expressed so much love, but was written just as he would at any time have spoken to me... It told me that I would gain nothing by such a marriage, and lose nothing by rejecting it; for no new relation could enhance the tenderness in which he held me, and whatever my decision was, he was certain it would be right. But he had considered this step anew, since our late confidence, and had decided on taking it...
(p. 610.)

The break begins at 'for no new relation ...', but only becomes quite clear at 'But he had considered ...'

In some cases the author's narration and RS. coincide formally in such

¹¹ See *English Studies* 1951, p. 43 ff.

a way that only by considering a longer context does the reader realize that what at first appeared to him as R. is actually RS.:

He is borne into Mr. Tulkinghorn's great room, and deposited on the Turkey rug before the fire. Mr. Tulkinghorn is not within at the present moment, but will be back directly. The occupant of the pew in the hall, having said thus much, stirs the fire, and leaves the triumvirate to warm themselves. (p. 376.)

The last part of the quotation below should presumably be taken as a case of RS. because of the imperative:

Policeman at last finds it necessary to support the law, and seizes a vocalist; who is released upon the flight of the rest, on condition of his getting out of this then, come! and cutting it — a condition he immediately observes. (p. 144.)

The following example is also puzzling: it is difficult to decide whether the first sentences are to be interpreted as the author's information or as a kind of RS. abruptly breaking into D.:

Sir Leicester receives the gout as a troublesome demon, but still a demon of the patrician order. All the Dedlocks, in the direct male line, through a course of time during and beyond which the memory of man goeth not to the contrary, have had the gout. It can be proved, sir. (p. 218.)

All the quotations given so far are instances of the potential coincidences between I. and RS. To complete the picture it should be added that although these potentialities are frequently realized in *Bleak House*, there are certain differences. Thus, an imperative may be transferred to RS. unchanged:

He didn't know, he said, really. It wasn't a bad profession; ...suppose he gave it one more chance! (p. 241.)

whereas in I. some paraphrase must be resorted to:

Tony again entreats that the subject may be no longer pursued, saying emphatically, 'William Guppy, drop it!' (p. 488 f.)

where we find both the indirect and the direct version.

Both I. and RS. have the drawback that as a consequence of the shifting of persons the third person is often ambiguous, so that it becomes necessary to add a name in parentheses. But on the whole RS. has the advantage over I. of facilitating greater concision. It is true that explanatory sentences of the type 'he said' may occur in RS.; but in that case they are always syntactically (and sometimes also typographically) parenthetical without any governing function:

She was greatly occupied during breakfast; for the morning's post brought a heavy correspondence relative to Borrioboola-Gha, which would occasion her (she said) to pass a busy day. (p. 58 f.)

But as a rule the advantage of RS. is precisely that the writer avoids having to use the cumbrous and monotonous repetitions 'he said', 'she said', etc., by virtue of the condensed meaning peculiar to verbs in RS., where 'he

hoped' comes to stand for 'he said he hoped'. This is particularly advantageous in dialogues in RS:

Sir Leicester is apprehensive that my Lady, not being very well, will take cold at that open window. My Lady is obliged to him, but would rather sit there, for the air...
(p. 569.)

The writer may also gain concision when leaping from D. to RS.:

'Be so good as to go on. Also..., to take a seat, if you have no objection.'
None at all. Mr. Bucket brings a chair...
(p. 726.)

Generally speaking, RS. resembles D. more than does I. Apart from the fact that in *Bleak House* this difference between RS. and I. is not pronounced, the statement also requires other qualifications, and it should be remembered that it is not always feasible, starting from I. or RS., to reconstruct the exact wording a statement would have had in D., because the writer may twist his material so as to obtain a heightened effect. Thus the following quotation:

Name, Jo. Nothing else that he knows on. Don't know that everybody has two names. Never heard of sich a think. Don't know that Jo is short for a longer name. Thinks it long enough for *him*. He don't find no fault with it. Spell it? No. He can't spell it. No father, no mother, no friends. Never been to school. What's home? Knows a broom's a broom, and knows it's wicked to tell a lie. Don't recollect who told him about the broom, or about the lie, but knows both. Can't exactly say what'll be done to him arter he's dead if he tells a lie to the gentlemen here, but believes it'll be something wery bad to punish him, and serve him right — and so he'll tell the truth.
(p. 148.)

is unrealistic in the sense that what appears as a monologue is really a kind of dialogue, the writer using a stylistic trick by which the general import of the questions put to Jo by his interlocutor is revealed to the reader through Jo's answers, a turn that makes for brevity while leaving the reader in no interpretative doubt. In a different way the writer may consciously remove RS. from D., later giving the more exact wording:

This ballad, he informs Mrs. Bagnet, he considers to have been his most powerful ally in moving the heart of Mrs. Bucket when a maiden, and inducing her to approach the altar — Mr. Bucket's own words are, to come up to the scratch.
(p. 675.)

Here the intention is to obtain a slightly humorous effect from the contrasting of the two wordings 'to approach the altar' and 'to come up to the scratch'. The quotation also shows that a statement in I. or RS. may be 'coloured' not only by the character uttering it, but also by the author himself; in either case it is, of course, the author who does the colouring, but the stylistic effect is different.

On the whole the I. of *Bleak House* may be characterized as rather strongly coloured by D., a fact that may be taken as a symptom of Dickens's vivid and subjective style. One might compare this with other spheres in which his subjectivity is prominent, the writer interfering in an otherwise comparatively objective narration. This he may do by 'borrowing' from one of his characters, as in:

'...Is this fellow *never* coming!'

This fellow approaches as he speaks.

(p. 447.)

'Serjeant, I told you the last time I saw you that I don't desire your company here.'

Serjeant replies... that he has received this letter.

(p. 483.)

A slightly ironic note is produced by Dickens's using 'Serjeant' of the person to whom he otherwise always refers as 'Mr. George'. — And in the quotation below we hear the words of 'the active and intelligent' — or perhaps of the whole neighbourhood — suddenly forcing their way into the author's R.:

Then the active and intelligent, who has gone into the morning papers as such, comes with his pauper company to Mr. Krook's, and bears off the body of *our dear brother* here departed...

(p. 151; my italics.)

Finally, the many personifications occurring in his descriptions may perhaps also be considered a symptom of Dickens's subjective style.¹²

Copenhagen.

KNUD SØRENSEN.

'All We Are Not Stares Back At What We Are'

A Note on Auden

Between circumference and circumference — awareness of likeness — kindness.
Between centre and centre — awareness of difference — love.

Journal of an Airman. *The Orators*.

To judge Auden's poetry fairly is a difficult task. As a matter of fact he himself has made it more difficult than it need be. His methods of revising and arranging his works in collected editions demonstrate an extraordinary indifference to the integrity of the individual poem, a peculiarity noted early by Stephen Spender:

If Isherwood disliked a poem, Auden destroyed it without demur. Should he select one line for praise and condemn the rest, then Auden skilfully inserted this one line into a new poem. According to this principle, some of Auden's early poems are composite constructions made out of the fragments of poems approved by Isherwood, and skilfully woven together.

(*World within World* p. 101.)

And, as Professor J. W. Beach remarks after examining all the relevant material, the result is that

¹² I am much indebted to Professor C. A. Bodelsen for several valuable suggestions.

we cannot give ourselves up to him without certain reservations. Isherwood noted how as a young man his [i. e. Auden's] character changed with his hat. And we are never sure from moment to moment which of his many hats he will next be wearing. (*The Making of the Auden Canon* p. 254.)

It is easy to see what sneers will grow from those 'reservations' in, say, seventy years. Which may, after all, be unfair. For who can tell whether the change of hats that made Auden e.g. reprint the obviously satirical Sermon on Depravity from *The Dog beneath the Skin* in his *Collected Poetry* together with a note asking the reader to take it at face value, could occur in all cases, or, in other words, whether he simply lacks the vital sense of identity in the finished poem or just feels occasionally that he cannot be bothered with it?

So, it would seem the safest procedure to begin by finding, if possible, a poem of his that has not been tampered with at any later stage of its life. It should also be on such a scale that its distinctive structure may be expected to demand a certain care from the poet. Finally, in order to exclude freaks, it ought to evince idiosyncracies found in many of his other works. A fairly attentive study of the peculiar strategy and tactics of such a text might then help one to make up one's mind about the nature of Auden's artistic merits. The following lines are intended to report the findings of such a study.

The work chosen is *The Sea and the Mirror* (first published in 1944), which does fulfil the first of the above conditions. Furthermore, it may be expected to hold a significant position in the hierarchy of Auden's works. For when he undertook it he had not yet independently attempted anything on a comparable scale but had for some time been longing for a structurally exacting task. That is shown by his *At the Grave of Henry James*, where he calls upon the spirit of the Master to

Suggest; so may I segregate my disorder
Into districts of prospective value: approve;
 Lightly, lightly, then, may I dance
Over the frontier of the obvious and fumble no more
In the old limp pocket of the minor exhibition,
 Nor riot with irrelevance.

These lines, first published in the *Partisan Review* for July and August 1941, also indicate that the substantial *New Year Letter*, which was probably written earlier, as it had been printed in January and February 1941 in the *Atlantic Monthly*, had not satisfied his desire for 'order' and 'relevance'. Moreover, this desire was probably just a ripple of the tide that drove him into his conversion to orthodox Christianity about 1940. By 1944, we may imagine, he had fully assimilated his new faith and would wish to do justice to it by an exceptional artistic effort. Besides, he possibly still felt stimulated by the challenge of having to win a new reading public in America, his home since 1939. What is more important, however, is the relation that the subject of *The Sea and the Mirror* bears to the rest of Auden's works. It seems as if here at length he had found

the kind of subject he had been looking for since the time of his earliest poems, a configuration of characters and events with the dynamic, archetypal appeal of myth but open to interpretation on several levels and adaptable to the contemporary ideological situation in particular. That is probably what he means by saying that the poet's business is 'anti-mythological myth' (In Praise of Limestone. *Nones*). The timeless saga-feud of *Paid on Both Sides*, the sense of renewal through sacrifice pervading the revolutionary pathos of *The Orators* and many other early political poems, the adventurous journey of self-discovery of *The Quest*, *The Dog beneath the Skin*, and *The Ascent of F 6*, the detailed analysis in the latter play of the whole process of popular legend-making in our time, the use of symptomatic contemporary figures as ballad heroes such as James Honeyman, the chemical engineer, victim of his own poison gas, or Miss Gee, the pious spinster, victim of unconsciously self-induced cancer: all these bear witness to the preoccupation with the nature and meaning of myth that has attended Auden throughout and also made him draw largely on Christian and Greek mythology in his later works, e. g. *For the Time Being*, *Nones*, and *The Shield of Achilles*. Apparently, his barometric readings of our social and cultural weather convinced him that the poet must justify himself as a creator of unifying, curative myth for the inspiration of the 'lonely crowd', which says, in effect:

'... Our day is our loss, O show us
History the operator, the
Organiser, Time the refreshing river.'

Spain 1937.

That is the point of making Quant in *The Age of Anxiety*, imprisoned in the frustrations of the modern metropolis where 'gadgets are gods' spend

many hours one winter in the Public Library reading for the most part — he could not have told you why — books on Mythology.

This bias of Auden's manifests itself also in small technical peculiarities, e. g. his fondness for proper names with a generic or symbolical connotation, ranging from downright mythological coinages like

Nibbar, demon
Of ga-ga and bêtise,
Tubervillus, demon
of gossip and spite.

Cattivo Tempò. *Nones*.

or

... Attractions for their coming week
Are Masters Wet, Dim, Drip and Bleak:
Master Wet will show his pet,
Master Drip will crack his whip,
Master Bleak will speak in Greek,
Master Dim will sing a hymn.

Ode IV. *The Orators*.

through projections like Destructive Desmond in *The Dog beneath the Skin*, Caustic Keith and Dainty Daisy in *The Age of Anxiety* or Lord Lobcock and Count Asthma (*Look Stranger XXIV*) to the personae of a half-imaginary nursery-rhyme or fairy-tale tradition :

So Little John, Long John, Peter and Paul,
And poor little Horace with only one ball,
You shall leave your breakfast, your desk and your play
On a fine summer morning the Devil to slay.
Another Time VIII.

... And the crack in the tea-cup opens
A lane to the land of the dead.
Where the beggars raffle the banknotes
And the Giant is enchanting to Jack,
And the Lily-white Boy is a Roarer
And Jill goes down on her back.
Ibid. XXVI.

* A mythopoeic tendency like this is pretty clearly related to a fundamental characteristic of Auden's work: his ingrained habit of allegory, which has put its stamp upon all his writings, but which must have been strengthened by his great interest in psychoanalysis. His early plays are obviously ideological moralities, and it is safe to say that as far as his poetry is concerned all the world is a stage, for the psychomachia: the pattern of railway lines and the statistics of foreign trade trace out processes of the human soul; the facts of biology and geometry illustrate the workings of the mind, a chance meeting in the street is a confrontation of spiritual forces, a piece of scenery, even, represents a mental state :

How fascinating is that class
Whose only member is Me !
Sappho, Tiberius and I
Hold forth beside the sea.
What is cosier than the shore
Of a lake turned inside out ?
How do all these other people
Dare to be about ?
Islands. The Shield of Achilles.

... the Cape Horn of sensible success
Which cries: "This rock is Eden. Shipwreck here".
Herman Melville. Another Time.

* And, most strikingly of all, personification is, as it were, the element in which his imagination lives :

Dear Sleep, the secretary of that strange club
Where all are members upon one condition,
That they forget their own importance.
The Dog beneath the Skin.
Evening. A slick and unctuous Time
Has sold us yet another shop-soiled day...
The Ascent of F 6.

.. problems like relatives standing
Puzzled and jealous about our dying.

In Memory of Sigmund Freud. *Another Time.*

And when Truth met him and put out her hand
He clung in panic to his tall belief
And shrank away like an ill-treated child.
The Quest VI.

Now, the gist of *The Sea and the Mirror* is indicated by its subtitle: A Commentary on Shakespeare's *The Tempest*. If the assumptions made here about Auden's characteristic bent are correct, it will appear plausible both that a subject so completely steeped in myth should be highly stimulating and important to him and that the significant structure of the poem will reveal itself most plainly through its symbolical and allegorical conduct.

The reason why a definite literary source for *The Tempest* has never been found would seem to be a good one: in a sense it is itself the source of most literature, intrinsically folkloristic, mythical as it is, full of the typical themes of fairy tale and legend, the magic of music, the purifying storm, the reconciliation through young love, the test of character, the omnipotent familiar spirit. It actually even includes what Robert Graves has taught us to recognize as *the* myth-motif: the camouflaged account of the suppression of the matrilinear goddess-cult (Sycorax) by the conquering patriarchal worshippers of Apollo, Woden, or some such oracular god of magic (Prospero).

Auden was no doubt attracted by all these features of the play, especially perhaps by the concept of the purgatorial storm at sea, as he suggests by his enthusiastic mention of Wilson Knight's *The Shakespearean Tempest* in his 'Romantic Iconography of the Sea' (*The Enchafed Flood* p. 22). But the arrangement of his poem shows that he does not mean this 'commentary' to confine itself to laying open the archetypal symbolism of the plot and characters of *The Tempest*. It is rather intended to take the full advantage of implying all this symbolism in going a step further and exposing its archetypal function at the moment when it leaves literature and begins a new life in us, the audience. The dramatis personae have happily completed their purification and reconciliation — on the stage, that is, and then Auden steps in and shows us that their work is only half done; now the illusion has to find a foothold in the real world beyond the proscenium. Thus the universal drama of reconciliation between the sinner and his victim is made to comprise also the universal drama of reconciliation between the chaos of life and the order of art. And the link between the two dramas is the paradox of Prospero: though his magic is all-powerful, it has no power to protect his heart from being wounded by the treachery of Antonio or Caliban, and though the magic of Prospero-Shakespeare is overwhelming, the harmony of forgiveness it creates will remain a tinselly dream unless we spectators accept it as a living reality, which is actually made more difficult for us by our aesthetic pleasure in

the magic. So, Auden takes his cue from Shakespeare's epilogue, where Prospero is plainly identified with the playwright:

Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
And what strength I have's mine own,
Which is most faint....
*As you from crimes would pardoned be,
Let your indulgence set me free.*

It is in this dangerous interval between the completion of the world of art and its reception into the world of fact that the action of Auden's dramatic poem takes place. That justifies its title, for we know that at the end of Shakespeare's play all the human characters are going to leave the island of magic and cross the sea to return to the world of affairs and action. Thus in an extended sense they are now also setting out on the sea of turbulent reality at the end of the performance and leave behind Hamlet's 'mirror' of art, the island of the stage.

The over-all plan of the poem insists on this setting in other ways as well. There are five parts: a preface, three main chapters, or episodes, and a postscript. The first chapter shows us Prospero continuing the very last words he spoke to Ariel just before the curtain fell:

Stay with me Ariel, while I pack, and with your first free act
Delight my leaving....

The second chapter, spoken by 'the supporting cast sotto voce' takes us forward an instant while the spell still lasts and the audience is following the characters in imagination beyond the end of the actual play. So, Gonzalo says

Evening, grave, immense, and clear
Overlooks our ship whose wake
Lingers undistorted on
Sea and silence; I look back
For the last time as the sun
Sets behind that island where
All our loves were altered....

The third and last chapter marks a still later moment when that spell begins to be broken. This is conveyed by the startling fact that when the audience expects the author to 'stand before the finally lowered curtain and take his shyly responsible bow', it is Caliban who does so on his behalf, thus emphasizing the beginning protests of common sense as the spectators take in the significance of Prospero's epilogue. Caliban formulates their thoughts for them:

How can we grant the indulgence for which in his epilogue your personified type of the creative so lamely, tamely pleaded? Imprisoned, by you in the mood doubtful, loaded, by you, with distressing embarrassments, we are, we submit, in no position to set anyone free.

The Postscript, an aria sung by Ariel to Caliban, makes sense in this pattern, too, as the last reverberation in memory of the essence of the whole play. For it is a minimum statement of the never fulfilled desire

for the union of opposites that pervades both Shakespeare's play and Auden's 'commentary' when Ariel declares his love for Caliban and the prompter's voice concentrates in a single sad echoing syllable the knowledge of the prison of the self :

Weep no more but pity me,
 Fleet persistent shadow cast
 By your lameness, caught at last,
 Helplessly in love with you,
 Elegance, art, fascination,
 Fascinated by
 Drab mortality ;
 Spare me a humiliation,
 To your faults be true:
 I can sing as you reply
 ...I

Thus the lay-out of the whole poem proclaims that it attempts to span the momentary but immense gulf between stage and audience, art and reality. An effort of the mind is involved and this effort is actually also enacted by the form of the poem. If a poem is indeed an expanded metaphor, then this poem is a kinetic one :

Through the first two chapters the formality of the verse and thus the sense of restraint are gradually increased. In the first chapter Prospero speaks in free, conversational verse, rich in colloquial idiom, though towards the end more and more frequently turning into short, taut, but still quite colloquial lyrics. In Chapter II elaborate formality prevails; the stage-direction, 'sotto voce', underlines the effect of a general pulling in of reins that is also produced by the use of often very difficult verse forms, a new one for each character speaking, sometimes with a portraying purpose, Antonio speaking in terza rima, Ferdinand in a sonnet, Gonzalo in more discursive octosyllabics with irregular rhymes, Miranda in a villanelle, etc. An even greater formal discipline is kept by means of the refrain recurring with appropriate variations after each speech and stressing, at this central point of the structure, how great is the distance between the two poles, Prospero and Antonio, and thus how appalling the task of reconciliation :

One link is missing, Prospero,
 My magic is my own ;
 Happy Miranda does not know
 The figure that Antonio,
 The Only One, Creation's O
 Dances for Death alone.

Then in the third chapter with the shock of Caliban's appearance the energy saved up and kept under control in the preceding sections is suddenly let loose in a spate of — prose. And what prose ! A torrent of explanatory talk, tripping itself up in breathless eagerness to be explicit enough, trying in a hundred ways, in well-copied Henry James fashion, to get at the inmost paradoxical nature of the art-versus-life relation that is one main stratum of meaning in the whole poem :

...he [i.e. the 'dedicated dramatist'] must strengthen your delusion that an awareness of the gap is in itself a bridge, your interest in your imprisonment a release, so that, far from your being led by him to contrition and surrender, the regarding of your defects in his mirror, your dialogue, using his words, with yourself about yourself, becomes the one activity which never, like devouring or collecting or spending, lets you down, the one game which can be guaranteed, whatever the company, to catch on, a madness of which you can only be cured by some shock quite outside his control, an unpredictable misting over of his glass or an absurd misprint in his text.

The total effect felt, then, is that the poem gathers its strength and makes a desperate leap in order to cross the very gap that Caliban mentions here.

This passage also shows how not only the general structure but also the surface texture is made to serve the multiple, pervasive symbolism of sea and mirror. For the saving 'misting over of his glass' (!) can be taken to refer to the astonishing fact that in *The Tempest* Antonio and what he stands for remain unregenerate for all we know and for all that he is forgiven by Prospero. So it also points back to Antonio's own words to Prospero in Chapter II. Art comes alive in us precisely because the struggle for reconciliation must go on and is never won :

...as long as I choose

To wear my fashion, whatever you wear
Is a magic robe ; while I stand outside
Your circle, the will to charm is still there.

That is just one example of a close network of cross-references bearing on the various allied meanings of the mirror and often intercrossing with other patterns as e.g. when Caliban defines Ariel as the 'spirit of reflection' — in the context evidently in a double sense: the reflection of the mirror that art holds up to nature plus the pale cast of thought of the isolated artist. For that lights up a passage in Chapter I where Prospero, the artist-magician, addresses Ariel as his familiar spirit, his imaginative power :

We have only to believe you, then you dare not lie ;
To ask for nothing, and at once from your calm eyes,
With their lucid proof of apprehension and disorder,
All we are not stares back at what we are ...

which naturally leads him on to the artist's disillusioned view on the main theme again :

Could he but once see Nature as
In truth she is for ever,
What oncer would not fall in love ?
Hold up your mirror, boy, to do
Your vulgar friends this favour :
One peep, though, will be quite enough ;
To those who are not true,
A statue with no figleaf has
A pornographic flavour.

That we are indeed meant to see this problem of the 'gap' as the main theme is announced by the Preface. It is a short address to the critics by

the stage manager, and much like the similar opening scene of Goethe's *Faust* it instructs us not to miss the significance of the world-stage metaphor. And it does insist in every detail upon the difference in feelings and attitudes on either side of the footlights:

The aged catch their breath,
For the nonchalant couple go
Waltzing across the tightrope
As if there were no death
Or *hope* of falling down...

.....
We are wet with sympathy now;
Thanks for the evening; but how
Shall we satisfy when we meet,
Between Shall-I and I-Will,
The lion's mouth whose hunger
No metaphors can fill?

Here Auden also shows his hand in another way, viz. by offering us a sample of the material he is going to dress his spiritual argument in. 'Between Shall-I and I-Will' makes concrete sense as a corridor, a defile, in short, a region, and thus it is that spiritual states or events are characteristically presented throughout: in terms of locality or landscape; the magic circle of Prospero's art and will-to-love is the island where his law runs and also the 'wooden O' of Shakespeare's theatre, another circle of ground is the one in which Antonio, the evil one, exists in, as the saying goes, 'self-centred' impregnability (cf. the quotation above (p. 445)). And so the chaotic sea, the desert, the cross-roads, the high green hill are called up again and again as scenes in the spiritual drama. That is simply Auden's personal finger-print on the texture, as it is generally one of the most typical imaginative features of his poetry, closely akin to the allegory mentioned above. In fact the latter, which is even unusually rife in this poem, also often entwines itself with the locality-metaphor:

No one but you [Ariel] had sufficient audacity and eyesight
To find those clearings where the shy humiliations
Gambol on sunny afternoons, the waterhole to which
The scarred rogue sorrow comes quietly in the small hours.

One special feature of the region-imagery of this particular poem is an added suggestion of fences, walls, exclusion. Even that is adumbrated by the Preface:

Well, who *in his own backyard*
Has not opened his heart to the smiling
Secret he cannot quote?

and turns up often later as e.g. in Alonso's reflections on the lives of rulers:

...In their Royal Zoos the
Shark and the octopus are tactfully
Omitted; synchronized clocks march on
Within their powers: without, remain

The ocean flats where no subscription
 Concerts are given, the desert plain
 Where there is nothing for lunch.

When this current of imagery culminates in Caliban's speech, it is clearly seen to embody the main theme. Caliban here voices what he thinks the audience would like to protest:

There always has been and always will be not only the vertical boundary, the river on this side of which initiative and honesty stroll arm in arm wearing sensible clothes, and beyond which is a savage elsewhere swarming with contagious diseases, but also its horizontal counterpart, the railroad above which houses stand in their own grounds, each equipped with a garage and a beautiful woman, sometimes with several, and below which huddled shacks provide a squeezing shelter to collarless herds who eat blancmange and have never said anything witty..... We want no Ariel here, breaking down our picket fences in the name of fraternity, seducing our wives in the name of romance, and robbing us of our sacred pecuniary deposits in the name of justice. Where is Ariel? What have you done with Him?

In effect, we all spend most of our time saying, 'one must draw the line somewhere'. In this context it is Caliban's surprising presence here, actually as Shakespeare's chosen mouth-piece, that makes the poem a real drama. For his appearance in this very role is an enactment of the shock that Shakespeare intends to cause us by showing us that the beast is a part of the god-like artist and everybody else which we must also face and be reconciled with and cannot ever hope to exclude, just as Prospero can repress but not avoid Caliban. Shakespeare's ruthlessness in admitting that fact in a 'beautiful' fairy tale looks like an insult to the Muse:

...how could you be guilty of the incredible unpardonable treachery of bringing along the one creature, as you above all men must have known, whom she cannot and will not under any circumstance stand, the solitary exception she is not at any hour of the day or night at home to... At Him and at Him only does she draw the line, not because there are any limits to her sympathy but precisely because there are none.

but in the last analysis, of course, the fairy tale lives now and is taken seriously, precisely because it does not draw that line.

And because by this time Auden's poem has instructed the reader so thoroughly in the gentle Art of Not Drawing the Line, he is prepared for the further leap of the imagination, towards another and crowning reconciliation of opposites, which is demanded by the dramatic turn that rounds off Caliban's speech and the whole poem.

Now it is over...; there was not a single aspect of our whole production, not even the huge stuffed bird of happiness, for which a kind word could, however patronizingly be said... nothing has been reconstructed; our shame, our fear, our incorrigible staginess, all wish and no resolve, are still, and more intensely than ever, all we have: only now it is not in spite of them but with them that we are blessed by that Wholly Other Life from which we are separated by an essential emphatic gulf of which our contrived fissures of mirror and proscenium arch — we understand them at last — are feebly figurative signs, so that all our meanings are reversed and it is precisely in its negative image of Judgment that we can positively envisage Mercy; it is just here, among the ruins and the bones, that we may rejoice in the perfected Work which is not ours.

So, in Auden's own drama the illusion of art has proved itself necessary for the transcending of the illusion we take for reality and for meeting 'Nature as In truth she is for ever'. It does so, too, in Shakespeare's play, where Prospero acts the mythical persona of a Vishnu in creating his 'insubstantial pageant', which he takes good care to explain to us as a symbol of *maya*, our illusion, the dream-stuff we are. It is evidence of Auden's equally careful planning that now that his 'commentary' comes full circle, the reader fully realizes why Prospero's famous words on that occasion had to be alluded to, and in such a portentous context, in the very Preface:

... the Bard
Was sober when he wrote
That this world of fact we love
Is insubstantial stuff:
All the rest is silence
On the other side of the wall;
And the silence ripeness,
And the ripeness all.

or why that particular epigraph, from Emily Brontë, was chosen to stand at the very head of the poem:

... Speak, God of Visions, plead for me
And tell why I have chosen thee.

Looking back upon *The Sea and the Mirror* and the manifested power of seriousness that has fused its content with its form, few readers would doubt the sincerity of the whole or its details, such as those lines from the epigraph. In other words, it could become the basis of a reliable evaluation of Auden's art. Only, it does not seem to be at all well-known. It is hoped that this little article may attract at any rate a few new readers to it. If so, they will meet with a treasurable experience.

Copenhagen.

BENT SUNESEN.

Notes and News

Alliteration in English Prose

Gleanings and Comments

In the column *This England* of *The New Statesman*¹ I was one day delighted to find the following gem which had come from a letter to the editor of a Manchester newspaper:

When one reads sports news these days one invariably comes across the parrot phrase 'tough as teak', especially in boxing.

Cannot our writers occasionally remind us there are woods of our country which are tougher than the coconut brown? I suggest they refer to such timbers as ash, oak, beech, birch, when they want to emphasize the toughness of some of our British manhood.

Few linguists, I feel certain, will disagree with me when I say that *teak* has been preferred because it alliterates with *tough*.

The device of alliteration is my theme. In this paper I shall give a number of examples collected from prose writings of two periods, viz. the Elizabethan Age (and the early years of the succeeding reign) and the twentieth century, a few items of my material being drawn from nineteenth-century writers. The outcome of my occupation with alliteration in English prose is the firm conviction that the brothers Fowler lacked justification for the statement made in 1919: 'Alliteration is not much affected by modern prose writers of any experience; it is a novice's toy. The antithetic variety has probably seen its best days, and the other instances quoted are doubtless to be attributed to negligence.'² It can be shown, I believe, that to-day prose writers of great diversity adopt this device, and that their practice is strengthened by the existence of many alliterative proverbs and adages, phrases that readily lend themselves to variation by users when necessary.³

Unlike scholars who hold that even to-day the term alliteration should in principle be applied according to the familiar Old English system, I would use the word alliteration to describe the euphony caused by the identity of consonantal sounds in words, whether in juxtaposition or separated from each other. It should be added that while my definition concerns stressed syllables only, the term as used by me also covers examples like these, in which the italics are mine: the subtle line which separates what society condemned from what it condoned;⁴ he *feels* it incumbent on him to *defend*.⁵

The field I am entering now has been explored by several scholars, e.g. Heinrich Spies,⁶ Mia Schwarz⁷ and Herbert Koziol,⁸ who in their writings furnish valuable bibliographical references. Alliteration as an element of Elizabethan prose has been treated of by William G. Crane,⁹ and, to mention one Elizabethan writer in particular, Thomas Deloney's use of

¹ 8.11.58, p. 623.

² *The King's English*, p. 292.

³ Cf. H. S. Bennett's remarks about 'the vital, racy nature' of alliterative phrases found in Chaucer, and his words 'some two-thirds of the alliterative phrases used by him have survived in modern English'. (*Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century* (1947), p. 85.)

⁴ David Cecil, *The Young Melbourne*, p. 147.

⁵ Nevill Coghill, *Geoffrey Chaucer*, p. 41.

⁶ *Alliteration und Reimklang im modern-englischen Kulturleben* (*Englische Studien* LIV (1920), 149-58).

⁷ *Alliteration im englischen Kulturleben neuerer Zeit* (Greifswald, 1923).

⁸ *Die Alliteration in der modernen englischen Dichtung* (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen* CLXXXIV (1944), 49-53).

⁹ *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance*. The Formal Basis of Elizabethan Prose Style, (1937).

alliteration has received the attention of Ole Reuter¹⁰ and myself.¹¹

As Mia Schwarz has pointed out,¹² the sixteenth century saw an extensive use of alliteration not only in euphuistic writers but also in the pamphleteers, whose style was colloquial in the extreme. Similarly, alliteration has a wide range in modern prose, from the ornate variety to the advertising columns of the daily press, from the scholarly style to slang. It is frequent in book-titles and is also to be found in headlines.¹³

Note. The use of alliteration in the intervening centuries is surveyed by Mia Schwarz,¹⁴ who among her authorities cites Wilhelm Dibelius: *Englische Romankunst*. . . (1922). In treating of alliteration in Richardson and Sterne the German scholar refers to 'eine gesuchte Alliteration als Zeichen gekünstelter Diktion'.¹⁵ When Dibelius calls the two novelists' striving after onomatopoetic effects a piece of naturalism¹⁶ in contradistinction to the artificiality of their alliteration, I hesitate to subscribe to this distinction.

My own view of alliteration is that used in moderation it deserves commendation as a pointer which does good service to a speaker or writer bent on catching the attention of listeners or readers. Thus when a campaign is instituted against 'leaving litter' (the alliteration should be noted!), the blame that decent people attach to the offending leaver is made conspicuous by dubbing him a 'litter lout'. Again, the slang phrase 'lounge lizard'¹⁷ by the effective juxtaposition of its components describes a species which we should like to see extinct.

In both periods under review we find alliteration used (a) in conjunction with other stylistic devices, e.g. antithesis and parallelism, (b) in contexts where the writer seems to take it 'in his stride', adopting an alliterative word because it seems exactly to fit the context.

A. The Elizabethan Age.

(a) He winneth not most abroad that weeneth most at home ;¹⁸

left the two Woolmen heauie in heart and emptie in purse and how little they ioyed in their poore knighthood so richly paid for ;¹⁹

such as liue by others losse, laughes at others languishing, florish by others fading, sing at others sorrow, consuming caterpillars cleauing to forward branches, canekers that cauterize Roseall youth.²⁰

¹⁰ Thomas Deloney's *Prose Style* (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* XL (1939), 23-72).

¹¹ *Linguistic Studies in Some Elizabethan Writings I* (*Acta Jutlandica* XXIII, 2, 1951), 60-64. ¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 14 f.

¹³ Cf. Heinrich Straumann, *Newspaper Headlines. A Study in Linguistic Method* (1935), p. 233 § 545, where in commenting on a quotation from the year 1932: *Drunken Man in Drowning Drama*, he says: 'which in its alliterative character incidentally shows the development of style in headlines'.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 16, 20 ff.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, II, p. 408.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, I, p. 78.

¹⁷ The following example shows *lizard* in an alliterative setting of a different nature: that lay lizard-like across the throat (Meredith, *Vittoria*, ch. I).

¹⁸ Harvey, *Pierces Supererogation* (1593), pp. 124 f.

¹⁹ *The Life and Death of Gamaliel Ratsey* (1605) C2 verso.

²⁰ Rankins, *A mirrour of monsters*, (1587) B2.

Overworked alliteration is seen in this passage :

proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paltry, pestilent and pernicious Prelates.²¹

(b) shall not want Cuffes to keepe themselues warme withall this winter²²;
they haue better meanes to make them merie.²³

From *The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus* (1606) I select these speeches :

Ingenioso: Mary so I will, I warrant thee, if pouerty presse not too much, Ile correct no presse but the presse of the people.

Iudicio: Would it not grieue any good spiritt to sit a whole moneth nitting ouer a lousy beggarly Pamphlet, and like a needy Phisitian to stand whole yeares tooting and tumbling the filth that falleth from so many draughty inuentions as daily swarme in our printing house.²⁴

B. The Twentieth Century.

(a) . . . whether professional diplomatists are helped or hampered by a sense of the deeper realities;²⁵

Federation causes more problems than it cures;²⁶

It has arrived, conscious of a mission. It has been appointed to achieve miracles. It is buoyed up by the mandate so unmistakably conferred on it.²⁷

(b) all have their turn and mingle together in our memory to make up the world;²⁸
In a Craven village I saw the last load of the day come along the lane;²⁹

I desire on behalf of the Court to thank you, Mr. B., for the care and cogency with which you have presented the case for the workmen.³⁰

A number of set phrases showing alliteration have come down to us from remote generations, as pointed out by Jespersen.³¹ We constantly find such 'hardy perennials' in modern writers, who may alter them to suit the requirements of the context. Thus *mar* in alliterative antithesis with *make*, a locution of several centuries' standing, is exemplified by this passage:

Adult Africa will be of our own making — or marring.³²

The preservative property of alliteration is mentioned by Jespersen, who explains the continued existence of *foe* as partly due to its frequent

²¹ *The Marprelate Tracts*, 1588, 1589, ed. by William Pierce, p. 25.

²² *Martins Months minde* (1589) A 2.

²³ *Ibid.* F 3 verso.

²⁴ Act I Scene II, 140-145; Leishman's ed. p. 228.

²⁵ *Tim. Lit. S.* 26.8.55, p. 486.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 9.9.55, p. 519.

²⁷ *Britain To-day* 1946, No. 117, p. 4 (Editor).

²⁸ H. S. Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

²⁹ *Tim. W. R.* 14.8.58, p. 20.

³⁰ Lord Shaw of Dunfermline quoted *Britain To-day* 1945, No. 116, p. 12.

³¹ *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Ninth edition) section 56.

³² Peter Penn and Lucy Street, *To-Morrow's Continent*, p. 140. With a different alliterative verb *mar* is used by Oliver Elton in: the measure which at times he not only marred but mauled most seriously (*A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1830*, II, p. 159).

antithetical companion *friend*.³³ The use of *burgeon* in the passage that follows is possibly another instance of a word being 'protected' by an alliterative context:

Amateur photography was eventually to burgeon and blossom under the leadership of a group of distinguished pioneers.³⁴

An alliterative phrase traceable to *The Tempest*³⁵ and duly mentioned by Jespersen, is seen with the alliterative words separated:

But (as shown in *The Tempest*) nature must be improved by nurture;³⁶
that nature can always prevail over nurture.³⁷

Note. Literary echoes containing alliteration are common. Another example follows: There are other inaccuracies, and far too many jolts and jars like the ones above to make for quiet reading.³⁸

Since alliteration adds force to a statement, the place of this device within a given 'area' is of some importance. There is a tendency, I submit, for speakers and writers who employ alliteration to use this device towards the end of a paragraph or at the conclusion of a statement. From among my material I would pick out these examples:

I crossed it off and I wrote on the statute book a law that taxes every necessity in life, a law that hits every man's pocket equally, be he beggar or banker;³⁹

.....and a will patient and potent enough to carry them through;⁴⁰

and so, you see, we do mostly associate our memories of bat and ball with warm, long, limb-loosening days;⁴¹

.....it would have been beyond the powers of any player, however eminent, to pass with two ace-king suits;⁴²

Conclusion of a Letter to the Editor:

Or else, lulled by self-righteous and interested local eulogies they will see it lapse into deserved extinction.⁴³

Compounds frequently show alliteration. I select these instances:

the lady-like turtle-dove;⁴⁴

air-travel....has the advantage of including a fair amount of form-filling;⁴⁵

A kill-or-cure injection;⁴⁶

Ship-to-Shore Television.⁴⁷

Note. Information about alliteration in compounds as used by a number of poets may

³³ *Loc. cit.* — Cf. this quotation: He is big enough to learn from foe as from friend (Agnes Mary Hamilton in *Britain To-day* 1946, No. 117, p. 10).

³⁴ *Ibid.* 1945, No. 107, p. 11 (E. O. Hoppé).

³⁵ IV. I. 188 f.: A devil, a born devil on whose nature Nurture can never stick.

³⁶ Helen Morris, *Elizabethan Literature*, p. 218.

³⁷ *Tim. W. R.* 10.11.48 - p. 16.

³⁸ *Tim. Lit. S.* 12.9.58, p. 574.

³⁹ O'Neill, *Marco Millions* (Plays II, p. 392).

⁴⁰ Agnes Mary Hamilton, *Britain To-Day* 1946, No. 117, p. 10.

⁴¹ Clifford Bax, *ibid.* 1945, No. 112, p. 25.

⁴² *Tim. W. R.* 7.8.58, p. 20.

⁴³ Alexander Wedderburn in *Manch. G. W.* 4.9.58, p. 12.

⁴⁴ Bennett, *Chaucer and the Fifteenth Century*, p. 50.

⁴⁵ *Parkinson's Law*, p. 117.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁴⁷ *Tim. W. R.* 20.11.52, p. 8.

be found in Niilo Peltola, *The Compound Epithet and its Use in American Poetry from Bradstreet through Whitman* (*Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ, Helsinki 1956*). Thus on p. 154 about Whitman's use of this device: 'Alliteration is obviously intended to create a sensation of a close union between the component parts with a view to emphasizing the integrity of the idea for which they stand.'

Alliterating nouns are often seen in collocations governed by prepositions. The first example that follows shows prepositional phrases alliterating with a noun in subject function:

It dates from a period when power was vested in Parliament;⁴⁸
reinforced the desire for a change among all ranks and in all regions;⁴⁹
The structure has been ravaged by war and weather;⁵⁰
execute the law without fear or favour.⁵¹

Alliteration between adjectives and nouns:

In this, as in so many other matters, modern science is not at a loss;⁵²
which control the publishing policies of university presses.⁵³

In predicative position alliteration is frequent:

Often it is strenuous and strident;⁵⁴
The atmosphere of our meetings was both frank and friendly;⁵⁵
America is weary and wary of quarrels between European countries.⁵⁶

My concluding remarks should be about the attitude to alliteration noticeable in the two periods that have been considered here. The favour enjoyed by this device in the Elizabethan Age is matched by its popularity with modern writers of book-titles, headlines and advertisements. In the literary prose of the twentieth century, however, alliteration, which may be found in such diverse authors as Bernard Shaw, Virginia Woolf and Stephen McKenna, appears to be an adjunct, not an essential part of the user's stylistic pattern. I could mention at least one book⁵⁷ among those examined where I have come across one example only of alliteration. Still, I would maintain, on the basis of the material available, that many writers, however much they may differ in tone and in temper, will occasionally employ this device for some artistic reason.

What I have been saying contains no new discovery, and the above remarks are offered merely as corroborative evidence by a man who, in many years of Danish poetastery, has acquired the dubious possession of practical knowledge of alliteration.

Aarhus.

TORSTEN DAHL.

⁴⁸ *Parkinson's Law*, p. 88.

⁴⁹ *Times W. R.* 13.11.52, p. 2.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 19.9.51, p. 5.

⁵¹ H. R. G. Greaves, *The British Constitution*, p. 211.

⁵² *Parkinson's Law*, p. 113.

⁵³ *Tim. Lit. S.* 8.8.58, p. 447.

⁵⁴ *Tim. W. R.* 25.3.54, p. 2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* 13.12.50, p. 4.

⁵⁶ *Tim. Lit. S.* 9.4.54, p. 235.

⁵⁷ Bonamy Dobrée, *Modern Prose Style*, p. 242.

The Grammatical Aspect of Semantics

In language description one of the weak points is the statement of meanings. Most writers of English dictionaries resort to the devices of demonstration (by means of pictures), translation (into Latin of e.g. plant and animal names) and circumlocution (e.g. 'kill: deprive of life in any manner').

The grammatical designations following the head-words in most dictionaries are, as a rule, only meant to inform the reader that the words belong to this or that of the old-established parts of speech. The aim of this part of the treatment seems to be identification rather than semantic description. And yet this grammatical information is an obvious and natural first step towards a semantic description of the word in question and, in particular, towards making an initial division of the semantic fields of 'grammatical homophones' (O. Jespersen's term for words belonging to more than one part of speech), which are so numerous in English with its extensive loss of inflexions. For such grammatical data do hold some semantic information. The designation 'substantive' thus implies that the word in question as part of its meaning contains the element (not easily definable, though) which we can attribute to every substantive — something like 'object or specific idea'.

Any further semantic subdivision along grammatical lines is, however, rare and, if used, not carried very far. But it would bring out many of the common semantic features if greater prominence were given to the fact that the grammatical function of a word, its predilection, so to speak, as to syntactical occurrence, constitutes part of its content. Let us take one or two instances: 'glad' is normally given the grammatical designation 'adj.', and no more, and is thus simply classed with words like 'happy', 'wise', 'greedy', etc., which are marked in the same way; but there is a difference between these adjectives: 'glad' (in its central meaning) is so often followed by 'to' + infinitive or by 'that ...' — to indicate the cause of the feeling expressed by the word — that this adjective does not merely suggest a particular feeling, but in itself suggests some cause of it. The sentence 'I am glad' necessarily implies some complement and means 'I am glad to ...', 'I am glad that ...' or the like; so that 'glad' could be distinguished from the other adjectives mentioned as an *Adjective of Incomplete Predication*, and on account of this semantic element of incompleteness it should be classed only with such adjectives as 'aware', 'sorry' (in its central meaning), 'thankful', etc., which likewise imply some complement; i.e. the states of mind expressed by these adjectives are directed to some object. Similarly, the verb 'infest', which is normally given only the designation 'v.', is so often combined with a subject in the plural that the word in itself calls up as part of its content the association of a *Plural Agent*, thus forming one semantic group with verbs like 'swarm', 'teem', 'throng', etc., which should be marked off from other types of verb.

The following is a brief sketch of the main semantic sub-divisions of a grammatical nature (not included in the grammatical designations of the Oxford English Dictionary) of Substantives.

Countable/Uncountable:

The semantic distinction between what is countable (e.g. 'book', 'incident', 'fault') and what is not (e.g. 'silver', 'music', 'admiration') — the grammatical expression of which is, among others, the possibility of using the indefinite article and the plural suffix with substantives of the former type, but not with those of the latter — of course enters into the semantic description of dictionaries, but this element is often inconsistently expressed. Here are a few random examples from the O.E.D.: **'Cheese:** A substance used as food' — *in our terms: Uncountable* — '(with pl. — *the spacing is mine* —) A mass of this substance... of a definite size and shape...' — *i.e. Countable*. — **'Damage:** Injury, harm...' — *i.e. Uncount.* — '(with a and pl.) A loss, an injury' — *i.e. Count.* — **'Movement:** The action or process of moving...' — *i.e. Uncount.* — 'also an instance or kind of this...' — *i.e. Count.* — However, this distinction between semantic varieties is expressed by grammatical designations (: C for 'countable', U for 'uncountable') in the more recent Oxf. Univ. Press publication: *An Advanced Learner's Dictionary*, chief editor A. S. Hornby).

Difference/Identity:

The class of countables shows cleavage into two distinct types, one meaning 'one or more regarded as different (from each other or from others)': our best teas / Black willow. This tree reaches a height of 120 feet; — the other meaning 'one or more regarded as identical (with each other or others)'; three teas please! / belief in an intimate connection between a human being and a tree. — This distinction is what is behind the frequent phrases in the O.E.D. 'an instance of ...' (for Count. + the concept of Identity) and 'kind of ...' (for Count. + the concept of Difference); but the distinction is also expressed in various other ways. Here are a few examples: **'Laugh:** An instance of laughing' — *i.e. Count. + Ident.* — '(a person's) characteristic manner of laughing' — *i.e. Count. + Dif.* — **'Movement:** The action or process of moving... Also, An instance' — *i.e. Count. + Ident.* — 'or kind of this' — *i.e. Count. + Dif.* — 'a particular act — (C. + I.) — or manner — (C. + D.) — of moving.' — **'Tea:** The leaves of the tea-plant... With qualifying words, denoting various kinds...' — *i.e. C. + Dif.* — The distinction may be said to be expressed formally in the case of the subst. 'beef', the plural of which is 'beeves' = (carcases of) oxen, or 'beefs' = kinds of beef, *i.e. C. + I. and C. + D. respectively.*

Predicative Nexus / Verbal Nexus:

Among Uncountables a distinct group is formed by what O. Jespersen calls nexus-substantives, *i.e.* the idea of a predication turned into a sub-

stantive: '(the cloth) is white' > '(the) whiteness (of the cloth)' / '(water) expands (with heat)' > '(the) expansion (of water...)'. Nexus substantives fall into two groups: 1) **Predicative Nexus** substantives, such as 'whiteness', 'cleverness'; their common semantic element is 'quality or state of an implied bearer', its formal expression is primarily the suffix '-ness'. The O.E.D. for this grammatical element of the significations uses such definitions as: '**Folly**: The quality or state of being foolish...' — '**Kindness**: The quality or habit of being kind...' — '**Freedom**: The quality of being free from...' — 2) **Verbal Nexus** substantives are, for instance 'arrival', 'bombardment', 'expansion'; their common semantic element is 'action of an implied agent', formally expressed especially by the suffixes '-ment', '-sion', '-tion', '-ing'. The O.E.D. expresses this grammatical element in various ways such as: '**Movement**: The action or process of moving...' — '**Bombardment**: The process of bombarding...' — '**Exportation**: ... The sending out (of commodities) from one country to another.'

Object Implied:

If the latter type of Nexus-substantive corresponds to a verb that is mainly used in intransitive constructions, it will, of course, only call up the idea of the agent, e.g. 'arrival', 'coming'. But in the case of verbal nexus substantives corresponding to verbs that are most frequently used in transitive constructions, the substantive may either call up the agent (subject) or the patient (the object of the verbal idea); this is seen in 'the school thrived under the government of this headmaster' and 'the government of this country is in the hands of a few ministers', where, on account of the construction, the verbal content of 'government' is mainly associated with the idea of the agent in the former sentence and with that of the patient in the latter. Now, this is (apart from the question of style) at the moment probably the main distinction between 'hate' and 'hatred'; the former is a Verbal Nexus substantive implying, if anything, the subject of the verbal element, the latter is a Verbal Nexus substantive implying the object of the verbal element. Actually this distinction comes out in the definitions of these substantives in the O.E.D., but not in so many words: '**Hate**: An emotion of extreme dislike...' — '**Hatred**: The condition or state of relations in which one person hates another...' — Other instances of Implied Object: '**Harm**: Evil (physical or otherwise) as done to or suffered by some person or thing...' — '**Belief**: The mental action, condition, or habit, of trusting to or confiding in a person or thing...'

Partitive and Possessive:

Finally I would like to point out how well this way of dealing with the meaning of words fits into the historical description of the language. — The **Partitive** element, which is a distinctive feature of the content in the case of words like 'share', 'rest', 'top' comes out, rather clearly, in

the definitions of the O.E.D.: 'Share: The part or portion (of something)...' — 'Rest: The ... remaining part(s) of something'. — 'Top: The highest point or part of anything'. — It seems probable that as suggested in the O.E.D., this word has changed from meaning 'peak' (i.e. conical mountain) to meaning 'summit' (i.e. topmost part of a mountain); or in our terms: the substantive 'top' has acquired a partitive association.

The Possessive element may be said to form part of the content of e.g. the substantive 'chance' (in the sense of 'opportunity'), which is necessarily somebody's chance. This comes out (however vaguely) in the definition in the O.E.D.: 'An opportunity that comes in any one's way'. Other instances of substantives with a possessive association: 'Habit: A settled disposition or tendency to act in a certain way, esp. one acquired...' — 'Laugh: ... (a person's) characteristic manner of laughing' — 'Share: The part or portion (of something) which is allotted or belongs to an individual...' — 'Home: ... one's own house'. This last mentioned word shows a change of meaning in the U. S. as stated by Bloomfield (*Language* p. 442): the speculation builder's use of the word 'home' for 'house' to designate a private residence merely as a building has caused a semantic transition for 'home' from being a 'sentimental' word to being 'colorless'. — But 'sentimental' and 'colorless' are vague terms. Would it not be preferable to state this change of meaning in grammatical terms, such as: 'the word "home" in this use has lost its possessive association'?

Copenhagen.

K. SCHIBSBYE.

Permanent Enlargement. We are glad to inform our readers that the response to our Anniversary Numbers has been so gratifying that it will be possible to turn the temporary enlargement of from 48 to 64 pages per number into a permanent one. This will enable us, among other things, to reduce the time-lag between the publication of new books and the appearance of reviews, and to print more articles and other contributions than we have so far been in a position to accept. As, nevertheless, this decision involves a financial risk, publishers and editors hope that the upward trend in the number of subscribers will continue, so that *English Studies* can maintain the place it has won for itself among the leading Anglistic journals in the world.

Review

The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. Edited by FREDSON BOWERS. Volume II. Cambridge University Press. 1955. vii + 592 pp. 40/— net.

It is a pleasure to be able to revoke the only criticism of any importance levelled against Professor Bowers' excellent edition of Dekker in the review of Volume I (*E. S.*, xxxvi [1955], 321-24), as it has been announced by now that after all the edition is to be completed by a volume of commentary — unfortunately not to be prepared by Mr. Bowers, however, but by some other scholar whose identity has not yet been divulged. No longer a splendid torso the 'Cambridge Dekker' will no doubt appeal to a wide circle of readers and not merely to the specialist.

Proceeding in chronological order the editor this time gives us the two parts of *The Honest Whore* (in some ways the highest achievement of Dekker as a dramatist), *The Magnificent Entertainment*, the two mildly amusing 'citizen comedies', *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*, in both of which Webster had a share, and that strange hodge-podge of history and morality elements, *The Whore of Babylon*. The general remarks in the review of Volume I on Professor Bowers' admirable editorial policy and his meticulousness in carrying it out need not be repeated here, but it must be said that once again the editor has performed the truly awe-inspiring feat of collating all known copies of the quartos serving as copy-texts, except in the case of 2 *Honest Whore* where he has consulted 'only' 17 copies of the 1630 quarto.

Bibliographically speaking, the most interesting items are *The Magnificent Entertainment* and 1 *Honest Whore*, both of which appeared in 1604 in first editions made up of sheets printed in different printing houses. In both cases part of the type was left standing, in defiance of regulations, and from this the corresponding parts of second editions were printed; moreover, it seems practically certain that the corrections in some well-defined sections of the second edition of 1 *Honest Whore* — mainly, and rather surprisingly, those printed from standing type — were authorial.¹ Much of this is of course well known,² but it is here worked out in great

¹ Mr. Bowers has no textual note on one of the most convincingly authorial of the alterations, and his 'emendation' of the strange-looking but perfectly correct punctuation of the line in question seems to indicate that — like all previous editors — he has failed to recognize a quotation. The point will be discussed in a forthcoming note by the present writer.

² The introduction to 1 *Honest Whore* contains only two references, both of them to papers by the editor (the one in *The Library* appeared in vol. xviii of the fourth series, here misprinted as xiii). Of course the specialist will know without being told so that the most important points were made as long ago as 1829 and 1934 respectively by Matthew Baird and Sir Walter Greg; but then the specialist will probably not need the two references given either.

detail and the evidence is presented in such a way as to allow the reader to form his own opinion on all debatable points. None of the other plays printed in the present volume was issued in more than one edition. All the pieces were evidently printed from fairly authoritative copy, the probable nature of which is discussed at length in each case. For consideration of a few details let us turn to *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*, the two plays available in *T.F.T.*

Professor Bowers reminds us that *Westward Ho* was entered to Rockett in 1605 'provided yt he get further auctoritie before yt be printed'³ and gives it as his opinion that 'the provisional nature of the entry very likely indicated either that the proprietors had got wind of Rockett's publication plans and had protested, or else that the warden suspected the company would object vigorously to publication'. Discussing the same problem in his Rosenbach lectures Mr. Bowers in less guarded terms states that 'it seems reasonably clear that the first entry [sic; no later entry is recorded] was blocked by refusal of the company to give permission for publication'.⁴ Subsequently the entry was crossed out and 'Vacat' added in the margin. The play was 'Printed at London, and to be sold by Iohn Hodgets' in 1607. Now it would be highly interesting if Dr. Bowers had found evidence to show that a provisional entry meant that permission for publication had to be procured from the theatrical company in question, but he does not adduce any such evidence.

We all know that when in June 1599 Whitgift and Bancroft ordered 'that noe *Satyres* or *Epigrams* be printed hereafter' they also decreed — i.a. — 'that noe playes be printed excepte they been allowed by suche as haue auctoritie'. The master and wardens apparently did not take this to mean that a licence from the ecclesiastical authorities must invariably precede publication, but during the period until 1607, when the Master of the Revels took over licensing, the proportion of plays allowed by 'correctors' was considerably higher than before 1599, and moreover *Westward Ho* was one of ten plays entered for publication between 1600 and 1606 without having been licensed at the time of entry but upon condition that 'further authority' be obtained.⁵ As a rule the Stationers' Register tells us nothing about the nature of this 'authority', but some time after *The Dutch Courtezan* had been entered to Hodgets on 26 June 1605 'provyded that he gette sufficient Auctoritie before yt be prynted' the clerk added a note: 'This is alowed to be printed by Auctorite from Mr Hartwell' (Whitgift's secretary), and even if the conditional entry

³ Is the second 'yt' a correction or a misreading of Greg's 'yt'?

⁴ *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists* (University of Pennsylvania Library, 1955), 17-18.

⁵ There are only two similar conditional entries before 1599: Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* in 1584 and Peele's lost Lord Mayor's pageant in 1588. The remarkable entry to Roberts on 22 July 1598 of *The Merchant of Venice*, for the printing of which licence from the Lord Chamberlain was to be procured, is only one of the facts indicating the exceptional position of the Chamberlain's men.

of Sharpham's *The Fleire* to Trundell and Busby on 13 May 1606 has no such addition, the transfer of Trundell's interest to Johnson on 21 November 1606 is furnished with a postscript: 'This booke is authorised by Sr George Bucke Mr Hartwell & the wardens'.

As Chambers pointed out many years ago (*Eliz. Stage*, III, 190) all the conditionally entered plays are of a political or satirical character (or, we might add, the work of authors known as satirists; three of them were by Marston), and a look at the entries concerning Dekker's plays confirms the general impression of the relevance of the injunction of 1599. The two innocuous plays, *Old Fortunatus* and *Patient Grissil*, were entered simply under the hands of wardens, but *Satiromastix*, Dekker's contribution to the War of the Theatres, was accepted only 'vppon condicōn that yt be lycensed to be printed', and after *The Magnificent Entertainment* and *1 Honest Whore* had both of them been entered as duly approved by Pasfield (prebendary of St. Paul's) a similar allowance was in all probability the 'further auctoritie' demanded before the printing of *Westward Ho*. We do not know when or why the entry was crossed out, but ignorance on this point seems a shaky foundation for an inherently unlikely hypothesis presupposing a most unusual concern on the part of the wardens for the feelings of a theatrical company. Moreover, the wrath of the managers of Paul's Boys must have abated very suddenly, as Dekker and Webster were commissioned to write *Northward Ho* shortly afterwards.

In his introduction Professor Bowers calls attention to five formes as having been corrected in press; his notes show, however, that two other formes were actually those most heavily corrected (inner F and outer G). Unintentional and/or unrecorded deviations from the copy-text are few and unimportant: I. i. 33 'haue a tricke ont' for 'haue the tricke ont', I. ii. 113 'horn-ake', for 'horne-ake', II. i. 209 'Rhenish-' for 'Rhenesh-', III. ii. 20 'Pannier-ally' for 'Pannier ally', IV. i. 63 'Couterpane' for 'Counterpaine', V. iii. 6 'Rhenish-' for 'Renish-'. There is a puzzle in V. iv. 204-205: Bowers prints '... Ile cut off your conuoy maist, Sargant *Ambush*, I charge you ...', which is an exact reproduction of the copy-text, but the sense seems to be something like 'Ile cut off your couoy. Maist[er] Sargant *Ambush*, I charge you ...' (this, I find, is the way Dyce understood the passage). Perhaps the commentary will eventually enlighten us as to the meaning the lines in question convey to the editor.

Northward Ho has even less to offer in the way of unrecorded deviations from the copy-text (as represented by the Farmer facsimile): II. i. 50 'the rope' for 'the / the rope', IV. i. 162 'common' for 'comon', V. i. 228 'sukket' for 'suckket', 328 'for the cast' for 'for cast'.

In his Rosenbach lectures Professor Bowers remarked (p. 74) that 'the unwillingness of editors to take full responsibility for this critical approach may lead them to an inconsistent mixture of the diplomatic and critical methods, with results that share in the virtues of neither'. The difficulty of absolute consistency may perhaps be illustrated from the editor's own work. The 'conuoy maist' in *Westward Ho* probably offers

an example, and there are such things in *Northward Ho* as the slavish reproduction without comments of 'thou hast be witch me' (IV. i. 148) and of the long dash instead of a hyphen in IV. i. 194; on the other hand the use of italics has been subjected to a half-hearted normalization, and figures are treated as abbreviations and silently replaced by cardinal or ordinal numbers (there are 17 instances of this in *Westward Ho* and 9 in *Northward Ho*).

Once again there is every reason to be grateful to Professor Bowers for his thoroughness and care in preparing this excellent edition of a most interesting dramatist.

Copenhagen.

HOLGER NØRGAARD.

Points of Modern English Syntax*

XXXVIII

117. a. They're good, too, though I say it as shouldn't (the reference is to caramels made by the speaker). Anthony Berkeley, *Not to be Taken*, p. 187 (Penguin Books).

If the matter (an accusation of cheating at cards) could have been settled then and there, well and good. If not, Major Daviot should have been advised by his friends to take it direct to the proper quarter, and that quarter was a court of military enquiry. Mary Borden, *Action for Slander*, p. 33 (Pan Books).

His people shouldn't have put him into this particular regiment. They couldn't afford it, but his father had been in it and his grandfather, and his spry little mother is (*sic*) so proud of him. *Ib.*, p. 62.

He had married Ann, who should have been his sister, and she (another woman), his love, was married to this black man with paws like a gorilla. *Ib.*, p. 67 f.

They shouldn't have done this (*scil.* called him a card-sharper). He shouldn't have come to this damned shoot. *Ib.*, p. 68.

b. Well, I don't blame you; I know you can't help it. But I do think you oughtn't simply to give in to your prejudice and let it blind your judgment. E. X. Ferrars, *Neck in a Noose*, p. 220 (Zephyr Books).

Wearily he dragged himself up the stairs to his flat. The pain of some of his bruises had faded; others ached more acutely than ever. His head was muzzy and burning.

George irritated him by saying he ought to see a doctor. *Ib.*, p. 221.

'But you're looking pretty bad,' said George.

'I'm feeling pretty bad,' said Toby.

'Maybe you ought to be in bed,' said George.

'And leave you, in your present obliging state of mind, to get Constance out of prison? Thanks.' *Ib.*, p. 221.

Is there a difference in meaning between *should*, used to denote a moral or social obligation, and *ought to*?

* By arrangement with the Danish Editor (see *E. S.*, Dec. 1958).

118. I have received a score of letters informing me that the writers did not understand my last week's article on Mr. Guthrie's modern-dress production of *Hamlet*. Sunday Times, Oct. 23, 1938.

Can my last week's article be changed into my article of last week without affecting the meaning of the group?

119. One of the highest paid King's Counsel in London, his ability and his vanity were both recognised as superlative and he seldom accepted a brief nowadays unless he felt sure of winning his case. Mary Borden, *Action for Slander*, p. 5 (Penguin Books).

Account for the use of the stem-form *Counsel*.

Comments and answers to be sent, before January 1st, 1960, to

21, Frans Halsstraat,
Haarlem, Holland.

P. A. ERADES.

Books Received

1959

The Development of Imagery and its Functional Significance in Henry James's Novels, By A. HOLDER-BARELL. (The Cooper Monographs, ed. by H. Lüdeke, 3.) Bern: Francke Verlag. 215 pp. Price S.Fr. 15.—.

A Casebook on Ezra Pound. Edited by W. V. O'CONNOR and E. STONE. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. xi + 179 pp. Price \$2.50.

The Critical Writings of James Joyce. Edited by E. MASON and R. ELLMANN. London: Faber and Faber. 288 pp. Price 25s. net.

The Sympathetic Alien. James Joyce and Catholicism. By J. M. MORSE. New York: University Press. xi + 169 pp. Price \$4.00.

Isaac Rosenberg 1890-1918. A catalogue of an exhibition held at Leeds University May-June 1959, together with the text of unpublished material. University of Leeds with Partridge Press. 36 pp. Price 7s. 6d.

Robert McAlmon, Expatriate Publisher and Writer. By R. E. KNOLL. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. xiii + 96 pp. Price \$1.50.

Poets in Their Letters. By C. G. EMDEN. With Drawings by Lynton Lamb. London: Oxford University Press. xii + 232 pp. Price 21s. net.

Sprache und Literatur Englands und Amerikas. Dritter Band. *Die Wissenschaftliche Erschliessung der Prosa*. Lehrgangsvorträge der Akademie Combarg. In Gemeinschaft mit H. Mezger herausgegeben von G. MÜLLER-SCHWEFE. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 166 pp. Geh. DM. 15.—.

Das englische Erbe in der Amerikanischen Literatur. Von T. RIESE. Beiträge zur englischen Philologie, 39, Heft.) Bochum Langendreer: Verlag Heinrich Pöppinghaus OHG. xiii + 240 pp. Price DM. 25.—.

New Zealand Literature. A Survey. By E. H. MCCORMICK. Oxford University Press. 173 pp. Price 22/6 net.

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Die Amerikanismen im "Manchester Guardian Weekly" (1948-1954). Ein Beitrag zur Funktion der englischen Zeitung in den amerikanisch-britischen Sprachbeziehungen der Gegenwart. Von G. PANTEN. (Mainzer Amerikanistische Beiträge, Band 2.) München: Max Hueber Verlag. 245 pp. Price DM. 19.80.

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The Seven English Speech Tones. Analyzed and Identified with Musical Tones and Chinese Speech Tones. By JEE SANE WOO. New York: The William-Frederick Press. ii + 29 pp. Price \$ 1.50.

PETRUS LEUPENIUS, *Aanmerkingen op de Neederduitsche Taale en Naaberecht.* Uitgegeven, ingeleid en toegelicht door W. J. H. CARON. (Trivium: Oude Nederlandsche Geschriften op het gebied van de Grammatica, de Dialectica en de Rhetorica, Nr. IV.) Groningen: J. B. Wolters. xxvii + 69 pp. f 4.90.

Plaatsnamen van Sacrale Oorsprong. Door J. A. HUISMAN. (Voordrachten gehouden voor de Gelderse Leergangen te Arnhem, Nr. 1.) Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 25 pp. f 1.50.

English Idioms for M.O. A and B candidates, University students and for private study. By C. J. MUNTERS. Second Edition. Groningen: J. B. Wolters. 332 pp. f 8.90.

Runes. An Introduction. By R. W. V. ELLIOTT. Manchester University Press. xvi + 124 pp. Price 30s. net.

Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. Vol. IX: *The Moore Bede*, an eighth century manuscript of the Venerable Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* in Cambridge University Library (Kk. 5.16.). Edited by P. H. BLAIR, with a contribution by R. A. B. MYNORS. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger. Price Dan. Kr. 550.—.

Doctrine and Poetry. Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry. By B. F. HUPPE. State University of New York. vi + 248 pp. Price \$ 6.00.

Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages. A Collaborative History. Edited by R. S. LOOMIS. Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press. xvi + 574 pp. Price 63s. net.

The Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle in Iceland. A Contribution to the Study of the Karlamagnus Saga. By P. G. FOOTE. (London Mediaeval Studies: Monograph No. 4.) University College London, x + 56 pp.

Die Gebärde in englischen Dichtungen des Mittelalters. Von W. HABICHT. (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Abhandlungen. Neue Folge, Heft 46.) München. (C. H. Beck'sche Verlagbuchshandlung.) 168 pp.

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Ancrene Wisse, Parts Six und Seven. Edited by G. SHEPHERD. (Nelson's Medieval and Renaissance Library.) London and Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. lxxiii + 116 pp. Price 12/6 net.